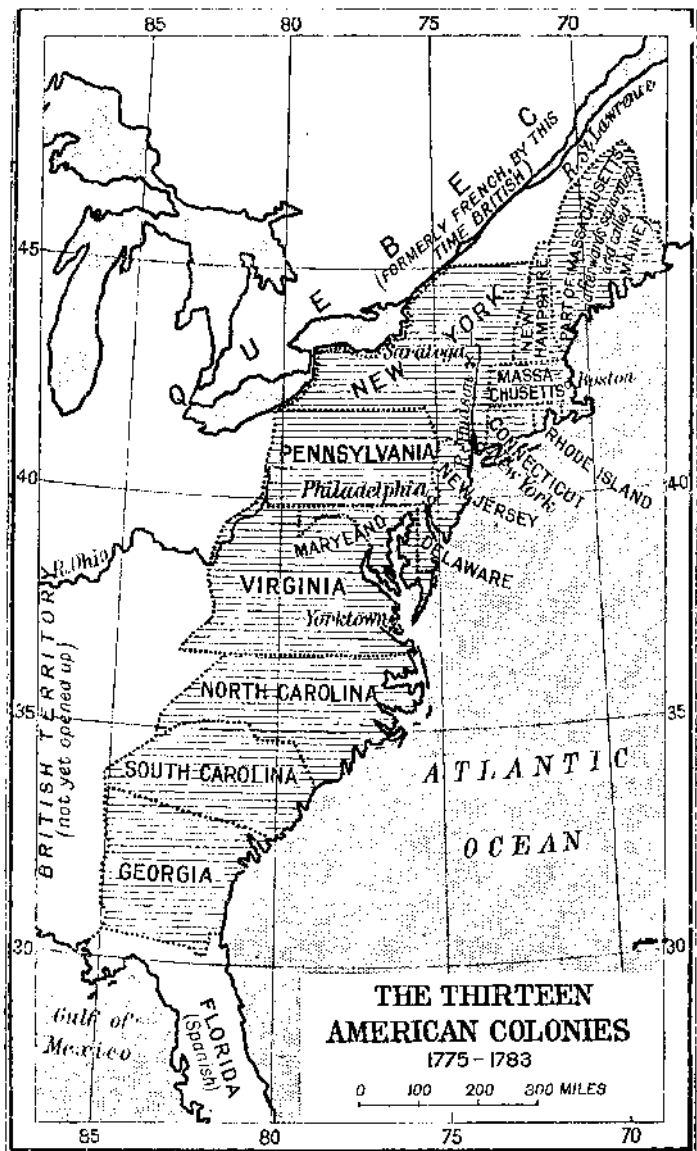


UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_218567

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY





THE STORY OF
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

873
D. 5525

Accession No.

Pa. 2445

Strong, C.F.

Story of the American people

Book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENT IN CARPAINTERS HALL.
PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4, 1776

THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY
C. F. STRONG, M.A., Ph.D.

AUTHOR OF
Modern Political Constitutions, Days of Democracy
To-day Through Yesterday, etc.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

HODDER & STOUGHTON LTD.
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON PRESS, LTD.
LONDON 1942

TO
MY WIFE

Printed in Great Britain for **the** UNIVERSITY OF LONDON PRESS, LTD.,
by HAZELL WATSON AND VINEY LTD. London and Aylesbury.

PREFACE

To those who may demand what justification there can be for the publication of yet another book, amid the clash of arms and an unprecedented paper shortage, I can only reply that this book is, in its modest way, intended to be a contribution to Anglo-American understanding, whose growth is vital to the preservation of our world, which is only to be secured if, as Mr. Churchill said in his historic address to Congress in Washington on Boxing Day, 1941, "in the days to come the British and American peoples will, for their own safety and the good of all, walk together in majesty, in justice, and in peace."

The writing of the book, in moments snatched from a crowded official life, has proved a formidable task, which I should never have contemplated, much less accomplished, but for the gentle urgencies of friends and colleagues, who persuaded me of the need for a book on American history written by an Englishman. For the mass of existing books on the subject are by Americans, and, while some of these are admirably impartial studies, others often manifest a marked bias against Britain wherever she appears in the American story. It was, perhaps, the excesses of these latter writers which induced in the mind of Henry Ford the conviction that "all history is bunk." And, indeed, the "debunking"—i.e. the pulling down from their traditional niches—of the heroes of American history has become quite a common practice in America. It is sometimes done very delightfully, as, for example, by Herbert Agar, in his provocative book, *The American Presidents*, but, on the whole, it has tended to carry too

far the reaction against the interpretations of earlier writers and thus to confuse the non-American reader.

On the other hand, the work of the best of the newer generation of American historians, such as J. T. Adams, C. A. and Mary Beard, and H. U. Faulkner, is distinguished by a clear perspective and a fine sense of proportion, and is, indeed, a model of all that good historical writing should be. But their books are written for Americans, and inevitably they assume on the part of the reader an inherent sense of traditions, phenomena, and institutions which are peculiarly American and not therefore readily comprehensible by the average Englishman. The author of this book is at least free from that handicap.

I hesitate to mention the names of those whose encouragement and advice made the completion of the book possible, lest they should be regarded as sharing the responsibility for what I know to be its many weaknesses and shortcomings, a responsibility which is wholly mine. Yet I cannot refrain from recording my thanks to my friend, Mr. K. J. Ritchie, H.M.I., who read and criticised the book in manuscript ; to my colleague, Mr. W. J. Bennett, the Director of Libraries in the Borough of Tottenham, for his generous help with books ; to Miss Diana Neill and Mr. A. C. Ward for their suggestions in compiling the fiction lists ; to my old companion-in-arms, Mr. C. L. Dering, for his assistance with the proofs ; and finally to my publishers, whose faith in me and whose never-failing courtesy and generosity miraculously survive even the harrowing embarrassments of war-time book production.

C. F. STRONG.

LONDON,
February, 1942.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE	V
LIST OF PLATES	viii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF AMERICA	0
3. EARLY SETTLEMENTS AND THE THIRTEEN COLONIES	19
4. THE BRITISH CONQUER THE FRENCH	30
5. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION	39
6. MAKING THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION	64
7. FEDERALISTS VERSUS REPUBLICANS	79
8. EXPANSION AND DEMOCRACY	101
9. GATHERING WAR CLOUDS	127
10. THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH	150
11. THE WILD WEST : THE LAST FRONTIER	171
12. THE NEW IMPERIALISM	188
13. THE AMERICANS GO EAST	211
14. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL	231
15. THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE	248
16. AMERICA AND THE WORLD	273
APPENDIX I. THE STATES OF THE AMERICAN UNION	291
„ II. PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES	292
„ III. BOOK LISTS FOR FURTHER READING	293
INDEX	300

LIST OF PLATES

	FACING PAGE		PACING PACE
SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, PHILA- DELPHIA, JULY 4, 1776	Title	ON BOARD AN IMMIGRANT SHIP BOUND FOR AMERICA . . .	181
THE EAST: AN AERIAL VIEW OF NEW YORK . . .	14	THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESI- DENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1901-1909 . . .	196
THE WEST: AN AERIAL VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO . . .	14	A STREET IN THE PHILIPPINES .	196
TYPES OF AMERICANS . . .	15	THE GREAT ROOSEVELT DAM IN ARIZONA . . .	197
ENGLISH COLONISTS LANDING IN VIRGINIA, 1607 . . .	20	MAKING THE PANAMA CANAL .	197
THE PILGRIM FATHERS SIGNING THE COMPACT IN <i>THH MAY- riowKH</i> , 1620 . . .	20	PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON DELIVERING A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS . . .	212
WILLIAM PENN MAKING A TREATY WIT! THE INDIANS, 1681 . . .	21	THE <i>LVSTITASIA</i> MEDAL, STRUCK BY THE GERMANS . . .	213
THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, 175Q	21	PROHIBITION IN AMERICA .	213
THE FUNERAL OF THE STAMP ACT	52	THE DEPRESSION IN U.S.A. . .	244
THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS TO WASHINGTON . . .	52	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT IN- AUGURATED FOR A THIRD TERM, 1941 . . .	244
PAUL REVERE'S RIDE, 1775 .	53	THE NEW DEAL: SLUM CLEAR- ANCE IN NEW YORK . . .	245
OLD BOSTON, EARLY NINE- TEENTH CENTURY . . .	53	THE NEW DEAL: THE WILSON DAM AT MUSCLE SHOALS .	245
SALE OF NEGRO SLAVES AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROL- INA . . .	132	AGRICULTURE: MECHANISED FARMING IN AMERICA .	260
A PRIMITIVE STEAMBOAT ON THE MISSISSIPPI . . .	132	INDUSTRY: THE FORD MOTOR WORKS AT DEARBORN .	260
ROAD TRANSPORT, EARLY NINE- TEENTH CENTURY . . .	133	EDUCATION: THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK . . .	261
FORTUNE-SEEKERS IN THE CALI- FORNIAN GOLD RUSH, 1849 .	133	ARTERIAL ROAD: THE MOHAWK TRAIL IN MASSACHUSETTS .	261
LINCOLN WITH THE FEDERAL ARMY IN THE CIVIL WAR .	164	BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE . . .	276
THE SOUTH SURRENDERS, 1865	164	AMERICAN VISITOR AND LONDON POLICEMAN . . .	276
LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURA- TION, 1865 . . .	165	MAKING THE ATLANTIC CHARTER	277
THE UNION PACIFIC AT OGDEN, UTAH . . .	180	THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSING CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON . . .	277
A TYPICAL BOOM TOWN . . .	180		
COWBOYS IN TEXAS DRIVING THE CATTLE HOME . . .	181		

All the maps are printed in the text of the book.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

AT a time when the continued existence of all that we know as Western Civilisation hangs by a thread, the increase of mutual understanding between the American and British Commonwealths is one of the first conditions of its survival. But the comprehension of contemporary life and all that it stands for in the United States and a true appreciation of the American way of life are not possible except through a study of American history. History, indeed, is the "living past," but that it is so is more obviously true in the case of the American people than probably of any other in the world, since the amazing development of the land and its resources and the expansion of the population of the North American Continent have been crammed into a comparatively short period of years, and you cannot touch upon any aspect of existing institutions and current affairs in America without being driven back immediately upon a survey of the past from which they have so manifestly grown.

The fact is that many English people have an entirely confused, distorted, and erroneous impression of American life and history, gained almost entirely from films which depict scenes of a bogus romanticism, an artificial glamour, and an over-emphasised sordidness. This is not to say, of course, that the cinema has not a great contribution to make towards a truer enlightenment in this respect, or, indeed, that some American films do not achieve it. But, generally speaking, the overwhelming influence of the

2 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

commercial cinema is one which places a wholly disproportionate emphasis on the glamour of Hollywood, American slang, and hot music. And under this weekly-changing limelight American life appears exclusively to consist of gangsters, Dead-End Kids, and traffic cops ; of coloured drummers, trumpeters, and gigantic voices amplified and nasalised beyond all truth and reality. Nor do most of us stop to consider whether this is all, or whether, indeed, the very existence of so vast an industry at Hollywood, which is nearly as far westward from the Atlantic coast of America as that coast is from our own shores, does not itself imply a national epic of heroism and endurance in the building-up of this great community of 130 million souls in a country in which four hundred years ago no white man had yet set foot.

And yet t*uth is stranger than fiction, and all the distortions of picture and romance cannot alter the fact that the real story of the American people is a tale of high adventure. Let us consider. We read in 1942 of American bombers ferried across the Atlantic in ten hours. Christopher Columbus first crossed that ocean 450 years before, and it took him ten weeks to do it. What happened on the other side of the Atlantic between those two dates constitutes one of the most romantic and exciting stories in the history of the world.

The story here unfolded is that of the accidental discovery, at the end of the fifteenth century, of a new continent by the explorer Columbus, and its colonisation by settlers from western European lands; of the settlement in this New World of adventurous members of the English family, from the early years of the seventeenth century, until thirteen English colonies had been established on the Atlantic seaboard of North America ; of a vital struggle for supremacy between the British and

French settlers and of the consequent expulsion of the French power (1763); of a bitter fight between the motherland and the colonists in the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and of the colonies' final and complete separation; of the establishment of, a new republic with an entirely new frame of government of its own formulated in the Constitution of the United States of America (1789) ; of a war between Britain and the new Republic arising out of the situation created by the French Revolution and Napoleon in Europe (1812-1814) *I* of the establishment of an unarmed frontier between the U.S.A. and Canada (1842-1846); of a fratricidal war (1861-1865) between the states over the right to secede from the Union and to hold negroes as slaves, and the gradual healing of the self-inflicted wounds ; of the great opening-up of the West; of wars with Indians, the slaughtering of buffalo herds, of cowboys, roughriders, and sharpshooters, the pioneers pushing the Frontier farther and farther west until the whole area to the Pacific coast was politically organised.

Our story is also one of the laying down of great railway systems across the Continent; of the invention of the automobile and the building of thousands of miles of arterial roads ; of the constant arrival of millions of new members of the community from the various countries of Europe and the Far East to fill the new lands in country and town with inhabitants necessary to produce the agricultural and mineral riches of the soil and to manufacture them into food and goods for the American people or for their transportation to almost every part of the world, until the new country produced a quarter of the world's wheat, more than half its coal, and three-fifths of its cotton and oil; of the digging of a great artificial waterway, the Panama Canal, joining the east and west sea-

4 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

boards, and creating a direct westward route from Europe to the Far East; of the entry of America into the Great War of 1914-1918, of its post-War revulsion from participation in the affairs of Europe, of the economic disasters of the aftermath of the war, and of the nation's slow recovery under the guiding hand of the Roosevelt Administration.

Our tale, too, is one of many inventions making less arduous the rapid production and manufacture of these abundant fruits of the earth and bringing an easier and pleasanter life to many of the teeming millions of workers, albeit creating at the same time a wealthy leisured class enriched by these natural gifts; of the development of strange forms of entertainment, the gramophone, the moving picture, and the radio.

And yet through the whole story runs that streak of liberty which moved the birth of this great community, and which, in spite of setbacks, has been maintained throughout the history of the American people, until today that people stands with the British as a twin bulwark of Democracy against the deadly despotism of an authoritarian "New Order" in Europe and the Far East. So the wheel turns full circle, from the Island Kingdom to the Republic of the West, and back to the comradeship-in-arms of the American Commonwealth and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Such is the story told in these pages. It is a story well worth our study, not only because the men and women who made and are still making it have contributed and have yet to contribute so much to the welfare of mankind, but because they were and are largely of our own blood. But in following the story, we should resist the temptation to assess American history according to an English scale of values and to use, or abuse, cant phrases about it like

" our English-speaking cousins " and " blood is thicker than water/" which, by inducing false thinking, only hinder comprehension and mutual understanding.

To appreciate the nascent struggles of the young American Republic and its painful journey, through childhood, adolescence, and young manhood, to its full stature to-day, we must cast aside all English prepossessions, since the most vital interests of Americans through those years had no counterpart in English contemporary Ufe. And to-day our home and our life are very different from theirs. America is not an English country, nor is the American nation another English nation overseas. It is a " melting-pot," constantly seething and producing " an amalgam of all races," a people with a way of Ufe of its own and a purpose commensurate with its own enormous potentialities. If, then, we are to understand the story of the American people, we must look at it objectively. It is a story worth reading purely as a story, but it takes on a special significance when we realise all that it may mean for us and our future.

Chapter 2

THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF AMERICA

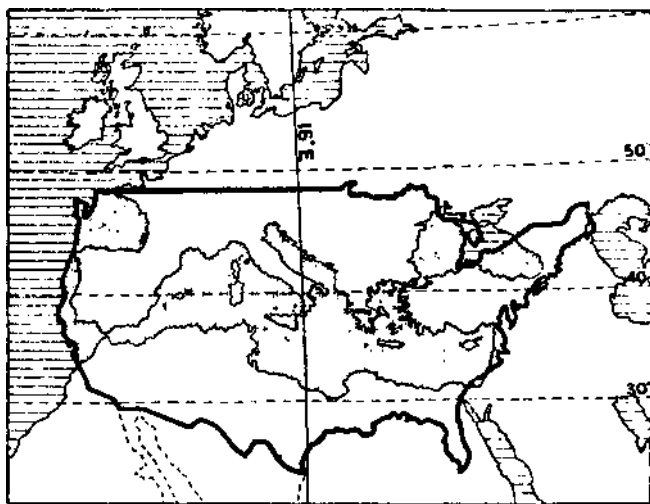
The United States a Continental Area

The purpose of this book is to recount the history of the American people, but such a story must begin with some geographical considerations, for while the influence of geography on the life of peoples—though often overstated—is always great, in the case of America it is more direct and obvious than in most countries. Geographically, every advancing step has conditioned the life and outlook of the people and made their history.

We are accustomed to hear with an amused tolerance of the bigness of things in America, but it is literally true that everything in America, geographically speaking at any rate, is on a gigantic scale. It is difficult for us in our small island to appreciate the vastness of the spaces in America and the variety of their physical features—enormous plains, mountains, rivers, and lakes—unlike anything we know in our own country. The American Continent is made up, as it were, of two enormous triangles, North and South America, joined by a corridor, Central America, which narrows at the Isthmus of Panama to a width of no more than forty miles. The space to the east of this junction, called the Caribbean Sea, is peppered with the islands of the West Indies, the part of America first discovered by Columbus. Together these areas constitute more than a quarter of the land surface of the entire globe.

North America is the larger of the two triangles, and its

natural features are **generally** more conducive to **human** enterprise than those of South America; the climate is* much more temperate, and the resources of the land are enormously superior. The plains of North America are more fertile, its rivers more navigable, its mountains more negotiable, its forests more penetrable, its deposits of coal and iron vastly richer, and its harbours at river mouths more numerous. And all these natural differ-



Based on the map from Dr. Shanahan's "Modern World Geography," by permission of Messrs. Methuen & Co., Ltd.

ences are reflected in the comparative figures of population, that of North America being nearly twice as large as that of South America.

Now, we are concerned here in detail with that part of North America known as the United States, and from this point, when we speak of America we mean the United States, and when we speak of the American people we mean the people of the United States, unless some **other**

8 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

reference is specially made. The area covered by the United States, if we include Alaska, is about the same size as the Dominion of Canada to the north, and, as together they are about two-and-a-half times as large as Europe, it follows that the area of the United States itself is slightly larger than that of Europe. Put another way, it is half as large again as Europe, excluding Soviet Russia, and nearly thirteen times as large as Germany, in its extended form under the Third Reich the largest state in Europe. The map on the previous page shows the United States as it appears when moved 118° east of its actual position and superimposed on Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor in the same limits of latitude. It gives a very clear impression of the vastness of the United States and reminds us that we are here dealing not merely with a country but with a continent in itself, possessing the extreme varieties of physical features, temperature, and resources of the earth associated in Europe not with one but with many countries.

Geographically speaking, the United States, as compared with Canada, has all the luck. About two-thirds of the area of Canada is cold semi-desert which is not present in the United States. In the north-east of Canada is a large area, about half that of the whole country, known as the Laurentian Shield, composed of crystalline rocks which make the land quite unfertile. By contrast, the United States has, south of the Great Lakes, one of the most fertile plains in the world. Canada, it is true, has great mineral and other natural wealth, but that of the United States is vastly greater. Moreover, the land of the United States is far more accessible from the sea than that of Canada, where the north is cut off by polar ice. Finally, whereas the lines of communication between the east and west coasts of Canada are

confined to overland routes, Nature, by narrowing the land south of the United States to a narrow isthmus, has made it possible for the American people, with the combined aid of mechanical science and political arrangement, to join the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by an artificial waterway, the Panama Canal.

The distance from the extreme east to the extreme west of the area covered by the United States is about 2,700 miles (the air distance from New York to San Francisco is 2,665 miles), and from north to south, at its deepest, about 1,600 miles. When we recall that the distance from Southampton to New York is 3,100 miles, we thus see that the distance across the United States is almost as great as that of the commonest sea route from Britain to America. Broadly speaking, this vast territory which is the home of the American Commonwealth divides itself into four great natural regions, which have had the most direct influence upon the history of the American people. These four regions from east to west are the Atlantic coastal plain, the Appalachian Highlands, the Mississippi Basin, and the Cordilleran Region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the sea.

It was on the Atlantic slope that the first English settlements were made and that for many years they were shut in by that section of the Appalachian Highlands known as the Alleghany Mountains. Through the passes of these mountains the first westward movements were made, and the region called by the Americans the Middle West was opened up. The vast region to the west of this is dominated by the Mississippi, that "01' Man River," flowing southward through the great valley to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico, which has played so vital a part in conditioning the life of the people in this region.

The gigantic plain stretches away westward and rises

10 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

to the high plains on the east of the Rocky Mountains. The Cordilleran Region lying beyond the Rockies forms first a high plateau zone between the Rockies on the east and the line of the Cascade Mountains and Sierra Nevada Mountains on the west, and between these and the Pacific Ocean is the Great Valley of California. Each of these regions awaited the hand of the pioneers to develop and exploit its natural resources and to build up the life of the community upon its fruits. Even the desert country between the Rockies and the Sierra



THE FOUR NATURAL REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Nevada, which in itself would not have invited human settlement, attracted settlers through the development of vast railway systems, the discovery of rich mineral deposits there, and the utilisation of the land for pasture and wheat through the march of technical science and the instrumentality of schemes of irrigation.

Now, while the forty-eight states in this vast area are united under a federal government for their common purposes, and there exist national institutions under the Federal Authority which do, in fact, work very effectively,

the character of the United States remains continental and the attitude and outlook of the American people continental rather than national. William Dwight Whitney, in his revealing book, *Who are the Americans ?*, makes this point crystal clear for an Englishman. " Say the word ' America ' to an American," he writes, " and he sees neither a little island home on the one hand nor a far-flung Empire on the other. His little home, corresponding for him to England for the Englishman, is a home in which one can ride for days over flat sun-baked prairies, or through endless Saharan deserts, may climb great peaks that rise to four and five times Snowdon's height, may float on rivers that would magnify twenty Severns, and yet always be in one's own land, on one's own soil, within reach by one's own motor or overnight on a land-locked railway."

The States and the Regions

Most of the forty-eight states are quite artificial, being purely legal creations. The original thirteen states had an existence as colonies before their independence was declared, and Louisiana, Texas, and California have a genuine historical background. But the remainder are political units created by Congress, with boundaries of an unusually geometrical exactitude, arbitrarily drawn as the opening-up of the continent gradually developed and each territory, having reached a suitable stage of growth, was admitted as a state into the Union.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the forty-eight purely political divisions tend to be less real in practice than others based rather on geography and economics than on law. The original division was between North and South, but after the Civil War (1861-1865) there

12 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

clearly **emerged three** divisions, the North (or the East, as it is sometimes called), the South, and the West. Later, as the farther West was settled and admitted to **the** Union, a fourth division was added, and there were then four sections, namely, the East (i.e. the North), the South, the Middle West, and the West. But this division is too crude and generalised to have any real meaning to-day, and it is helpful to subdivide these sections into nine regions¹:

- (i) *New England*.—This region includes six states : Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, and Vermont. It was the home of the Puritan settlers who began to arrive in 1620. Its geographical characteristics have conditioned its life as the centre of the textile industries of America.
- (2) *The Middle Atlantic States*.—This region is made up of six states : New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. As a whole it comprises about 5 per cent, of the area of the United States and contains more than 24 per cent, of its total population. It is the great centre of American finance and shipping, containing as it does three of the largest ports in the world : New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.
- (3) *The South Atlantic States*.—Comprising the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, this region contains 10 per cent, of the total population, 70 per cent, of which is rural.
- (4) *The South-Eastern States*.—This region, consisting of the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, is closely connected with that of the

¹ See the map at the front of this book.

South Atlantic States. It was the first "American West/' and has in recent years developed heavy industry, particularly in the state of Alabama, where the city of Birmingham is second only to Pittsburg for steel products in the United States.

- (5) *The South-Western States*.—Made up of four states—Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma—this region has much in common with the rest of the South, and large parts of it are almost as poverty-stricken, but is to be distinguished from it by the very different origin of its states.
- (6) *The Middle West*.—This is one of the most vital regions in the United States. It is divided by the river Mississippi into two regions, that to the west of the river, though sometimes regarded as part of the Middle West, being often thought of separately as the Prairie States. There are five states between the Appalachians and the Mississippi—the "true Middle West," as it has been called—namely, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. These states are heavily urban and have great cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Cincinnati. The region is the centre of heavy industries.
- (7) *The Prairie States*.—This region, to the west of the Mississippi, comprises seven states: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. It is, *par excellence*, the agricultural region of the United States, and more than half its population are engaged in agriculture.
- (8) *The Far West*.—This region lies between the Rockies on its east, and the Cascade Mountains and Sierra Nevada on its west, and consists of eight

states: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, and Arizona. Though it constitutes nearly 30 per cent, of the total area of the United States, it contains only 3 per cent, of the population. It is a mountain region and is the most thinly populated part of the Union. It is rich in minerals, and, though 40 per cent, of its population is urban, it has no large cities.

- (9) *The Pacific States*.—Between the Cascade Mountains and the Sierra Nevada and the Pacific Ocean are the three remaining states of Washington, Oregon, and California. Of these by far the largest and most important is California, whose people have a very strong local patriotism. California is, in fact, the second largest state in the Union. It has always been the land of booms—gold, oil, and real estate.

The Federal District of Columbia

There remains one area, so far not mentioned, namely, the Federal District of Columbia, or Washington, D.C., not to be confused with the State of Washington on the Pacific coast. Washington, D.C., is the headquarters of the Federal Government, and is an entirely artificial creation, having been established at the time of the promulgation of the Constitution in 1789, when, in order that the new Government might have a habitation and a name free from any of the states, the states of Maryland and Virginia presented it with a tract of land ten miles square on either side of the river Potomac. The City of Washington was built on the northern bank in the Maryland cession, and in 1800 the new Government moved there from Philadelphia. The land on the southern side was retroceded to Virginia in 1846.



THE EAST: AN AERIAL VIEW OF NEW YORK

(Photo by E.N.A.)



THE WEST: AN AERIAL, VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO

(Photo by E.N.A.)



TYPES OF AMERICANS

1. White : A woman in a white dress.
 2. Black : A woman in a black dress.
 3. Red : An Indian Chief of Wyoming.
 4. Yellow : An Operator on the Chinese Telephone Exchange in Chinatown, San Francisco.
- (Photos 1, 3 and 4 by E.N.A. Photo 2 by Topical Press)

The People of the United States

In the vast area of the United States live 130 million men and women of all races and creeds. The original inhabitants were the Red Indians, so called from Columbus's mistake in supposing he had reached the Indies. Wherever white explorers touched the American continent they found these strange, copper-coloured, high-cheek-boned, and scantily-clad men. The Spanish explorers in South America found among them a higher state of civilisation than was found in the North. Here they had not reached beyond a stage of "lower barbarism," in which they practised a rudimentary form of agriculture and a crude pottery. At first the Indians were geneially friendly towards the white man and this friendliness might have been fostered into a lasting comradeship. Instead, the white man's cruelty, greed, and treachery towards them turned their first warmth into deep hate, and led to endless wars and the long-standing problem of the red man in his own country.

The number of Indians now in the United States is about 330,000, which is probably what it was when the first white settlers arrived, though meanwhile many tribes have been exterminated, others have died out, and yet others have been assimilated by the whites. The surviving Indians are scattered in various parts of the Union, and their numbers in various states range from 100,000 in Oklahoma to only 5 in Delaware. In Oklahoma, which was made out of Indian Territory into which the Indians were driven in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Indians are an important section of the population and are largely assimilated to the white population in ways of life and even in blood. Outside Oklahoma the Indians are settled in "reservations," chiefly in the region called the Far West, and attend

Government schools, where many of them show great potentiality for a civilised existence, if not, as a rule, a great deal of adaptability to Western ways. The attitude of the authorities now is that the Indians should not be forced out of their tribal society and should be allowed to remain Indian in their way of life if they wish.

The white men found the problem of the red man already there on their arrival. The problem of the black man they created themselves by introducing him into the country. The introduction of the negro slave from Africa was made and developed partly because the slave trade itself became a highly profitable vested interest and partly because the Southern planters needed cheap labour. The status of the negro remains to-day, in spite of the victory of the North in the Civil War and the consequent liberation of the negroes, one of the great unsolved problems of American society. At the time of the Civil War there were about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million negroes out of a total population of $31\frac{1}{2}$ millions. At the census of 1930 there were 12 millions out of a total population of 123 millions.

There are also a good many Orientals, mostly Chinese and Japanese, in the United States, though their immigration is now prohibited. These are chiefly concentrated in the Pacific States.

Though these different races constitute a difficult colour problem, they form only a small proportion of the total population of the country, which, according to the census of 1940, was 131 millions. The population of the United States has increased, during the 150 years since 1790, forty-two-fold. In 1790 the total was slightly over 3 millions, of whom 91 per cent, were British. The remaining 9 per cent, were composed of Dutch, French, and German. To-day the population of the United States as a whole

is one-third foreign, that is to say, men, women, and children who either were born outside the U.S.A. or are the sons and daughters of foreign-born parents. Such people are described in the census as "foreign white stock," and the census of 1930 showed that there were 38 millions of foreign white stock, made up of all the white peoples of the world.

"The Americans/" says W. D. Whitney, "are not merely a people of many races: they are proud of it." And he adds: "One of the proudest boasts of American citizenship is that it is a 'melting pot' of all Europe." In short, there is no distinguishable American race. The latest arrivals among immigrants in America are as much citizens of the United States as any other inhabitants, and if some of them have failed to adjust themselves to an advanced civilisation, most of them are proud of their American citizenship and conduct themselves accordingly.

Although the United States is, as someone has described it, "ideally a farmers' republic," in fact the bulk of the people are not engaged in any farming pursuit, though the country remains a vast granary, producing, as we have said, a quarter of the world's wheat. For the fact is that agriculture, no less than industry and commerce, has benefited by the application of man's power of invention to productive processes, and, though perhaps the agricultural production of America is reaching the point where the law of diminishing returns begins to operate, much more can now be produced on the land with less labour than formerly.

It is evident, then, that here we have one of the fairest portions of the inhabitable globe, a continent blessed by Nature with a variety of climate, abundant rainfall (at least east of the Rocky Mountains), a remarkably fertile

soil, and vast deposits of coal and metal of all kinds. Other parts of the world perhaps may boast as rich a soil, and yet others as daring and hard-working a people; but in no place can it be said that "men and material have been so admirably matched" as in America.

Chapter 3

EARLY SETTLEMENTS AND THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

Columbus and the Oceanic Revolution

The chronicle of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 constitutes, in the most literal sense of the term, a chapter of accidents. That Columbus undertook his voyages into the unknown West under the aegis of Spain rather than of England resulted from the accident of the offer of the English King, Henry VII, to finance the venture arriving too late. The discovery of America was itself an accident arising from Columbus's intention to find a westward route to the Indies and the East, and to the day of his death, in spite of three separate visits to the islands of the Caribbean, and even touching the mainland, Columbus believed that he had struck the Indies instead of a New World. These accidents conditioned the circumstances in which Spain established an Empire in Central and South America, drove the English adventurers to the northern half of the western hemisphere, and determined the origins of a New England whence developed the United States of to-day.

New and unknown as the American Continent was to the men of the fifteenth century, the ideas which at last led to its discovery had been simmering in the scientific minds of Europe for at least 2,000 years, and in practice Columbus was not the first European to visit America, for it had been reached by the Vikings 500 years before him. The immediate urge, however, came rather from that science of navigation which was the most practical

aspect of the fifteenth-century Renaissance in Europe, as well as from the political situation and the shifting of trade routes necessitated by the spread of the Turks in the Levant, a movement which culminated in the capture of Constantinople in 1453 and effectually closed the age-old overland route to the East. This destroyed the maritime supremacy of Genoa and Venice, and transferred the primacy in seafaring from the cities of the Mediterranean Sea to the countries facing the Atlantic Ocean.

The future of Empire thus lay with those nations which faced the West, and the general effect of this Oceanic Revolution of the fifteenth century was ultimately to give a central position to those countries which had hitherto been merely on the edge of the world, as known at that time. To the lands of the East, when once the way through the Levant had been closed by the hostile Turks, there were for these peoples on the rim of Europe two possible routes according to the maritime science of the time: the eastern route *via* Africa followed by the Portuguese mariners, and the western route across the Atlantic followed by Columbus.

Columbus's voyages to America on behalf of Spain were followed in the sixteenth century by the establishment of the Spanish Empire in Central and South America, but though the Spaniards claimed, as of right, the whole of the American Continent except Brazil (which was allotted to Portugal), they were destined to make no true settlement north of Mexico and Florida. Meanwhile, in Europe, the failure of the attempts of the Spanish King, Philip II, to conquer the Dutch and the English marked the beginnings of a decline from which Spain never recovered, and the liberation of these two nations from the bog of Spanish invincibility brought them successfully into the field of oversea colonisation.



ENGLISH COLONISTS LANDING IN VIRGINIA, 1607
(From a contemporary engraving)



THE PILGRIM FATHERS SIGNING THE COMPACT OF GOVERNMENT IN THE
 CABIN OF THE MAYFLOWER, 1620



WILLIAM PENN MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS, 1681



THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, 1759

The English Settlement Begins

In 1497 John Cabot, an Italian, had set out for North America under the patronage of England, and had planted the English flag on the coast of Labrador in the area called Newfoundland. But it was not until the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) that the English revived the promise of Cabot's initiative, when English seadogs, like Hawkins, Cavendish, and Drake, organised guerrilla attacks on the Spanish treasure ships homeward bound from America. In attacking the treasure ships the Elizabethans were not only striking at the enemy's economic resources and undermining his political hegemony, but, at the same time, happily, replenishing their own war-treasure and satisfying their Protestant desire to crush a Catholic foe. If as guerrilla warfare it was immediately a great success, as a sustained exercise in attrition it was ultimately the way of freedom in North America, since, with the Spanish power crippled after the defeat of the Armada, the oceanic marauding of the second half of the sixteenth century gave place to the beginnings of colonial settlement in the early years of the seventeenth.

In his search for Spanish treasure Drake had gone much farther than the Atlantic and had even touched the Pacific coast of North America in the course of his circumnavigation of the globe between 1577 and 1580. This feat of seamanship proved a great inspiration to English adventurers and demonstrated that the New World was open to the English no less than to any other nation. The Spanish in Central America and on the islands of the Caribbean had already made northern thrusts into what is now the region of the United States, and by the middle of the sixteenth century had gained a permanent foothold in Florida, which they fortified and from which they carried

out numerous expeditions to the north and north-west, while from Mexico they explored the lands now occupied by the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, and New Mexico. By the end of the century New Mexico was settled as a colony, so that at the time that the English first appeared as permanent colonists in North America, the main features of the Spanish Empire in America were apparent. Yet, although at one time Spain controlled two-thirds of the area of the present United States, her culture was never effective in the area north of the Rio Grande. That area was destined to be colonised by the English, and in a manner very different from that of the Spanish to the south.

In 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert a patent to "inhabit and possess all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince." But no permanent settlement came of this scheme, or of the plans of Gilbert's half-brother, Raleigh, who, in honour of the Queen, gave the name Virginia to the area on the eastern seaboard of North America which he tried to colonise and was then considerably larger than the state of Virginia to-day. It was thus left to James I (1603-1625) to grant permission "to certain loving subjects to deduce and conduct two several colonies or plantations of settlers in North America." As a result, one body of "loving subjects" formed the London Company and another the Plymouth Company. Their areas for settlement were clearly marked by limitations of latitudes (34° and 38° , and 41° and 45°), James's object being first to make sure that they were well north of the Spaniards in Florida whom he did not wish to offend, and secondly to keep them apart by a hundred-mile belt.

Virginia and New England

In May, 1607, about a hundred colonists, **financed by** the London Company, arrived at Chesapeake Bay, sailed up the river which they called the James in honour of the King, and made the first permanent English settlement on the American mainland which they called Jamestown. The colonists were dogged by bad luck from the beginning and would have abandoned the venture quite early but for the determination of one of them, Captain John Smith, who took command of the party. He established good relations with the Indians and managed to get corn from them. In 1609 he was wounded and returned to England, and the leaderless community went to pieces again. Only the timely arrival of the newly-appointed Governor of the colony, Lord de la Ware, with men and supplies, saved the settlement from final abandonment by the thinned and sick remnants of the original party.

Under the incentive of new men and new management, the colony found the lasting means of survival. A new method of individual land ownership was introduced and the colonists gradually turned from the search for quick profits to agriculture. It was discovered that tobacco could be grown in Virginia, and this commodity was soon found to be readily marketable in Europe. The year **1619** was a very significant one in the history of Virginia and of the United States, for in that year the first cargo of negro slaves arrived in Virginia, thus laying the foundations of the future southern economy, and, equally significantly, representative government began its unbroken career, when two burgesses from each plantation met the Governor and his councillors to make laws for the colony.

A very different story begins with the establishment of the second permanent English settlement farther north, in

24 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

1620. This was inaugurated by the arrival of the celebrated Pilgrim Fathers in* the *Mayflower*. They had obtained a grant from the London Company to form a settlement in Virginia, but they arrived instead at Cape Cod, in the region allotted to the Plymouth Company. The Pilgrim Fathers formed a band of little more than a hundred men and women, whose object was neither to explore nor to seek treasure, but the much simpler and more Spartan one of finding a home where they could live in peace free from the political conflicts and religious tyranny of the Old World, and finding themselves in the difficulty that they had no right to the land at which they had arrived, the little band drew up a compact of government which they all pledged themselves to obey. Thus was founded what has been called " the first pure democracy in America." They landed and began building their homes at Plymouth on the mainland opposite Cape Cod. The little colony had a very chequered career and struggled indomitably against disasters and Indian attacks, seeing many of its homes destroyed in a terrible Indian war of 1675.

As an independent settlement Plymouth did not last out the century, and in 1691 it was absorbed by the neighbouring colony of Massachusetts Bay, founded in 1630 by a Charter granted by Charles I to the " Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." This Puritan colony thrived and expanded rapidly, and during the next decade about 15,000 immigrants arrived to join it. Its large numbers kept it safe against Indian attack and made it possible to absorb the smaller settlements around it. Moreover, the immigrations and absorptions forced the colonists eventually to establish a representative form of government, since in so comparatively large and extensive a community the

direct democracy of the Plymouth Colony was unworkable.

The franchise on which the representation was based, however, was very narrow, and some of the unenfranchised decided to move out and set up establishments of their own. In this way, in 1636, the settlement of Providence was founded and was later (1643) united to that of Rhode Island, which gave its name to the later state. The religious bigotry of Massachusetts continued to cause migrations from the main body and led to the foundation of the independent colony of Connecticut, where in 1639 the founders drew up the first political constitution in America. A third colony, based on secession from Massachusetts, was founded at New Haven in 1638, but it was not destined to last long as a separate colony, and in 1665 was included in the limits of Connecticut. Further migration iorth led to the establishment of the colonies of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. New Hampshire received an independent Charter in 1679, but it was not until 1820 that Maine was finally separated from Massachusetts.

The Proprietary Colonies

Of the remaining original colonies, seven were what are known as Proprietary Colonies, the eighth being New York (the former Dutch colony of New Netherland). The first of such proprietary grants was made by Charles I in 1632 to the Catholic Lord Baltimore, who established the colony of Maryland as an asylum for persecuted Catholics. But Baltimore tolerated all Christian sects, and the result was that, although such a colony was regarded with loathing and odium by the Puritans of New England and the Episcopalians of Virginia, Protestants of all kinds flocked to it both from home and from the

earliest American colonies. In a few years from its foundation, therefore, the Catholics were in a minority, and the first statute of toleration in the history of America was passed by the Maryland Assembly in order to protect them. From this time the colony settled down to a steady career of growth and prosperity.

To the south of Maryland the colonies of North and South Carolina were founded on proprietary rights granted to a group of eight noblemen by Charles II in 1663. But these gentlemen did not display the devotion to duty and statesmanship shown by Lord Baltimore, and the colonies grew in spite of them, in the north through the immigration of Virginian malcontents and in the south by French Huguenots and planters from the Barbados. The two settlements were not officially divided until 1711, when they were given separate Governors.

The colony of Pennsylvania, which originally included the region of Delaware, was established by a grant made by Charles II to William Penn in 1681. Penn arrived with a group of colonists in 1682 and founded Philadelphia. Penn was a Quaker and the most successful of all the founders of proprietary colonies in America. From its first days the colony prospered and was rapidly reinforced by streams of English, German, and Irish immigrants, for Penn threw the colony open, not only to Quakers, but to the persecuted of all nations and sects. In 1712 Delaware broke away and achieved a separate existence with its own legislature. But between Pennsylvania and Virginia to the south there were constant boundary disputes which did not end until 1767, when the engineers, Mason and Dixon, carried out a survey and plotted the famous Mason and Dixon Line as the boundary between the two colonies. Later this line took on a larger significance, for it eventually marked the boundary

between the free states of the North and the slave states of the South.

The colony of Georgia, the most southerly of the seaboard settlements, was established on the banks of the Savannah in 1733 by James Oglethorpe, a soldier and a philanthropist. Slavery was at first forbidden, and attempts were made to introduce silk and wine industries. Neither project succeeded, and Georgia's ultimate prosperity was established on the basis of negro slave labour and the production of rice and cotton.

The Acquisition of New York

Meanwhile, a most significant event in the history of the American colonies took place in the middle of the line of coastal settlements. This was the surrender of the Dutch colony of New Netherland, with its capital at New Amsterdam. As early as 1614 the Dutch had founded this colony on the river Hudson and had established two forts, one at New Amsterdam (now New York) and one at Fort Orange (near the present Albany). The colony, however, did not prosper, and the mixed population which it attracted became discontented with the indifference of its Dutch masters, regarding with envy the rights enjoyed by the English colonists.

In 1664, when England and Holland were about to open hostilities in the second Dutch war, Charles II granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the right to the land between Connecticut and the Delaware. An expedition was at once sent out, and on arrival at the mouth of the Hudson it immediately demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam, and New Netherland fell to the English without a blow. New Amsterdam was then rechristened New York, a name applied also to the region which afterwards became the state. With New Netherland went

New Jersey, which, after some vicissitudes, was established as a separate royal province in 1702.

The Thirteen Colonies

The significance of the conquest of the Dutch colony was that it rounded off the English possessions on the Atlantic seaboard and gave England a continuous line of colonies from the St. Lawrence in the north to the northern boundary of Spanish Florida in the south. Thus was completed the establishment of the Thirteen Colonies, which remained at that number until the American Revolution of the eighteenth century. A glance at the map of these Thirteen Colonies might lead one to think of them as a homogeneous body of communities with like tastes and aims, and as forming a harmonious whole. But this is very far from the truth. The colonies remained distinct from one another, and few attempts were made to find common ground and a common policy among them until the need was forced upon them by a determination to face and end what they regarded as a common tyranny.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the total population of the Thirteen Colonies did not exceed a million and a half, of mixed stock, though mostly of British origin. About 300,000 negro slaves were scattered through the colonies, by far the greatest number, of course, being in the south, where in some colonies they actually exceeded the whites in numbers. There were the greatest contrasts in the society of the various colonies, from the hardy poor Puritan in New England to the wealthy planter in the south, though the colonists were by no means all poor in the north or all wealthy in the south. The Middle Colonies, between the Hudson and the Potomac, were generally cosmopolitan in population.

Broadly speaking, none of the colonies in the eighteenth

century had been in existence long enough to make life anything but a drudgery. Their homes had been hacked from the virgin forest and had had to be fought for against the savage Indian. In such circumstances, culture and the finer arts could but slowly develop. The civilisation of the Thirteen Colonies was a littoral civilisation, a civilisation of the coast, and before they could hope for the security on which alone full development could be achieved, they had to face and overcome a new danger in the form of a French attack from the hinterland.

Chapter 4

THE BRITISH CONQUER THE FRENCH

The French Explorers

The claims of the French in North America were older than those of the English, for they had begun to explore the Northern Continent early in the sixteenth century. The three most famous of the French pioneers were Cartier, Champlain, and La Salle. Jacques Cartier, a Breton from St. Malo, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534. Vainly chasing, like all his contemporaries, the will-o'-the-wisp of a westward route to the East, he thought as he moved up the river St. Lawrence that it would prove a way out to Cathay, or China. He traded with the Indians as he reached the sites of the modern cities of Quebec and Montreal, but his way was blocked by the "China" rapids to the west of Montreal. He then endeavoured to establish a permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence, but it had to be abandoned.

Next came Samuel de Champlain, known as the "Father of New France," who in 1608 founded a French colony on the rock of Quebec. Champlain continued westward to discover Lake Ontario and to explore the Ottawa Valley, and his successors carried on his exploits as far west as Lake Superior, where the French proclaimed the whole of the vast north-west of the American Continent as the dominion of the King of France. It was left for the third of these great French pioneers, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, to complete that chain of trading posts from the Great Lakes along the route of

the Mississippi to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. It was in 1682 that La Salle hoisted the French flag on the shores of the Gulf and named the Valley of the Mississippi Louisiana in honour of the French king, and a considerable settlement soon grew up about the mouth of the great river, where the city of New Orleans was founded in 1718.

Thus developed the vast inland Empire of New France in America. The French type of colony in America was very different from the British. Canada, composed of three principal settlements, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, became a province of the French Crown in 1663. Only French and Roman Catholics were allowed in the colony, and there was no representative government, no local government, and no trial by jury. It was paternal government, by agents of the King, in its worst form. The comparative figures of growth of population show the difference between the prosperity of the French colony and the British colonies along the coast. During the seventeenth century, while the population of the English colonies grew to nearly a quarter of a million, that of the French colony did not exceed 18,000.

The Two Sides

Nevertheless, the French Empire in America, with its line of forts running south from the lakes, constituted a grave menace to the future of the British colonies. A glance at the map will show the geographical position. It is evident that, if the French could maintain their line from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi, they must eventually prevent the westward movement of the British on the coast to the interior. Though many of the Charters of the English settlers gave them eventual dominion in a westward band to the Pacific, in practice

the colonies found a natural western boundary in the Appalachians, and if they saw the French danger at all, it seemed too remote to cause them concern.

And, indeed, if we compare the two sides, we readily see that the advantages were distinctly with the British. The total population of the British colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century increased to 1,300,000, while



SCENE OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.
Showing the Forts.

the total number of inhabitants of New France did not exceed 80,000. Thus the British outnumbered the French by something like sixteen to one. Moreover, the economic resources and wealth of the British colonies were superior in every way, the political and social foundations of their communities were far more secure, and they could look with much greater hope for the support of the Motherland. In short, while the French at home were,

by the very nature of their polity, doomed to turn their eyes inward towards European aggrandisement, Britain was already beginning to see the struggle in terms of Empire and becoming conscious of her imperial destiny.

Yet the French had certain advantages which to some extent offset these disadvantages. There were on the British side thirteen colonial governments with little interest in one another and certainly no sense of political homogeneity nor consciousness of the need for unity in their military organisation; while the French, on the other hand, by the very authoritarianism of their government, had a more integrated polity and a more clear-cut plan of campaign, enabling them, as in similar organisations to-day, to move their forces under a single command. Also the French had a greater number of Indian allies, who, in fact, seemed to have more to gain from a French than a British victory, since the scattered nature of the French settlements gave the Indians a larger field for the exercise of their nomadic genius.

Preliminary Anglo-French Skirmishes

Even if an Anglo-French conflict in America had not been inevitable because of the growing antagonism of the colonial interests of the two sides, the European situation would, in any case, have driven them to the arbitrament of the sword. While the Stuarts were on the English throne a policy of appeasement of Louis XIV was maintained, but, with the dethronement of James II and the advent of William III through the Revolution of 1688, the situation was completely reversed. For Dutch William was the inveterate foe of the aggressive and aggrandising Louis XIV, and he used his good fortune in becoming King of England to employ the resources of his new kingdom against the traditional enemy of his house.

There thus began in 1689 that Second Hundred Years' War, which did not cease, except for an occasional break while the two sides took time to recover from their temporary exhaustion, until Napoleon Bonaparte was finally put out of harm's way on the island of St. Helena.

Each spasm of war in Europe had its counterpart in America. Thus, during the War of the League of Augsburg in Europe (1689-1697), the French, with their savage Indian allies, attacked the colonial outposts the British had established as the beginnings of their western advance, and the British organised unsuccessful expeditions against Quebec and Montreal. This war in America was known as King William's War. The Treaty of Ryswick (1697), which ended it, was merely a truce, and four years later the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713) broke out. Again this European war had its counterpart at the imperial outposts, but this time the French were allied with the Spanish, and Queen Anne's War, as it was called in America, saw the battle raging, not only over the same ground as before in the north, but also in the south, where the Spaniards advanced from Florida against the Carolinas. In the north another British expedition against Quebec failed, but yet another against Acadia (Nova Scotia) resulted in the capture of Port Royal.

The treaty of Utrecht, which ended this war in 1713, constitutes a landmark in British Imperial history, for it was the first international treaty which recognised Britain as an imperial power, and from which she gained specific sessions of land overseas and maritime advantages of a world order. From France the British gained Acadia and Newfoundland (i.e. the lands east and west of the Gulf of St. Lawrence) and the Hudson Bay Territory, and from Spain the exclusive right of supplying slaves to the Spanish American Colonies for thirty years. As a

whole, however, the war was indecisive, and after a **break of** about thirty years the battle again flared up in Europe, this time in the War of the Austrian Succession (1744-1748). But this "King George's War," as it was called in America, again was indecisive, for at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended it, the French and British mutually restored all conquests.

The Seven Years War, or the French and Indian War*

Thus the issue as to who was to be supreme in America yet remained to be settled, but it was not long before the struggle was re-opened.

Towards the end of the year 1753 the French Governor, Duquesne, sent a party to occupy the Ohio Valley. To meet this threat, early in 1754 a young surveyor was sent from Virginia to anticipate the French at a point where the river Ohio starts from the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers. This was none other than George Washington, who thus makes his first effective appearance in history and thus significantly opens his great career. Washington and his party came up against a detachment of French and Indians at a spot called Great Meadows. The British were driven off, and the French then built Fort Duquesne on the site of the modern city of Pittsburg.

The war thus reopened by Washington's skirmish in 1754 in the wilds of Pennsylvania was known in America as the French and Indian War, but by 1756 it had again become a general conflagration. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) was a world war involving three continents (Europe, America, and India), in which once more those inveterate foes, Britain and France, were opposed. In its first years things went very badly for Britain, particularly in America, where, in 1755, before general hostilities

opened in Europe, General Braddock, with the first regular troops sent over from England, on his way to take Fort Duquesne, fell in an ambush to the French and Indians with nearly a thousand men. This defeat opened the western frontier settlements of the British colonies to the depredations of the Indians, who in 1757 carried out a frightful massacre of British prisoners of war, at Fort William Henry, on Lake George.

But in that same year a saviour of the situation appeared in the person of William Pitt the Elder, who now became the leading spirit in the British Cabinet. To America he despatched 22,000 men, who, with the local levies, formed an army of 50,000, which by the year 1758 was ready for a grand fourfold attack on the French forts. Two of the forts fell to the British in 1758 and a third in the following year. The attempt to invade Canada by way of Fort Ticonderoga, however, was stopped by the Marquis of Montcalm, who had arrived to take command of the French forces in 1756, and was probably the greatest of all French military leaders to fight in America.

But the capture of the other three forts had placed the British forces in a strong position and all was ready for the climax of the struggle in 1759. According to the plan now evolved, a triple attack was to be made on the heart of New France in Canada. The two chief commanders were James Wolfe and Lord Amherst, two of Pitt's "discoveries." Wolfe was to attack Quebec at the head of a fleet sailing up the St. Lawrence, and Amherst Montreal by way of the Hudson Valley and Lake Champlain, while a third contingent was to attack Fort Niagara, still in French hands, and move east to Montreal along the shores of Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence.

Under this pressure Montcalm had to abandon his outposts, and Fort Niagara was captured during the summer,

while Wolfe was besieging Quebec. After two months of excruciating summer weather, Wolfe decided upon a brilliant stratagem, known to every schoolboy as the storming of the Heights of Abraham. On September 12, 1759, under cover of darkness, Wolfe, with a force of 4,000 picked men, scaled the cliffs above the town, easily overpowered the surprised French sentries, and at dawn stood on the plain ready for the assault upon the astonished Montcalm.

The ensuing battle is among the decisive conflicts of imperial history. The British victory at Quebec was followed in 1760 by the capture of Montreal, and the Anglo-French struggle for the mastery of North America was in effect at an end. But for two more years the British chased the fleets of the French and their Spanish Allies in the waters of the West, capturing from France the rich sugar islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe and from Spain Cuba in the West Indies and the Philippines in the distant Pacific.

The French Expelled

At last in 1763 the Seven Years' War officially ended with the signature of the Treaty of Paris. This treaty sealed the doom of France in the Western Hemisphere, for under its provisions she was allowed to retain only the insignificant islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the coast of Newfoundland, the Island of New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the captured islands of the West Indies, which Britain restored to her. France ceded to Spain New Orleans and her claims west of the Mississippi by way of compensation for Spain's loss of Florida, which was (though only temporarily as it proved) ceded to Britain. In short, Britain got everything east of the Mississippi and Spain everything west of it. For the rest.

Britain restored to Spain Cuba and the Philippines, which Spain retained until 1898 when, as a result of the Hispano-American War, they passed to the United States.

The far-reaching effects of the Seven Years' War upon France, Britain, and America can hardly be overrated. As a result of it, France abandoned the hope of ever establishing a colonial Empire in America, and, except for a brief revival under Napoleon, made no further attempts to attain it. It set Britain upon the definite road of empire and marked her as the leading colonial and naval power in the world. Lastly, the Seven Years' War removed for the Thirteen American Colonies the menace of the French, cleared their western frontiers of the Indian terror, opened the way to expansion into the vast territories of the West, and finally created the conditions of, and set the stage for, the revolt of the colonies. The prophecy of the French Minister, Choiseul, that the American colonies would not fail to shake off their dependence the moment Canada was ceded, was about to be justified.

Chapter 5

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Meaning of the Revolution

The American Revolution was something more than the War of Independence which lasted from 1775 to 1783, and the establishment of the independent sovereignty of the United States: it was also a vast internal change, which emphasised more and more the importance of individual rights and laid the foundations of modern American democracy. For, as we shall see, the principle of independence carried with it the pronouncement that all men are equal in their rights, an assertion which, however false in fact was bound deeply to affect the nature of; the settlement finally made for the government of the United States. In short, the struggle which led to independence brought with it the championship of the principles of democracy.

'But it must not be imagined that the Americans were consciously striving for independence in the agitation, which finally led to war with the Mother Country. In 1774, for example, Benjamin Franklin, the American agent in London, told Pitt that he had "(never heard from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation.)" "In July, 1775/" wrote Thomas Jefferson later, "(a separation from Great Britain and the establishment of a Republican Government had not yet entered any person's mind.) And as late as January, 1776, the King's health was still being drunk in Washington's mess. Yet doubtless the independence of the United States,

was. to use Bismarck's phrase, in the "logic of history/' But the gap between subcoscious political aspirations, and the action that is necessary to materialise them is often very wide. The gap in this case was bridged by the combined effect of the attitude and actions of the British Government, and the refusal of the colonists to accept them without protest.

The Economic Background

The economy of Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was based, like that of all her rivals, upon a system of mercantile niationalism. The Mercantile Theory, which dominated trade in that epoch, was one according to which national wealth consisted chiefly in holding large stores of precious metals, which was regarded as the sole test of a favourable balance of trade. Upon this argument was built the whole body of restrictions which were placed by all nations upon trade, the various prohibitions on the purchase of foreign manufactures, and the encouragement of imports of raw materials alone in order that the state might sell its own manufactures for gold and silver. We may see now that this Mercantile System was detrimental to international relations, but contemporary opinion saw it as the sole means of economic progress and, indeed, of survival.

This policy as applied to overseas dominions is generally known as thej)ld Colonial System. Under this system the colonies had a definite rôle in the imperial structure, which was the production of raw materials and the consumption of manufactured goods. A series of Navigations Acts was passed with this object. One of them, for example, enumerated certain articles produced in the colonies—sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, etc.—which were to be shipped only to England another placed high

duties on imports into the colonies, unless they were sent *via* England and in English bottoms. While further Acts actually prohibited the manufacture in, or export from, the colonies of articles such as hats, which competed with English industry. In short, the home Government, in the thralldom of the prevailing theory, (considered that the colonies owed everything to the Mother Country and that therefore it was only fair that they should be exploited in her interests)

These Acts, while in some respects they may have done serious harm to the growing colonies, in others actually brought considerable benefits to them. And where the particular application of the law was found intolerable, it was, in fact, evaded, as in the case of the Sugar and Molasses Act of 1733. Under this Act a heavy duty was placed on sugar molasses and rum imported to the American colonies from the West Indian islands belonging to other Powers, in order that those goods from the British West Indian Islands of Barbados and Jamaica might be developed and exported to the colonies without restriction, and that Britain's French, Dutch, and Spanish rivals might be driven out of business.

The colonies naturally protested against this treatment, which clearly threatened to ruin the trade of New England and to deprive it of the means of paying for its necessary imports from Britain.) The inevitable result was that the law was brought into disrepute. A prosperous illicit trade grew up between the New England colonies and the West Indies, and though it was winked at by British Ministers—Walpole, for example—in quiet times, the law remained on the statute book ready to be enforced when the occasion and the man demanded.

Naturally, with the end of the Seven Year: **War** the situation tended to become acute. In Britain's view

the war had been fought in the interests of the American colonies, and as a result of it they had been freed from a grave danger. It was therefore natural to expect them to help to pay for it. The war had exhausted the exchequer, the National Debt having risen from £70 millions before the war to £140 millions after it. Even during the war the colonies had not contributed to the war chest commensurately with their ability to pay. Not only that, but several of the colonists had, for their personal profit, actually carried on illicit trade with the enemy during the war. (In fact, as William Pitt pointed out, the war had lasted three years longer than necessary owing to the action of smugglers in frustrating the work of the Navy)

With the end of the war the British Government began to plan seriously the defence, strengthening, and unification of the Empire. Their attitude in this connection was affected by a great uprising of Indians under the Chief Pontiac in 1763. Fearing for the safety of their hunting grounds now that the French had been crushed, all the Indians of the North, except a few Iroquois, flocked round Pontiac and destroyed all the British western posts except Detroit and Pittsburg. (To quieten the Indians the British Government issued a Royal Proclamation setting a boundary line beyond which no westward advice was permitted for the time being) This "Proclamation Line" especially as it soon appeared that it was to be regarded as permanent, embittered the wild pioneer spirits on the frontier and eventually ensured their support of the Revolution.

The frontier, indeed, was a phenomenon that the British Government failed to understand. It had no counterpart in contemporary British life at home, but to the frontiersmen it meant their whole future, and once independence and freedom from the thralldom of British

restriction had been established, the frontier began to be pushed farther west and the American people to enter that vast land of promise. Nothing that anyone in Britain could do could stay that westward sweep.

But it cannot be said that, at this time, there was any feeling among the colonists that could properly be described as nationalist, (It has been suggested that Britain's chief blunder at this crisis in her history was not to recognise a nation when she saw one.) (But how could she be expected to see a nation in America when, on all the evidence, the colonists themselves were not conscious of themselves as a nation ?) There was no nation, but only Virginians or Pennsylvanians or what not, conscious of grievances ; only two million sturdy people scattered under thirteen different Governments accustomed in the past to having their own way and determined to have it still. But, far from being conscious of nationhood, they were not aiming even at independence, a charge which they indignantly denied up to the very outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

As a matter of economics the story is perfectly easy to follow. In 1763 the British Government began to pursue a triple policy of knitting the Empire more closely together, of seeking aid for reducing the national debt and of protecting and policing the A m e r i c a n colonies, and for all this the colonies must pay. The colonies on the other hand, with the removal of the French menace, saw less reason for added taxation and were prepared to oppose, it. The first measure taken by the home Government was to begin to enforce the Navigation Acts, which, as we have shown, had been allowed to fall into desuetude. This new policy the colonists found unbearable, especially when it came to the enforcement of the Sugar and Molasses Act.

All this was bad enough, but the determination of the Home Government by no means stopped there. The colonists could not legally complain of the application of existing trade regulations. But when it came to the imposition of direct taxation, a thing without precedent in colonial history, it was another matter. Such a measure was calculated to provide the colonists gratis with a just argument for their opposition. Nevertheless, this is what the British Government did. In 1764 the Cabinet of George Grenville proposed a direct tax on the colonists in order to provide revenue for the purpose of "defending projecting, and securing" the colonies. Grenville's suggestion was a stamp tax on all legal documents and newspapers, but before carrying it into effect he offered the colonists the opportunity to suggest their own ways of raising the necessary money. As no specific proposals were forthcoming, Parliament, in March, 1765* passed the Stamp Act. This started the rumblings of a storm in America which grew in fury until ten years later it broke in the American War of Independence.---

But how little the passions thus let loose in America were appreciated at home at that moment is shown by Horace Walpole's entry in his diary: "Nothing of note in Parliament, but one slight day on the American taxes." In America, on the other hand, six of the colonies immediately protested, and in the Virginia House of Burgesses a young lawyer, Patrick Henry, in an impassioned speech, proposed and carried a number of resolutions, the principal of which declared '(that the General Assembly of this colony have in their representative capacity the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony.)

News of Henry's speech rushed through the colonies

like wildfire. An organisation, known as the Sons of Liberty, was formed and went about making demonstrations, intimidating British stamp agents, most of whom they forced to resign, and even destroying the house of the Governor of Massachusetts. The merchants, in their turn, resolved to buy no more goods from Britain until the tax was repealed. (But the most significant move was the calling of an inter-colonial congress in New York which issued ^a " declaration of rights and grievances " stating that, as conditions made it impossible for them to be represented in *the House of Commons, taxes never had been and never could be constitutionally imposed on the colonies, except by their respective legislatures)

Faced with these unexpected protests and the 'complaints of British merchants whose trade was hereby suffering, the Government repealed the Stamp Act in 1766, but accompanied the repeal with a Declaratory Act stating that " Parliament had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient form and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects to the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." The colonists were so delighted at this mark of success of their agitation that they failed to observe the force of this declaration, the essence of which was the very thing they had protested against.

However, this did nothing to improve the financial position at home, and the Treasury still needed replenishment. So Charles Tomnshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Pitt Coalition Ministry of 1766, determined still to raise money in America. though carefully avoiding direct or internal taxation, He thus got through Parliament an Act imposing tariff duties on a list of articles, imported into the colonies, including painters' colours, paper, glass, lead, and tea. These were apparently unimportant, but

as they were in daily use the imposition of taxes on them was bound to raise the cost of living and to be to that extant irritating. The Act also reorganised the customs service in America, ostensibly to keep down smuggling but actually to cover the expenses of the civil administration.

The colonies again immediately protested against what were called the Townshend Acts. But worse was to follow, for the legislature of Massachusetts approved and despatched a circular jetter to the others calling for unite4 action^ This document the Home Government regarded as of a " dangerous and factious tendency." When called upon to withdraw it the Massachusetts legislature refused to do so, and two regiments of soldiers were sent to Boston to bring the colony to heel. The general effect was a boycott of the goods named, and the imports fell from £1,500,000 in 1768 to £500,000 in 1769. Moreover, instead of a revenue of £40,000 a year which they were supposed to yield, they brought in only £16,000, and it cost the Government nearly a quarter of a million to collect even that paltry sum.

The presence of soldiers in Boston quartered on the people in time of peace was bound sooner or later to lead to some kind of demonstration, if not friction, and on March 5, 1770, the soldiers, goaded by the taunts of the Bostonians and mistaking a shout of " Fire ! " by one of the rioters for an order from an officer, fired on the crowd, killirtg and wounding several people. This "Boston Massacre/" as it was called by the Americans, naturally aroused the bitterest indignation, and the situation on the spot was so ugly that the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts was persuaded to choose the path of prudence and on his own responsibility withdrew the troops from Boston. By a strange chance, Lord North, who had just

become Prime Minister, moved in Parliament, on the very day of the "Boston Massacre," the repeal of the Townshend Acts, leaving only a tax of 3d, a pound on tea as a matter of principle, and this was carried.

There have been many attempts to read into these economic elements something more than was there, a political theory for which there is little evidence. It has been presented by Whig historians as a titanic struggle for human liberty, as a picture of downtrodden colonists, whose cause was espoused at home by Whig statesmen resisting the harsh authoritarianism of the Tories. But there is no evidence that there was very much difference of opinion between the two parties at home on this issue. It is true that Pitt protested against some of these measures ; but, after all, Pitt was Prime Minister when the Townshend Acts were passed in 1767, and it will hardly do to try to relieve him of responsibility on the ground that at the time he was at Bath invalided with gout.

Nor must we overstate the personal influence of George III, as the Americans of that day certainly did. Most of his Ministers were good average politicians, whose last desire was to establish tyranny. It is the simple truth that they were driven to the actions they took by the circumstances of the time. In short, they were forced at that juncture to take notice of America as a source of national revenue, and the trouble followed as night the day. As one of his contemporaries wittily said, " Grenville lost America because he read the American despatches, which none of his predecessors had done." The fact is that the King and both parties, generally speaking, were of one mind in this matter. They could hardly have been anything else in an age dominated by Mercantilism. And, to tell the truth, the Americans themselves had accepted the implications of the theory in the seventeenth

century, but had advanced too far along the road created by British complacency in its operation to bear the regulations when it became expedient to reimpose them in the eighteenth century.

No Taxation without Representation

But all this is not to say that the causes of the Revolution were purely economic : they were indubitably also political, though their political aspects were brought to the surface by economic ill-feeling. (In other words, the political causes lay, so to speak, dormant, and might never have been aroused but for the economic irritation) Originally, the settlements in America had been made not under Acts of Parliament but by Royal Charters. On one occasion, for example, James I told Parliament, when they dared to discuss colonial affairs, to keep to their own concerns and leave him to manage his own estates. While this remained true, the colonists might reasonably regard themselves as directly responsible to the King. But with the vast change in the political structure of England resulting from the Revolution of 1688, which established the supremacy of Parliament, a supremacy intensified and reinforced with the advent of the Hanoverians in 1714, the position was reversed. As the eighteenth century advanced, the supremacy of Parliament became more and more apparent, and on this basis the colonists might well complain that, as they had no part in the British Parliament, it was not reasonable to expect them to accept its decisions. Hence arose the cry, " No taxation without representation ! "

As to this slogan, as an American historian, Prof. Faulkner, has pointed out, what the colonists objected to was not taxation without representation, but any taxation at all, and " objection to the enforcement of old taxes

and the imposition of new ones simply brought forward whatever constitutional arguments seemed effective 'at the moment.' The truth is, of course, that from the beginning the colonies had always been taxed without representation, and, for that matter, the British Parliament of the eighteenth century could hardly be called a representative institution. And, after all, the only direct or internal tax imposed was that instituted by the Stamp Act, and that was repealed within a year. We may say, then, of the political situation up to the time of the " Boston Massacre " of 1770, that the attitude of the British Government to the American colonies was that they were corporations with power merely to make by-laws, while the tendency of the colonies was to regard themselves more and more as communities with full law-making rights and powers.

The " Boston Massacre " looks more horrible to us, viewing it through the mists of time, than it did to those on the spot. The officer in charge of the unit surrendered to the civil authorities, was tried, defended by two famous colonial lawyers, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., and acquitted. And it is clear that, even after the " Boston Massacre," economic considerations retained their precedence of political urgencies. For a moment, it is true, it looked as though, notwithstanding the repeal of the Townshend Acts, events were heading straight for revolt. Instead, the conservatism of business interests prevailed for a time, and a strange truce became tacitly operative, as though the responsible parties and those who had most to lose on both sides saw the danger signal ahead and slowed down to avoid a head-on crash. The American merchants gave up their policy of boycott, trade was resumed in full swing, and prosperity returned. Men like Franklin actually urged the colonists to let

50 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

things alone, on the argument that Britain would, unless driven, go no farther, and that the future was inevitably with the colonists.

But this period of quiescence was not to last long. The spirit of revolutionary agitation had entered too deeply into the souls of the radicals for them to draw back, and while the prosperous merchants frowned upon their work, the British Government and their agents in America stupidly played into their hands. Samuel Adams, of Boston, a professed firebrand, used the Boston incident for all it was worth as a basis of propaganda for keeping the revolutionary spirit alive. In 1772 he persuaded a Boston Town meeting to form a Committee of Correspondence to exchange views and information with other towns in the colony of Massachusetts. This idea rapidly spread and soon several colonies, including Virginia, had set up similar committees, so that the wheels of revolt were kept running. It was an act of the British Government, however, which ended the truce and led straight to the Revolution.

The East India Company, which had allowed itself to drift into a position bordering on bankruptcy, had at this time a surplus of some 17 million lbs. of tea. The British Government then granted it a monopoly to export to America. This meant that, as the profits of several middlemen were to be eliminated, it would be cheaper for the Americans to buy than normally, even including the 3d. tax retained by Lord North from the Townshend list. The colonists immediately construed this as a trick to persuade them to abandon their political principles for the sake of an economic advantage.

The merchants in the seaport towns now abandoned the commercial truce and joined with the political radicals, and this conjunction of interests made a clash with

Britain quite certain. When the ships laden with the East India Company's tea arrived, trouble met them. At ports like New York and Philadelphia they were refused a landing, while in Charleston the authorities kept the tea in the custom house. But at Boston, the earlier storm-centre, where the East Indiamen arrived in December, 1773, there was staged a more dramatic and fateful episode. The Bostonians refused to allow the tea to land and the Governor refused to allow the ships to return. After a stormy town meeting a number of citizens, disguised as Red Indians, boarded the ships and dumped the cargo of 342 chests of tea into the waters of the harbour.

The ⁴¹ Boston Tea Party," as this episode was lightly called, led to immediate retaliatory measures on the part of the British Government, and from that moment political forces dominated all economic interests. The Government could see only two possibilities: the crushing of the spirit of revolt or their own surrender. "The die is cast," wrote George III to Lord North. "The colonies must either triumph or submit." In March, 1774, Parliament passed a number of measures, known in America as the "Intolerable Acts," closing Boston harbour until the tea destroyed should be paid for, forbidding town meetings without the Governor's approval, requisitioning public buildings for the billeting of soldiers, and annulling the Charter of Massachusetts.

The exacerbating effect of these measures was intensified by the passage, at the same time, of the Quebec Act,, which, though it had nothing directly to do with the situation at Boston, further alienated the colonists. The Quebec Act of 1774 was a wise measure in itself,, since it met the peculiar needs of the French Canadians and reconciled them to British rule. It granted them the

enjoyment of their own system of civil law and of the Roman Catholic faith, and established a system of government, entirely suited to their traditions and outlook, under a royal council with no elective assembly. The Act, further, removed the ban of 1763 on expansion into the region between the Great Lakes and the Ohio.

All these arrangements infuriated the British American colonists: the recognition of the Roman Catholic faith hurt their religious susceptibilities, the establishment of autocratic government they regarded as a danger to their own more liberal institutions, and they had their own claims on some part of the western territories affected by the Act. No compromise now seemed possible, even if North's Cabinet had been capable of appreciating the gravity of the situation and the depth of American feeling. Short of a climb-down, which at that juncture was unthinkable on the part of George III and his Ministers, events must take their course.

The Opening of the War and the Declaration of Independence

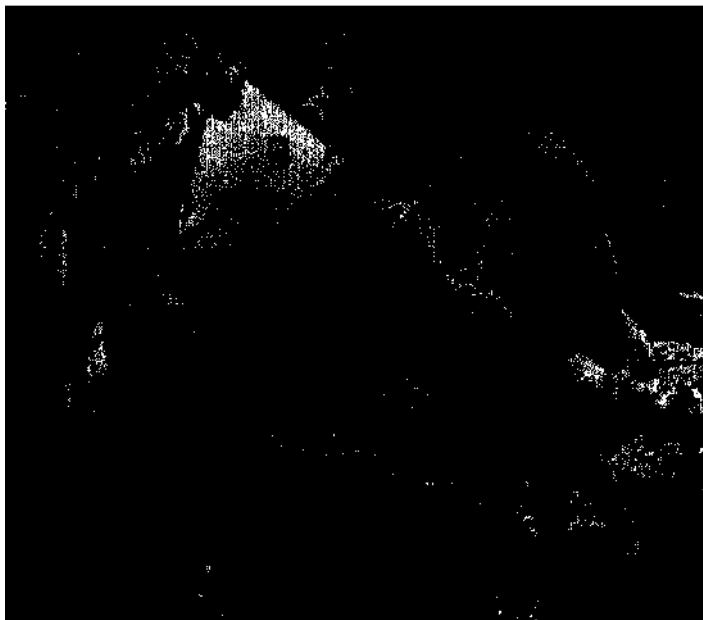
The struggle now enters on a somewhat baffling phase, in which the Americans declare war while protesting their innocence of any intention to separate from Britain, and yet within a year of that event produce the definitive Declaration of Independence. During the year 1774, in which the "Intolerable Acts" were to go into force, expressions of sympathy reached Massachusetts from the Corresponding Committees of the various colonies, and the burgesses of Virginia proposed a Continental Congress. The first Congress, in fact, met on September 5, 1774, in the famous Carpenter's Hall at Philadelphia. It contained representatives of all the colonies except Georgia, and included some of the ablest men in America, who



THE FUNERAL OF THE STAMP ACT
A satirical drawing of 1766.



THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS TO WASHINGTON AT YORKTOWN, 1781



PAUL REVERE'S RIDE, 1773



were afterwards to play a leading part in the making of **the** Republic. (The purpose of the Congress was " to consult on the present state of the colonies and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures for **the** recovery and establishment of their just rights **and** liberties and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all men/M

At this first meeting of the Congress those favouring resistance and those in favour of conciliation were about equally divided. But the more active group, led by Samuel Adams, just managed to secure a majority in favour of resolutions declaring " no obedience " to the " Intolerable Acts " and advocating forcible resistance. They agreed that, after December 1, 1774, no goods be imported from Britain and, after September 10, 1775, no goods be exported, except rice to the British West Indies. They drew up a " Declaration of Rights and Grievances/" framed a petition to the King to put an end to their grievances, and sent addresses to all the Thirteen Colonies and to Quebec. The Congress adjourned in October and agreed to meet again in May, 1775, unless meanwhile their grievances were redressed.

But before the Congress could meet again the first blood of the war had been spilt at Lexington, near Boston, where, in April, the famous Paul Revere, having aroused the farmers of the countryside to forestall the destruction by a British force of military stores at Concord, faced with a band of only nineteen the fire of General Gage, the Governor of Massachusetts. Gage, having removed Revere's opposition and destroyed the stores, managed with difficulty to get back to Boston, where he was besieged by the now gathered local levies.

In May, the Second Continental Congress duly met at

Philadelphia, and in June the American forces investing Boston were dislodged by the British **at the battle of Bunker Hill**, after three frontal attacks in which the British lost over a thousand men. But Gage completely underestimated the spirit and resilience of the colonists, and, in spite of Bunker Hill, the siege of Boston was resumed. By now the Second Continental Congress, which, according to a mid-nineteenth century American historian, "represented nothing more than the unformed opinion of an unformed people/" was taking charge of the situation and assuming the powers of government. It issued paper money, sent agents to foreign courts, and advised the colonies to set up governments of their own. It appointed George Washington commander of the Continental army, and on July 6, 1775, it formally declared war on Britain. But even then it sent yet another petition to the King and still protested that it had "not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states/"

From this moment events rushed to the position where it was impossible for the colonies to remain loyal to the principle of continued union with Great Britain. The King refused to receive the petition of Congress, and in August issued a proclamation declaring the colonies in a state of rebellion. In September an army of 20,000 Hessian mercenaries arrived to put down the revolt, and in December an Act was passed forbidding all trade and intercourse with the colonies. Of this Act John Adams, afterwards second President, said : "It throws Thirteen Colonies out of the royal protection and makes us independent in spite of supplications and treaties."

In January, 1776, appeared a book that was destined to have an enormous influence on American opinion during

the next few months. This was Tom Paine's *Common Sense*. Tom Paine was an Englishman and a convinced republican, who had landed in America two years earlier. He urged the colonists to throw off the shackles of the Old World and establish their own government. Washington himself spoke of the "sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning of the pamphlet" and there is no doubt that it focused attention on the issue of independence. No fewer than 100,000 copies were sold, a number which someone has calculated as the equivalent of a sale of four millions in the conditions of to-day.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, on behalf of the delegation of Virginia, moved in the Continental Congress "that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is **and** ought to be dissolved." This resolution was **not** adopted until July 2, and in the meantime a Committee, composed of Jefferson, Adams, Sherman, and Livingston, was appointed to draw up a declaration. Thus came to birth the immortal Declaration of Independence, the original manuscript of which may still be seen in the Library of Congress at Washington. The Declaration was adopted on July 4, celebrated ever since as American Independence Day.

The Declaration of Independence was the work of Thomas Jefferson, who wrote it, as he said, "without reference to book or pamphlet." The Declaration divides itself into three parts: a statement of the radical philosophy of the eighteenth century, a list of grievances against the King, and a formal declaration of independence. The second paragraph opens with the words: "**We hold these truths** to be self-evident:—That all

equal; that they are endowed **by** their **Creator with** certain unalienable rights; that among these are **life**, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that, wherever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely •to effect their safety and happiness.¹

(Some of these postulates, far from being self-evident, are not even truths, and it is now generally admitted by American historians that the philosophy of the Declaration is dubious, and most of the grievances hardly fundamental. The fact is that the Declaration of Independence was essentially a political manifesto, a piece of propaganda with a limited purpose, "a recapitulation," as Prof. Faulkner says, "of well-known grievances, an appeal to the liberal thought of Europe, and a call to arms at home." As such it was highly successful, for it ended the ambiguity of the American position and made the break with Britain final and irrevocable)

George Washington and the Wider War

. The War of American Independence, which actually began at Lexington in April, 1775, and was formally declared by the Continental Congress after Bunker Hill in July, 1775, was a hazardous undertaking for the Americans. Indeed, it is difficult to see how, in a straight fight between the two sides, the colonies could, at this stage of their development, have gained their independence. Here was an agricultural community of two

million whites, with practically no manufactures of its own, but depending for these on overseas markets and for the rest of its livelihood almost entirely on commerce, with no trained army, and not even united in its aims. **But**, by the fortunes of war and the emergence of genius, it proved to be anything but a straight fight between the two sides, '(in plain truth," says J. T. Adams, " we see now that the revolution was only saved from being an abortive rebellion by two factors, neither of which could be counted upon in 1776—one the character of Washington, the other the marshaling against England of European powers/¹ The course of the war must be studied in the light of these two phenomena.

George Washington belonged to a land-owning family in Virginia, where he was born in 1732. After a somewhat impoverished boyhood, he was engaged at the age of sixteen to survey the estates of Lord Fairfax, a relative by marriage. These estates were in the Shenandoah Valley, and the survey gave Washington the opportunity to achieve financial independence through land speculation, to develop his physical powers to the full, and to dream of the future of America in the West. By the time he carried out his first military exploit against the French in 1754, he was a finely-built young man of six feet two. From 1759 he lived on his estate at Mount Vernon in Virginia, where, as early as 1770, he was already planning the cutting of a canal to connect the Ohio and Potomac Rivers, with a view to westward expansion at the expense of the Indians.

The Virginian planter thus had, as Herbert Agar says, a vision of a united nation, because the opening-up of the West was something more than one colony could achieve alone, and " if the West and the East were to become an economic unit, it was clear that they must become a

political unit as well." Still, when Washington went, as a Virginian delegate, to the Continental Congress in 1774, he had no idea of American separation, and even after he had been made Commander-in-Chief in 1775, he was still opposed to independence. It was only when the struggle was seen as one of life or death for the colonists that Washington became, in effect, the "father of his country."

It is impossible to decide whether Washington was a great military commander, for he never at any time had more than 18,000 men in battle. At the end of the war his whole army did not exceed 6,000 men and he admitted that they were at the end of their tether. He constantly complained of the smallness of his forces and expressed his lack of confidence in them. Of the militia he said that they "come in, you cannot tell how; go you cannot tell when,—and act you cannot tell where." His greatness lay in his ability to wait, for it is inconceivable that, with so many opportunities in the first months of the war to wipe out the forces opposed to them, the British would not then have triumphed but for the iron courage, the unswerving devotion, and the indomitable steadfastness with which Washington kept the flag flying in the field through those dark days.

From the military point of view, then, the war was won for the Americans, not by their superior force or tactical skill, but by their courage and resilience under Washington in the first two years of the war, when the British, but for the stupidity of their commanders, might have destroyed further opposition, and thereafter through the ranging against Britain, and therefore on the side of the Americans, of a coalition of European Powers in the face of which the British found themselves struggling for sheer survival. Washington took command of the forces besieging Boston

in July, 1775, and compelled General Howe to evacuate it in March, 1776, but was later forced to retire to the west bank of the Delaware. In December Washington wrote that, if a new army were not recruited at once, "the game is up." But Howe, who could then easily have moved against Washington and overwhelmed him, instead allowed the initiative to pass to the American Commander, who gradually recovered New Jersey.

In 1777, therefore, the British Government at home prepared an elaborate triple plan, whereby three armies were to invade the colony of New York from different directions. General Burgoyne, moving south from Montreal via Lake Champlain and the Upper Hudson, was not joined, as he should have been, by General Clinton moving north up the same river, and was caught alone at Saratoga, where, heavily outnumbered by the Americans under General Gates, he was compelled, on October 17, to surrender with 6,000 men.

Meanwhile, Washington was unable to prevent Howe occupying Philadelphia, and retired for the winter to Valley Forge close by. Nevertheless, Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga proved to be the turning-point of the war. At this point Lord North sent a mission to America offering the colonists all sorts of concessions short of independence, but the offer came too late, for in February, 1778, the Americans entered into an alliance with the French, by which the French recognised the independence of America, and each nation pledged itself to continue the war until common victory was won. Thus the American War of Independence, like earlier wars in America, was transformed into an Anglo-French struggle and yet another instalment of the Second Hundred Years' War.

The stimulating effect of this change on the Americans'

situation was immediate. French arms, money, troops, and officers arrived, and the Marquis of Lafayette and other capable French officers assisted in drilling American troops. Worse was to come for Britain. In 1779 France was joined by Spain, who snatched this opportunity to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar and Jamaica, and in



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. Showing also Pioneer Westward Movements (consult this map also for Chapter 8).

1780 by Holland, seeking still to destroy her mercantile rival. Thus Britain found herself at war simultaneously with the three most formidable navies in the world, in the midst of her struggle with her American Colonies in rebellion. Instead of concentrating on the defeat of the French and Spanish fleets, however, Britain continued the land operations in America, but with no success, for in

Jane, 1778, the British were forced to evacuate Philadelphia and withdraw to New York.

Mainly on the defensive in the north, the British then decided to take the offensive in the south, and on May 12, 1780, captured Charleston, whereafter Lord Cornwallis was left in charge of an army of about 4,000 men to continue the war in Virginia. Here he was outmanoeuvred[^] by Lafayette and forced into a weak position on the peninsula of Yorktown at Chesapeake Bay. Washington, who was then before New York, rushed reinforcements south to Lafayette, while a French fleet from the West Indies arrived in the bay. Cornwallis was trapped in a hopeless position and surrendered with 7,000 men on October 19, 1781.

The Independence of the Colonies Recognised

Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, which was due to Britain's temporary loss of the command of the sea, in fact ended the war in America, though Charleston held out for a time and New York remained in British hands until peace was signed two years later. In the more general field Britain's plight was pretty desperate, but her spirit and vigour were unabated, and she ended the war in a much better position than could have been thought possible in 1781, for the Franco-Hispano-Dutch plan to destroy her mercantile supremacy was completely foiled.

After their success at Yorktown, the Americans, in spite of their treaty with France, strained every nerve to make a separate peace with Britain on the basis of her recognition of their independence. This was not surprising, since, apart from their natural desire to end the war now that independence was virtually secured, they feared that France would support Spain's plans for exploiting the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, which

was not at all to the Americans' liking, especially as they were even now beginning to organise the development of **the** hinterland. As Britain, at the same time, thought it was better for her that this region should be in the hands of a weak American union than in those of Spain, negotiations were entered into and separate preliminaries were signed on November 30, 1782.

Under this preliminary treaty Britain acknowledged the independence of the colonies, placed the western boundary line at the Mississippi, and granted a share in the Newfoundland fisheries to the Americans. The negotiations were complicated by two considerations ; first, that of the debts/lue to British merchants before the war, which the American Congress had neither the authority nor the means to defray, and, secondly, that of the loyalists who had, whether for reasons of patriotism or of expediency, remained true to the British cause.

In the end the British Government accepted the American assurance that the Congress would be recommended to put no obstacles in the way of the British collecting their debts and to restore to those loyalists who had not borne arms against the revolting colonists their lost estates. As to the active loyalists, the British Government granted them liberal pensions and land in Canada. Under this arrangement more than 35,000 United Empire Loyalists settled in Canada, and from this migration developed the modern prosperity of the Maritime Provinces (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) and of Ontario. Thus in the moment that the first British Empire was shattered, the foundation-stone of the second was laid.

The terms of the preliminary peace between Great Britain and the colonies were incorporated in the general Treaty of Versailles of 1783, which ended the war with the European Powers. Thus American independence was

universally recognised and a new political entity entered the world of states. On April 18, 1783, Washington declared hostilities at an end, on November 25 the last British regulars left New York harbour, and a little later Washington bade farewell to his officers and men, and retired to his home at Mount Vernon, where he expected to live the rest of his days in peace. But, as a famous contemporary Philadelphian physician said, " There is nothing more common than to confound the terms of the American Revolution with those of the late American War. The American War is over ; but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed." Washington might fondly hope, as he said, " to glide gently down the stream of time until he rested with his fathers," but, as it turned out, though his military labours were completed, his great civil tasks had yet to be begun.

Chapter 6

MAKING THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

The Articles of Confederation

Now that the war was over, the American people, however unpalatable the task, had to turn to the problem of forming some kind of union among the thirteen states which had declared and gained their independence, and of forging a common instrument of government which all would respect. (For the War of Independence did not create an American nation ; nor did it establish a state with a single government. What the war had done was to transform thirteen colonies formerly owing allegiance to the British Crown into thirteen states completely independent of that allegiance!)

Thirteen years elapsed between the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the United States in 1789. For the first five years of that period the only common government was the Continental Congress, as first set up, composed of delegates ranging in number from two to seven from each of the several states, according to its size and prestige. But the Congress had no accepted legal authority until the year in which Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, for, although the Articles of Confederation, which were intended to strengthen the hands of the Continental Congress, were adopted by the Congress in 1777, it was not until 1781 that they were actually put into operation]

The Articles of Confederation were an attempt, if a

poor one, to give some force to the Continental Congress as soon as the circumstances of the war demanded some kind of central authority. [The Articles did, indeed, postulate a "perpetual union" of the thirteen states, but they also declared that each state was to retain its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence," and so denied to the Congress the power, for example, to control commerce and taxation, without which it could be a government only in name. Consequently, while giving the Congress certain powers, the Articles simultaneously failed to grant it sufficient authority to execute them. So the form of union thus established was "Jttlejjaeis than a league of independent states," and the Articles which established it were but "a rope of sand," which failed to bind the members of the union!]

Yet there was one matter in which the Congress used well such powers as it possessed, and that was in connection with the western territory. In this connection it is important to notice the reason why the Articles, though adopted by the Congress in 1777, were not put into force until 1781. It was because one state, Maryland, refused to adopt the Articles until the control of the territories to the West, then being opened up, was recognised as a national issue and not a question for each state to decide on in its own way. Most of the states had some claim or other of their own to parts of these territories: Maryland had none. And so she stood out for the principle that the whole region should be regarded as national territory, that it belonged not in parts to the separate states, but in its entirety to the United States as a whole. After four years of parleying, this principle was at last conceded by all the states except Georgia. Maryland's stand was therefore of the greatest significance for the ultimate cause of national unity in America.

But if the new Union failed in the first years of independence to formulate a satisfactory code of government, **the** same was not true of the individual states. Indeed, **the** very opposition to a strong central authority was the measure of the urgency that each separate state felt to constitute a real government for itself. So we find that, between the years 1776 and 1784, each separate state drafted its own constitution. This was at a time when radical sentiment was rampant, and thus democracy within the state had developed concomitantly with the common fight for independence. And when the common enemy had been eliminated, the spirit of radicalism within the state and the spirit of separatism between the states became most marked. In the midst of the chaos and distress which invariably accompanies the transition from conditions of war to conditions of peace, the extremists in several states got the upper hand. In Massachusetts, for example, there was an actual revolt of the "have-nots," who demanded paper money and a revision of the already approved state constitution to "eliminate the special privilege of property"; and this revolt was only put down when the militia was called out.

The truth is, as we have said earlier, that the American Revolution not only established independence, but was rapidly establishing the facts of democracy. In short, "a revolution was in progress as well as a secession established." But the price of this second victory was the looseness of the bonds which held the states together. The prestige of the Congress fell lower and lower as the years went by, and at the end very few delegates attended its meeting. Thus was America weakened in the eyes of the world. Britain and other European states, during this period, treated her with contempt. The American Ambassador in London, for example, was asked why he

was alone and why there were not twelve others. **Britain** even failed, with impunity, to carry out certain clauses of the treaty. America, in fact, seemed to be **rapidly drifting into anarchy**, and the situation was becoming intolerable.

In face of this condition of things, well might men **like** Washington wonder whether they had not made a mistake in working and fighting for independence, and whether, in fact, the experiment was going to succeed. In **1786** Washington wrote: "I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the state governments extends over the several states." "We may," asserted Alexander Hamilton in 1787, "be said to have reached almost the last stage of national humiliation. . . . The delinquencies of the states have at length arrested all **the** wheels of the national government. . . . The frail and tottering edifice seems ready to fall upon our heads, and to crush us beneath its ruins/'

The Constitution Established

It was in this situation that Washington again appeared as the saviour of his country. Since his retirement from active service he had been devoting himself to the arts of husbandry on his estate at Mount Vernon. He saw the United States of the future as a great and advanced agricultural community, and he turned his own farms into experimental ground with the object of showing **how** agricultural methods could be improved and made **more** productive. It was, therefore, against all his **personal** interests and desires that he agreed to emerge from **his** chosen sphere as a private citizen into the **maelstrom** of national politics, for which in many ways he was **tempera-**

mentally unfitted. Only his sense of the urgent need for political action, at that juncture, to guide the country along the course which, as he believed, destiny had marked out for it, persuaded him to do so. Whether he would have come forth at that moment if he could have foreseen how different from his vision America's national development was to be is an interesting but idle speculation.

It is evident, then, that in 1787 Washington appears at the head of a counter-revolution. In that year, under the influence of Alexander Hamilton, a Convention met at Philadelphia "to consider the situation of the United States, to devise such further provision as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." The Congress issued the summons to the states to send delegates, and the resulting convention was made up of a group of very distinguished Americans, including such men as Washington, who was elected President of the Convention, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, William Paterson, Roger Sherman, and Robert Morris. This Convention produced the Constitution by which the United States is governed to-day.

In the constitutional Convention which met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, there were, broadly speaking, two opposing views. First, there were those who urged the need of a strong central government, a national instrument which would tend to destroy the independent powers of the states. This view, in its extreme form, would have established a unitary state like our own. Those supporting this view were called Federalists; that is to say, those desiring a strong federal or central authority. These afterwards formed a party led by Alexander Hamilton.

On the other hand, there were those who wished to keep

to a minimum the powers of the federal authority and who feared for the loss of state powers. These delegates wished only to amend the existing Articles of Confederation, merely adding a few further powers to those already possessed by the Congress. The holders of this view came to be called Republicans and were afterwards led by Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and a later President of the United States. There were, of course, gradations of opinion within these groups, but, broadly, the two opposed views were that which favoured a national federation and that which advocated a mere confederation of states. These opposing views the Convention had to reconcile or die. Realising this, the Convention soon came to the conclusion that /' a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme legislature, executive and judiciary."

After much debate and the most tactful manipulation of the meeting by old hands like James Madison, generally known as "the Father of the Constitution," Franklin, and Sherman, a series of compromises on the opposing proposals was carried. From this point the Convention was able pretty rapidly to complete its mighty task and to produce the American Constitution. But the job was by no means over, for now the states had to agree to it. The Convention decided that, as soon as nine states approved it, the Constitution should come into effect. For this* purpose each state called a special convention. Delaware ratified the Constitution before the end of the year, and by June, 1788, eight others had followed. The Constitution thus became effective law, and it was possible to proceed with the establishment of the new machinery of federal government. But in other states there was a severe struggle, and the Constitution was finally adopted in

70 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

some of the larger states, such as New York and Virginia, only by the narrowest margins.

In 1789 the Legislature was set up and the first President and Vice-President elected according to the new **law**. There was no doubt as to who was to be President. Washington, tall and dignified at the age of fifty-seven, was unanimously elected, and John Adams was chosen as Vice-President. On April 30, 1789, Washington took the oath and delivered his inaugural address.

The Constitution Examined

The Constitution thus established forms the background of the exciting history of politics in America from the year 1789, and we shall have frequent occasion to refer to it as this story proceeds. But no one can hope to follow that side of American history without comprehending the main features of this instrument of government. We should therefore attempt some broad analysis of its provisions before proceeding to the history of the early years of its operation. It is perhaps difficult for English people to understand such an instrument of government as the American 'Constitution, which is, in spite of the common origins of Britain and America, in almost every respect different from our own.

Indeed, it is sometimes thought, as the French political scientist, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote in his *Democracy in America* in 1834, that the British Constitution does **not** exist. This is, of course, a misconception, arising from the idea that a Constitution must be in the form of one complete document. Certainly the British Constitution does not exist in this form, but there are, nevertheless, British constitutional documents, such as the Bill of Rights (1689), the Parliament Act (1911), and all the modern Franchise Acts. There indubitably is a British

Constitution, but the mass of the constitutional practice under which Britons have their political being is, in fact, not in the form of statutes but is founded on precedents. The first point to grasp, then, is that the American Constitution is documentary—

The next point is that there is no distinction in English law between Acts affecting the Constitution and ordinary Acts of Parliament, whereas in America the law of the Constitution cannot be altered except by a special process of amendment precisely laid down in the Constitution. In other words, while the British Constitution is flexible, the American Constitution is rigid.

The third point is that the United Kingdom is a unitary state, while the United States is a federal state. By this is meant that the British Parliament is supreme in every corner of the land for any purpose about which it cares to make itself supreme. For example, it has established Local Government Authorities, but it can equally easily abolish them. In the United States, on the other hand, the Constitution only empowers the Federal (or Central) [^]Authority to act for certain purposes which are categorically stated in the Constitution... For all other purposes each individual state belonging to the Union has absolute power to act as it thinks fit through its own state government. In other words, Great Britain is a unit with no law-making authorities under Parliament, whereas the United States is a federation of states with the reserve of political powers left to the states.

The fourth important point of difference is that, whereas in Britain the executive power is in the hands of a Prime Minister and Cabinet responsible to Parliament, in America it is in the hands of a President, whose Cabinet Officers are responsible to him and have no place in Congress, and whose only official contact with Congress is

through annual or special messages delivered to it. This difference arises from the fact that the American Constitution was formulated under the influence of a theory, enunciated by an eighteenth-century French political philosopher, Montesquieu- (1748), and reinforced by an English lawyer, Blackstone (1765), that where the right of both making and enforcing the laws is vested in the same man or body of men, there can be no liberty. This theory of the separation of powers was supposed to be the essence of English liberty at the time, whereas in truth the parliamentary liberty that we enjoy exists by virtue of the very opposite development.

The last point of difference is that the Supreme Court of Judges in the United States has the power to interpret the laws passed by Congress, to decide, that is to say, whether they are in accordance with the rights and powers laid down in the Constitution, whereas in Britain Parliament is the sole judge of its own powers and no judge is allowed to decide whether or not he will apply a statute passed by Parliament.

From the all-important fact of federation flow all the conditions of government laid down in the American Constitution. In trying to understand the Constitution, therefore, it is important to remember that the urge to independence was not the result of a positive stimulus to unity but of the negative impulse to preserve union for the common safety, with as little loss of power to the federating units as was consistent with that end. In short, the object of the federating states was union but not unity, and the Federal Constitution was finally adopted as a compromise between the opposing views of the Federalists and Republicans.-

The Constitution is divided into seven Articles. Article I concerns the legislative or law-making department.

It establishes two Houses of Congress (Parliament), the lower, called the House of Representatives, and the upper, called the Senate.* The House of Representatives is to be popularly elected every two years * and to have a number of representatives from each state in proportion to its population, to have control of the public purse, and the sole right of raising revenue for federal purposes, though the Senate may propose amendments to money bills. The Senate is to be made up of two members from each state irrespective of its size, status, or importance. The senatorial term is six years and the life of the Senate perpetual, one-third of its members being chosen every second year. Thus a state chooses a senator at one election, another at the next, two years later, and then misses one election. The method of choice was originally left to the decision of the individual states, but has since been made popular.²

The power and influence of the Senate have become much greater than those of the House of Representatives, whereas in Britain* the House of Commons has gained a predominant influence at the expense of the Lords. This is due to the fact that the Senate is the House in which all the States are equally represented. The Senate is, naturally, all-important in international affairs, and has the power to ratify treaties, while it also approves most of the appointments to the great offices of state made by the President.

By Article II of the Constitution the executive department of government is established. It places the executive power in the hands of a President who, with the Vice-President, shall be elected every four years. The

¹ The Congresses are numbered accordingly. Thus the Congress of 1789 was the 1st Congress, that of 1841 was the 27th Congress, and that of 1941 the 77th.

² By the Seventeenth Amendment (1913).

intention of the founders of the Constitution was that the President and Vice-President should be indirectly elected by means of an Electoral College in each state made up of a number of representatives equal to the combined number of representatives of that state in both Houses of Congress. This intention of the Fathers of the Constitution to make the election thus free and impartial has been frustrated by the growth of the party system, and what happens in practice to-day is that when voters vote for the Electors of the President and Vice-President they actually vote for a Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidate, so that the meeting of the Electoral College is now quite superfluous, and the candidate who gains a simple popular majority in any state carries the whole of the electoral votes of that state.

The powers of the President are vast, and he is the only executive officer recognised by the Constitution. While he selects a number of Cabinet Officers to assist him, these are responsible to him alone and are denied access to Congress, though the Vice-President is *ex officio* President of the Senate. The President may propose Bills to Congress and has the right to veto any Bill passed by Congress. If he vetoes a Bill he must send it back to Congress with his objections, but if then two-thirds of each House again vote for the Bill, it becomes law.

Article I I I of the Constitution states that the "judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court," whose members shall be appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, and shall hold office during good behaviour. Such a Supreme Court is absolutely vital under such a Constitution, since there must be a body to decide whether a law passed is constitutional ; that is to say, whether it is within the limits of the powers granted to the Federation or left to the states,

according to the Constitution. This, of course, is **not its only work.** It is the final **court of appeal for all federal law, and for all** cases arising between one **state and another.**

Article IV concerns the relation of the states **to one** another, and includes an important section on New States and Territories. On this point it says that new states may be admitted, that no new state may be formed from an existing state or by the junction of two existing states, and that Congress shall have power to dispose of all Territories (i.e. areas which have not reached a stage of potential statehood).

Article V lays down the machinery of amendment. Briefly, it is that when two-thirds of the absolute membership of each house propose an amendment, it shall be submitted to the states for ratification, and when three-quarters of the states have ratified it, it shall become an effective amendment to the Constitution.

Article VI states that the Constitution and all laws arising from it shall be the supreme law of the land.

Article VII sets out the conditions of original ratification by the thirteen states.

The Constitution and the Revolution

Thus the Constitution established in 1789 achieved two objects. First, it stopped the American Revolution at a convenient point for those who wished to control the political situation before it got completely out of hand—a very rare phenomenon in the history of revolutions, witness France in the eighteenth century and Russia in the twentieth. "The dream," says Prof. Brogan in his *American Political System*, "of all political innovators, **the** saying to the people thus far and no farther, and **the** inducing of sobriety in the masses stirred out of

their usual passivity, was achieved by the ingenious gentlemen whom President Harding called the 'founding fathers.' " Secondly, it did this with as little apparent disturbance of the rights and liberties of the federating states as circumstances allowed. In doing so it fully achieved the objects of union by establishing a federal authority which took from the hands of individual states all powers of external relations with other states; in short, all powers of treaty-making, war-making and the maintenance of armed forces, and all powers connected with external trade and tariffs. At the same time, it left with the states a large arena of political powers for their own domestic welfare.

The Constitution thus solved the problem of external sovereignty without denying the rights of self-government, within the limits of the Constitution, to the federating units. Yet, in the form in which it was launched in 1789, the Constitution was far from satisfactory to many Americans. [The very large minorities who voted against ratification in several of the state conventions formed a considerable force of public opinion, which feared the loss not only of state rights but also of the liberty of the individual] For, as we have shown, the American Revolution was something larger than the War of American Independence. There was, in fact, going on, both before it in the colonies and after it in the states, an economic, social, and political revolution of the most profound and permanent kind.

The removal of British control merely left these forces with freer play, and after the war, as we have said, Washington was persuaded, in fact if unconsciously, to put himself at the head of what was in effect a counter-revolution designed to stem this tide of democracy, fast moving, in the judgment of the more conservative

elements, to licence, chaos, and ruin. The Federal Constitution effectively stemmed this tide, so far as the Union as a whole was concerned, by providing a strong federal, or central, government which the new republic had previously lacked. In doing so it necessarily deprived the states of the power to maintain the security of certain individual rights. [For by the Constitution of 1789 every American citizen gained a double citizenship, that of his state and that of the United States. But what satisfaction was that to him, if in the process the Union Government did not give him, within the area of its control, as many rights as he had previously enjoyed" And there was nothing in the Constitution, as originally promulgated, about the rights of man, which had formed so essential an element of the Declaration of Independence.

To correct this omission the first session of the first Congress under the new Constitution was taken up in proposing, discussing, and passing ten Amendments to the Constitution guaranteeing to citizens certain fundamental rights, such as liberty of speech, press, and assembly, trial by jury, and prevention of usurpation by the Federal Authority of the rights of citizens and states. These first ten Amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were immediately ratified by the states and added to the Constitution in 1791, two years after its original promulgation]

Such, then, was the common instrument of government which, the states in collaboration forged for themselves. It was a remarkable achievement, in some respects the most remarkable in the political history of the world, for the Americans had undoubtedly brought into the sphere of practical politics a number of political ideas hitherto confined to the closets of philosophers. They thus gave "an impetus to political thought through

practical statesmanship/' They formed a new **body politic** and successfully enshrined its rights in the document known as the Constitution of the United States. Moreover, the Americans, in working out a scheme of political organisation which should satisfy the various groups forming the new state, revived and recast an older political method, namely, federalism, which was destined to have a tremendous influence on politics in later days and may yet prove the way for the salvation of the world.

But the question remained whether such an unprecedented experiment could stand the test of time and maintain its power and prestige in face of the amazing development of the country, which no Father of the Constitution or any of his contemporaries could possibly have foreseen. We shall see the answer to that question as our story proceeds. !

Chapter 7

FEDERALISTS VERSUS REPUBLICANS

Hamilton and Jefferson

The American people, for whose security and welfare Washington and his associates had to create a government, formed, towards the end of the eighteenth century, a society of farmers and merchants. It was made up of a free population of about three-and-a-quarter millions and about 700,000 negro slaves, and was still generally confined to the eastern seaboard, from New England in the north to Georgia in the south. Philadelphia, the largest American city at that epoch and the capital of the Union until the foundation of the official city of Washington in 1800, had a population of 42,000, New York of 32,000, and Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore of just over 10,000 each.

The census of 1790 estimated that, of this total population of approximately 4 millions, about 109,000 were in the primitive settlements already established in Kentucky and Tennessee across the Alleghanies. This border region, inhabited by pioneers from the eastern states and some hardy immigrants of Scottish and Irish stock, was later to become a land of cities and factories, but at the time of the foundation of the American Republic it was still a country of farms and forests. Indeed, 90 per cent, of the inhabitants of the United States during Washington's Presidency were tillers of the soil. The only industries of any importance were shipping and fishing. Manufactures, which in colonial days had been

80 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

discouraged by the policy of the Home Government, had made little progress by the end of the century, for it was profitable for America to buy with her agricultural products the manufactured goods of Britain, which, at that time under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, was rapidly becoming the workshop of the world. So farming and trading were the staple occupations of the people.

The problems which faced the new government in 1789 were many and acute. How would they be solved? By a strange irony Washington chose for his two chief Cabinet Officers—the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury—two men fundamentally opposed to each other, namely, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. [Jefferson, born on the Virginian frontier, was a scholar, much influenced by the French philosophers, and an idealist in politics, with a complete faith in the common people in an agricultural society and a deep distrust of the centralising force of a powerful executive government. Hamilton, on the other hand, was a realist in politics. Born in the West Indies, he came to New York as a youth and had been educated at King's (Columbia) College. Though he was the least American of all the political leaders of his time, he had ardently embraced the cause of the colonists in their fight, for independence, and had been Washington's aide-de-camp in the war.

He sat in the Convention which framed the Constitution and by the brilliance of his debating power secured the ratification of the Constitution in the New York Convention. Indeed, Hamilton's contributions to the successful launching of the American Constitution in practice and to the firm establishment of Washington's administration were incalculable. He believed in a strong central

government, and through his brilliant essays in a journal called *The Federalist*, he gathered a number of adherents and became the acknowledged, head of the Federalist Party. He was a financial genius and earned his measures by the sheer force of his intellect. But he was no statesman at the management of men, lacking in political judgment and had little understanding of the American spirit. [His patriotism on more than one occasion saved the nation from disaster, but his lack of genius in leadership" weakened the foundations of the Federalist Party in its first days and was largely responsible for its early decline. The American historian, Adams, well sums up the fundamental difference between the two men when he says: "Hamilton stood for strength, wealth, and power; Jefferson for the American dream."

These Cabinet colleagues, then, were as antithetical as two men can well be, and their presence in the same Administration would have been impossible in a later day than Washington's, in which party politics developed as the quintessential basis of governmental equilibrium. Hamilton and Jefferson constantly quarrelled and frequently begged the President to release one of them and so relieve them of the embarrassment of their double harness, but Washington persuaded them both to remain until near the end of his first Administration.

Washington was not, as is sometimes asserted, above their battle. His mind, if not his heart, leant to Hamilton rather than to Jefferson, because, although for different reasons, he stood for the same objects. Washington and Hamilton were both realists, both distrusted the common people, and both had a strong love of property, though Washington thought of this in terms of land, while Hamilton thought of it in terms of cash or at least,

paper. On the other hand, Jefferson was a pure agrarian, constantly urging agitation for democratic rights, and even going so far as to say on one occasion that a revolution every "ten years or so was good for a nation. Such agitations made Washington thoroughly uneasy about the future, for he feared that they might end by destroying the government of the country which had so laboriously been set up.

Hamilton's Financial Measures

In the first years of the new Republic Hamilton had his way in questions of finance, which, after the establishment of the "various departments of" government, were the most acute facing Washington's administration. Hamilton pressed for certain measures which, though thoroughly sound from the point of view of orthodox finance and necessary for the stabilisation of the country's position in the world of states, had in them, nevertheless, a strong political motive! Hamilton's object was to strengthen the Federal Authority, to make the states more dependent on it, and to gain the support of the moneyed classes, who would thereby be obliged to sustain it out of sheer self-interest. There were four measures which Hamilton advocated. These were the control of the National Debt, the assumption by the Federal Authority of the stated debts, the levying of a tariff, and the chartering of a National Bank.

As to the National Debt, Hamilton proposed that it be paid in full. He included in this proposal not only the external debt to France, Spain, and Holland the Americans' allies in the war, to whom were owed about 12 million dollars, but also the domestic debt which amounted to about 42 million dollars. With the first part of this proposal there was general agreement, but there was a

opposed and their opposition is by no means uniquely American, for it runs through the history of all political societies no less than through that of the American Commonwealth.

Jefferson built the foundations of the Republican Party while still in the office of Secretary of State, a situation quite impossible to-day. His supporters in Congress kept up an incessant attack on Hamilton, who stoutly defended himself. But in the personal duel Jefferson was the first to succumb, and he resigned in 1793. They joined forces once more only to urge upon Washington the importance to the security of the country of his standing for a second *term of office* as President, which he had no desire whatever to do. He was again unanimously elected in 1792, and Adams, by a small majority, was again chosen as Vice-President. Hamilton stayed until the middle of Washington's second term, and resigned in 1795. But by then the position had clearly been reached in which, with the personality and popular appeal of, Washington withdrawn, the flood-gates of party strife would be opened.

Indeed, before Washington finally laid down his office, the third Congress, elected in 1793, was strongly Republican, and all the coarse and vituperative elements of political partisanship were let loose. And because of Washington's manifest leanings towards the Federalists, who filled most of the Cabinet offices, and his strong disciplinary measures against such factions as those who organised the "Whisky Rebellion" in 1794, he was reviled and abused as tyrant, dictator, despot, impostor, and ("most unkindest cut of all") "stepfather of his country." Thus early did the violence of party politics manifest itself in America, and give some foretaste of the conflicts of later years. And when Washington's second

term was closing, there was a bitter party struggle over the election of the next President. By this time the Jeffersonian Republican Party had become very strong, and John Adams, Washington's Vice-President during both his terms, as the Federalist candidate, only just defeated Jefferson, the Republican candidate, after a terrific struggle, by the narrow margin of 71 electoral votes to 68.

While Adams was President the antagonism between him and Hamilton (now out of office), which had always existed, in spite of the broad identity of their policies, if not of their methods, combined with the increasing solidarity of the Republicans, in spite of the fact that Jefferson was Adams's Vice-President, made it certain that the Federalists would be overthrown and that Adams would not get a second term. The result of the election in 1800 was that Jefferson and Aaron Burr were elected as President and Vice-President, respectively, by the margin of 73 to 64 electoral votes. Then for the only occasion in American history the President and Vice-President tied, and, in accordance with the Constitution, Congress had to decide between them. The voting was so close that it took Congress thirty-six ballots to break the deadlock, and finally they elected Jefferson. The result of this arithmetical coincidence was the twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1804, which established two separate and distinct ballots for the two offices of President and Vice-President.

So the Republicans had triumphed and Jefferson had become President, with the aid of his great rival at the last, for, in the Congressional election between Jefferson and Burr, Hamilton, who regarded Burr as a dangerous adventurer, had thrown his weight on the side of Jefferson. The significance of this Presidential Election was that it

marked the end of the Federalist domination, thanks to the tide of reaction against high centralism. After this the Federalists gradually disappeared as a separate party and became absorbed in the Republican Party. But the Federalist Party, in spite of the bad feeling they engendered and the storms their conduct brewed, had played a lasting part in the establishment of the National Government, through the difficult period when it acted as mid-wife at the birth of a nation.

America and Europe

The last years of Washington's administration were made difficult by foreign complications arising from the French Revolution and the war that grew out of it. The Revolution itself broke out within a few weeks of Washington's first taking the oath of office, but it soon turned from an internal revolution to an ideological war abroad, and in 1793 assumed once more the characteristic form of an imperial struggle between Britain and France. As such it went on, except for a short break between 1802 and 1803, until the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815.

Since the American Union was first established, there have been three world wars (the Napoleonic, the Great, and Hitler's), and they have all had, and are still having, incalculable effects upon the history and development of the United States, and upon the thought and action of the American people. In the situation created by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the position of the United States was obviously very delicate, for America was still officially allied to France, who was aching to wipe out the ignominy of the Treaties of 1763 and 1783 and to re-establish her lost dominion in America.

To complicate things farther, American territory was surrounded on three sides by the colonial possessions of

90 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Britain and Spain, allied against France in the war (until **1795**, when Spain made a separate peace). Moreover, both the ideology and the practice of the war tended to split the American people into two twice over. One split was between those who ardently supported the democracy of the Revolution and those who feared its excesses. The other was between those of the merchant class, with international business affiliations, whose political and economic interests inclined them to favour Britain, and the farmer class, inclined to favour France. There were extremists at either end of this division who urged war against one or the other of the European protagonists.

While feelings were thus running high, Washington realised that the only safe line was neutrality, which he declared in a proclamation of 1793. But relations with Britain became more and more strained owing to the danger of Indian raids on the American outposts from the British posts in the north-west and to the inevitable blockade and right of search on the high seas which Britain, as usual, enforced. A Bill in Congress for non-intercourse with Britain only just failed to pass the Senate by Adams's casting vote. In 1794, Washington sent an envoy, John Jay, to England to negotiate a treaty settling various points in dispute on the frontiers in America. Jay obtained the best terms he could in difficult circumstances, but the treaty which resulted in 1795 was badly received in America, and Washington, Jay, Hamilton, and other supporters were vilified and even, in some cases, physically attacked.

(a) *The Louisiana Purchase*

Under Adams's Presidency, from 1797, the tension continued, but tended to swing over against France,

where the Directory was now in charge of the Government. France, who had looked in vain for aid from her "sister republic" against "aristocratic Britain," was incensed at the conclusion of the Jay Treaty. She refused to receive the American Minister and ordered him to leave France. Attempts at conciliation broke down, and in 1798 a state of war existed between the two nations. When Napoleon overthrew the Directory and became First Consul in 1799, however, he found that he had enough on his hands in Europe. He therefore desired peace with America, and this was concluded in 1801, the year in which Jefferson was inaugurated as President.

Jefferson's policy, in reaction to that of the discredited Federalists, was twofold: (to keep the Federal power within the letter of the Constitution and to observe the strictest economy in public finance.) Yet, by a strange irony, he was responsible for a negotiation which, in fact, strained the Constitution to a greater extent than any action of the Federalists had strained it, though it was very much on his conscience for that reason, and involved the Federal purse in an expenditure of 15 million dollars at one fell swoop. This was the famous Louisiana Purchase. In 1800, Napoleon planned to revive the lost French Empire in America and to re-establish a dominion along the Mississippi worthy of the noble pioneer, La Salle. At that time Spain was in very low water and was induced by Napoleon, in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, to restore Louisiana to France in exchange for some trumpery dynastic advantage in Italy.

When Jefferson heard of this in 1802 he realised the danger to the United States of exchanging the easy-going Spanish control of the west bank of the Mississippi for the efficient and aggressive administration of Napoleonic France. The settlers in Kentucky and in Tennessee were

dependent for the transport of their products mainly on the waterway of the Mississippi and its tributaries to its outlet at New Orleans in the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed, it has been computed that, at that time, no less than three-eighths of American commerce passed along this route. It was because of the vital need of a free exit at New Orleans that the United States had made in 1795 an advantageous treaty with Spain, whereby, besides fixing the boundary between the United States and Florida at the thirty-first parallel, Spain had granted to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi and the right to unload cargoes from river boats at New Orleans without duty. Now not only was this advantage stopped by the closing of the river-mouth to American river-going boats, but there was an obvious threat that the French would use this region as a base for military action against the British in America and thus make a cockpit of the hinterland of the United States.

Jefferson decided to attempt to purchase New Orleans and West Florida from France outright and obtained the necessary appropriation from Congress. After some diplomatic passes in Paris, Napoleon agreed to go much farther and to sell the whole area of Louisiana for 15 million dollars, and Congress ratified the Treaty in 1803. It was perhaps not inappropriate that this should happen under a Republican Administration, for the vision of the Federalist economy was largely confined to the commercial interests of the Atlantic coast, while the inland farmers found the agrarian policy of the Republicans greatly to their interest. All the same, Napoleon's inconsistency of policy and caprice of action were extremely fortunate for the American people at this psychological moment, and proved of immense importance to their future.

The limits of this new territory had not been defined in

the treaty, beyond the indefinite statement that it was to be of the same extent as it then was in the hands of Spain and when France possessed it. It was thus left open for the Americans, as Talleyrand, Napoleon's Foreign Minister, said, to "make the most of it," which they proceeded to do with some speed. The acquisition of Louisiana, one of the most valuable pieces of land in the world, doubled the area of the United States. From it thirteen states have since been created,¹ and a population which in 1803 was not more than 50,000 souls, of whom half were slaves, has now increased to over 20 millions. Moreover, it has proved to be a most varied source of wealth to the United States, producing as it does to-day "the cattle and timber of Montana, the wheat of Minnesota and North and South Dakota, the corn of Iowa and Kansas, the sugar and cotton of Louisiana." The farm lands alone in these states have an annual value to-day more than 2,000 times as great as the purchase price of the area in 1803.

The political effects of the Louisiana Purchase were extraordinary. Jefferson, the strict constitutionalist and anti-centralist, by carrying through a measure, of immense, if unpredictable, import which the Constitution gave him no right to execute, thereby vastly increased the power of the Federal Authority, and at the same time doubled the area of its jurisdiction. Moreover, the Federalists under Hamilton found themselves, as the opponents of Jefferson, in the opposite camp from the one in which they had hitherto stood. The Purchase made Jefferson extremely popular, and at the Presidential

¹ In the order of their admission, Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado (part), Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Oklahoma. (See maps at front and on page 185, and table in Appendix I.)

Election of 1804 he carried every state in the Union except Connecticut and Delaware, and was re-elected by the enormous electoral vote of 162 to 14. The effect of the Purchase on the American people was to stimulate their "insatiable land hunger," which soon manifested itself in a positive mania for the acquisition of Florida from Spain.

(b) The War of 1812

Much as Jefferson desired to steer clear of external complications, the European situation continued to disturb the later years of his Administration and finally led the United States into war. America had managed to maintain her neutrality during the Anglo-French War, from its outbreak in 1793 to the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and had consequently enjoyed a period of enormous prosperity both in agriculture and in commerce. Britain and France were engaged in a life-and-death grapple, and were willing to buy raw materials and foodstuffs from America at almost any price.

As a result, during that period, American exports increased sixfold and her imports eightfold. For example, her cotton exports rose from 200,000 lbs. in 1791 to over 50 million lbs. in 1805. At the same time her shipping increased enormously. At the beginning of the period about 24 per cent, of America's import and export trade was carried in American ships; at the end of it 90 per cent., her tonnage thus being practically quadrupled. In order to get the men to man the new ships, pay conditions for seamen were made very attractive, wages rising from 8 to 24 dollars a month. Besides, the naturalisation laws were revised, the normal period of residence hitherto required being reduced so that foreigners might be persuaded to share in the benefits of the gigantic profits being made by American shipowners.

In 1805 Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz made him master of Continental Europe, and his victory at Jena in 1806 led to the French occupation of Berlin and to the issue of the Berlin Decrees, closing to British commerce all European ports under Napoleon's influence. On the other hand, Britain's victory at Trafalgar in 1805 made her mistress of the seas, and Napoleon's Berlin Decrees led to Britain's issue of Orders in Council, forbidding any trade with ports in the possession of France or of her allies.

These two developments—the growth of the American mercantile marine and the closing of European ports to American trade—led to severe friction between Britain and America. The British found many of their seamen deserting to the American marine because of the vastly superior conditions of service, and began holding up American ships and taking off hundreds of seamen as deserters. This system of impressment went farther, for the British officers refused to regard foreigners recently naturalised as American citizens and carried them off as well. The climax came in 1807 when the British ship *Leopard* fired on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, whose captain refused to stop to be searched, and several of the *Chesapeake's* crew were killed.

At that moment Jefferson could have made war on Britain with the full support of most of his people. Instead, he adopted a policy of peaceful coercion, and an Embargo Act was passed prohibiting all American ships from leaving for foreign ports. This certainly saved American ships from further outrage, but it led to a loss of something like 8 million dollars in about fifteen months to New England merchants alone. So in 1809 the Act was repealed and a non-intercourse Act with Great Britain and France passed instead.

When Jefferson, whose second term ended in 1809, was

succeeded by James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution" a period of ineffective diplomacy began, Britain and France in their death grapple could have little respect for neutrals, and new provocations on the sea brought feelings in America to fever pitch once more. In 1811 there occurred two events which fanned the flame. The first was the firing by a British cruiser, which had impressed an American citizen, on an American frigate which was giving her chase. The second was the outbreak of a frontier war with the Indians, who, having surrendered to the Americans some 50 million acres of territory in Indiana, were organised into a confederacy to recapture some of it under two great Indian chiefs, Tecumseh and his brother.

The Americans, led by William Henry Harrison, the Governor of Indiana Territory, after a preliminary setback, defeated the Indians, who retired to Canada. Harrison alleged, though the allegation has since had serious doubt cast upon it, that the British had instigated the Indian attack and that the Indians had arms and equipment supplied by Britain. The truth is, of course, that such wars between the dispossessed and desperate Indians and the advancing white man were inevitable ; this one not less than all the rest. But with anti-British feeling running so high, the clamour of the alleged discovery of British help for the Indians swelled to a war cry.

The twelfth Congress, which met in 1811, was of such a temper as to complete the brew which had been boiling up. This Congress was largely composed* of a new generation of men, particularly from the new Western States, such as Henry Clay and John Calhoun, who were to play a leading part in the affairs of America in the years ahead. Clay, a Virginian who had settled in Kentucky, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He and

others vociferously urged that the time had come for action. 'Madison, in his war message to Congress in 1812, summarised the wrongs which America had suffered at the hands of Britain as "violations of the flag on the high seas, confiscation of ships, illegal impressment, blockade of our shores, the obnoxious Orders in Council, and inciting of the Indians against our borders," and on June 18 Congress declared war.

Thus 'opened an entirely unnecessary war, which, internationally at any rate, achieved nothing. It would, in fact, have been averted if time had been allowed for tempers to cool, for four days after the declaration of war, Britain, seriously damaged in her commercial position by Jefferson's "economic boycott," actually repealed the Orders in Council. As somebody has said, "modern cables might have prevented the war." Yet this second "War of Independence" was fought with the utmost bitterness on both sides. Britain could only think of the Americans as renegades from liberty and democracy, whose war-making merely had the effect of delaying the overthrow of the Napoleonic despotism, while the Americans thought of it as a heaven-sent opportunity to capture Canada from Britain and Florida from Spain (again Britain's ally), and to end for ever the Indian menace on the north-west frontier.

Not that opinion in favour of the war was unanimous in America: the New England States were mostly opposed to it for commercial reasons, and they refused to subscribe to war loans and forbade their forces to move beyond their own borders. It was, in fact, the people of the frontier territory, with the future of westward expansion before them, who provided all the energy and fire. Truly, as one Republican contemporary averred, it was agrarian cupidity, not maritime rights, which urged the war.

On land the Americans, entirely unprepared to conduct such a war, fared badly. The main objective of the American Campaign of 1812-1813 was Canada, but, despite the fiery optimism of Henry Clay, the American expedition completely failed of its purpose in 1813, and in 1814 the British raided Washington and burned public buildings, including the President's residence, which came from this time to be known as the White House from the fact that it was painted white to cover the marks of burning which it suffered in the British attack.

At sea things were more equal and the Americans, with their tiny craft, in spite of a hopeless inferiority in numbers of ships of war, were for a time remarkably successful. But it was a very costly business for them, for their exports dropped from no million dollars in 1807 to 7 millions in 1814, and at the close of the war their entire complement of vessels on the sea consisted of two frigates. With Napoleon's defeat and exile to Elba in 1814, the causes of Anglo-American strife were mostly removed, and the peace that was signed at Ghent at Christmas, 1814, restored the conditions that existed before the war. The treaty made no mention of impressment or the right of search, and the settlement of boundaries was left to commissioners.

But again the slow-moving processes of communication of those days made it possible for the most spectacular land engagement of the war to be fought after the treaty had actually been signed, and before news of it reached America. The British had organised an attack on New Orleans, but an American force, led by Andrew Jackson, a Tennessee frontiersman with much experience in Indian campaigns, then commanding the small American army in the Mississippi Territory, inflicted a complete defeat on the British, who withdrew to their fleet, leaving more than

2,000 dead on the field. The battle of New Orleans could not affect the settlement of the war, which had already been reached, but it was just in time to have a tonic effect on the morale of the American Army, which had suffered repeated set-backs in the war.

In America the war ended in a fiasco for the New Englanders who opposed it. At the end of 1814 representatives of the New England States met in a convention at Hartford, Connecticut, and decided to send delegates, with their grievances, to Washington. But they arrived there just as news of the treaty came, only to find the city wildly rejoicing over the victory of Jackson at New Orleans. They returned crestfallen to their homes carrying with them the doom of the Federalist Party. At the next Presidential election in 1816 the Federalists for the last time put a candidate in the field, but he was heavily defeated by James Monroe, Madison's Secretary of State, who continued for another eight years Jefferson's "Virginia Dynasty," which had first succeeded in 1801.

The war of 1812 left great bitterness on both sides. Britain considered herself stabbed in the back by the Americans, who, at a time when Britain had her hands full overthrowing the admitted tyranny of Bonaparte, was "fighting his enemies for him." In America, on the other hand, the public credulity concerning the allegation of the incitement of Indians laid the foundation of the legend of British perfidy and the belief that Britain was America's inveterate enemy. If Napoleon had been accessible for a "shooting war," instead of being incarcerated in his "continental system," it is probable that he, and not Britain, would have been the object of America's war spirit. As it was, the Americans fought, for the second time in less than forty years, the community which had cradled them, and the war left those

feelings of hatred that are so frequently induced by family quarrels.

Henceforth the American people determined to live their own lives. They turned their backs on Europe and Britain, and set their faces resolutely towards their own vast West, untrammelled by the complications of the Eastern Hemisphere. In short, the centre of gravity changed: America seceded from the Old World and began to develop an attitude towards it which was soon to lead to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Thus the War of 1812, futile as it was in the international sense, really marks the dawn of a new era in American history. It caused the growth of a new sense of unity and nationalism. It gave the people a new outlet for their energies by freeing them, (after a long period of preoccupation with, and involvement in, the affairs of Europe, to look inwards upon their own development. The decade following the war, consequently, saw the flow of a great wave of national enthusiasm, which no sectional interests could break, and before this nationalist surge spent itself much happened which left its mark for ever upon the life and institutions of the American people.

Chapter 8

EXPANSION AND DEMOCRACY

The Significance of the Frontier

In the half-century which elapsed between the inauguration of Washington as President in 1789 and the election of President Harrison in 1840 tremendous developments took place in the United States. The area of the land within the American Union more than doubled, the number of states doubled from thirteen to twenty-six, and the population increased fourfold, from 4 millions to 16 millions. During this period, too, the economic and social structure of the Union changed with the increasing population **and** the westward movement into the newly-acquired lands. Moreover, the attitude of the Federal Government changed from the oligarchical view of Washington and his supporters to the ardent democratic spirit of President Andrew Jackson (1829-1837). This part of our story, having opened with the birth pangs of the new Republic, ends with the Jacksonian Revolution and the approach of the gathering cloud which finally broke in the tragedy of the Civil War in 1861.

The gradual westward expansion of the United States and the process of opening up, peopling, and exploiting the lands to the west of the Alleghany Mountains constitute the most remarkable aspect of the history of the American people. The history of the Frontier, moving inexorably westward, whether regarded seriously from the point of view of political, social, and economic progress, with all the hardships and tragedies of heroic human

endeavour that that process involved, or, more lightly, as the source of exciting and romantic " western " tales, was something without precedent and without parallel in modern history. And certainly no Englishman can hope to understand the true story of the American people without appreciating the force and formative influence of this phenomenon on the development of the nation as we know it to-day.

The Frontier is the factor in the history of the Americans which has dominated all others. The kinetic nature of this Frontier is the fact about it which it is necessary to grasp. In Europe dense populations pressed against one another, but in America the westward-moving population pressed on practically uninhabited lands, the richness of whose resources could not be measured. And as it moved it came into violent conflict with the indigenous inhabitants, the red men, who had to be fought and pushed out of their birthright in order to make way for waves of white men impelled by elemental urges which could not be denied. The Frontier thus produced a restless, fluid society, whose members demanded and enjoyed liberties much more fundamental and real than those more slowly acquired rights of the European or even of the inhabitants of the American eastern states. It is not surprising to find, therefore, in those frontier regions that *laissez-faire* economics prevailed in an extreme form, and that there grew up a new kind of democracy, peculiar to these newly developed lands. The pioneers faced the " stern frontier realities " together, and, no matter what their race or origin, they " tended to fuse into a composite type " and produce a new kind of civilisation.

The exigencies of the Frontier have, moreover, constantly influenced the life of the whole American community. The history of American industry and trans-

port, for example, as we shall see, has been largely conditioned by the Frontier, and, as the rich resources of the West became apparent, the tendency of factory organisation has been to move in that direction, and the methods of transport have endeavoured to keep pace, or even to anticipate, the steps of the westward movement. These economic movements have in their turn affected the psychology of the American people. For the new people in the West were immigrants either from the eastern American states or from Europe, and, in either case, the population of America rapidly swelled with European immigrants who either went directly west or, as was more commonly the case in the earlier years of expansion, filled the places of those who had emigrated from the eastern states.

This gives colour to the argument of some historians who maintain that the expanding frontier itself resulted from the expanding needs of Europe under the inexorable influence of the Industrial Revolution, and thus that the forces of modern capitalism which arose in Europe were inevitably transferred to America. The truth probably is that the two forces—the " pulling " urge of the Frontier and the " pushing " urge of European economic and social conditions—met and merged in the western lands of North America. Thus the new people have introduced a leaven in the lump of the original settlers and their descendants, and produced a national outlook, born of that amalgam, without parallel anywhere else in the modern world.

In a sense this frontier question began with the very first settlers along the Atlantic shore and has continued almost to our own times, for the first Virginians had to think in terms of a west frontier haunted by wild Indians, whose potentiality for good or harm to them they could not estimate. It ended in 1890, when the Frontier was

officially declared to be no more. But the expansion of the Frontier and all that it involved were not always accepted by the bulk of American opinion as inevitable or even desirable. It went through certain stages of growth and official acceptance. By the opening of the nineteenth century its political influence was beginning to be felt with the arrival in Congress of forceful men from the new states immediately west of the original thirteen, men like Clay and Calhoun, who brought with them their new democratic outlook. But even then, it must be remembered, the majority of the population were still in New England, confined between the Alleghanies and the sea, and New England saw this new phenomenon as a threat to its own traditional influence as the "driver of the American coach."

At the opening of the nineteenth century the old Federalists of New England were still fighting hard against the creation of the new states in the West. One of them, Josiah Quincy, for example, asserted that Congress had "no authority to throw the rights and property of this people into the 'hotch-potch' with the wild men of Missouri," and asked, in a tone of false prophecy, "Do you suppose the people of the Northern and Atlantic states will, or ought to, look on with patience and see Representatives and Senators from the Red River and Missouri pouring themselves upon this and the other floor, managing the concerns of a seaboard fifteen hundred miles at least from their residence?"

But Quincy and his like were urging the claims of a dying world and fighting a losing battle, and, whether they liked it or not, the political future which they would not face was precisely that which materialised. For from this time the influence of the Frontier in the political councils of the nation grew ever more and more insistent,

until, with the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1828, the Frontier entered the White House.

Early Westward Movement

The peopling of the Frontier went through certain well-defined stages. First went the hunter and trader in furs, next the missionary, next the rancher, next the farmer, and finally the capitalist and industrialist. Naturally, these movements were not always regular and consecutive, and in some parts these various types tended to move in all together. But, generally speaking, they followed the order shown. The advance generally followed the navigable rivers, and by 1700 the land at the sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic had been settled by the pioneers. During the eighteenth century there was a considerable influx of European immigrants, mostly German and Irish, who, finding the lands of the coast already owned, moved on to the Frontier and settled in the areas generally known as the " Old West " in the hinterland of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley and the foothills of the south. Those in the north moved south and those in the south moved north along the mountain passes, and met.

It was these bold frontiersmen who had played such an important part in the defeat of the French in the Seven Years' War, and they strongly resented the British Proclamation of 1763 which prohibited westward expansion. The reason for this Proclamation was to secure the allegiance of the Indians who had supported the French. But the frontiersmen only saw the Indians as a menace to their future and the " Proclamation Line " as a denial of their just rights of settlement in a land " destined for them by nature." They therefore decided to go ahead and make their way through the passes of the Alleghanies.

Thus they reached the densely wooded valleys of the Ohio and Tennessee.

In 1769 Daniel Boone made his first expedition into Kentucky, while during the next few years the Virginia pioneers made settlements in the western mountains of North Carolina. But the savage tribes of Mingo, Shawnee, and Cherokee Indians disputed every mile of the way. A victory over the Shawnees in 1774, however, secured Kentucky for the white man, and the defeat of the Cherokees in 1776 opened to the pioneers the equally rich lands of Tennessee. In 1778 a young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, who had settled in Kentucky, led an expedition against the British at Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and captured it. This victory was the death-blow to British power north of the Ohio and secured for the Americans the North-Western Territory, lying between the Ohio and the Great Lakes. These victories, in their way, played as decisive a part in American history as those of Saratoga and Yorktown, for they ensured that independent America should not be confined to the Atlantic seaboard.

Thus by the end of the War of Independence American territory under the general sovereignty of the Congress was a good deal larger than it had been while the Thirteen Colonies continued to owe allegiance to Britain. Fortunately for the future of America, the one piece of efficient work performed by the Congress, during the days of its general weakness under the Articles of Confederation and before the new Federal state was founded by the Constitution in 1789, was the organisation of the North-West Territory. The abandonment of the claims of individual states, for which Maryland had so happily and successfully pressed, made this a national question, to be settled by the national government. By an Act of 1787,

known as the North-West Ordinance, this area was organised as the North-West Territory and was placed under the control of a Governor and three judges, until such time as the people should be ready for fully representative government. It provided for complete political and religious liberty and for a system of free education. It also laid down that slavery should be for ever excluded from the Territory, which should eventually be divided into not less than three and not more than five states. The first of these states was Ohio (admitted in 1803) and the remainder were Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), and Wisconsin (1848). Meanwhile, the more southerly frontier territory was formed into two states, Kentucky (admitted in 1792) and Tennessee (1796), to which we should add Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, referred to later.

By 1800 the population of the lands to the west of the Alleghanies was about one million, and its numbers were increasing rapidly. The interest in the West was greatly enhanced by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, described in the last chapter. Within two months of the cession, Jefferson commissioned his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to undertake a scientific exploration of the far North-West. His party traced the Missouri to its source, crossed the Rockies, and descended to the sea through the Oregon country. The survey made and conclusions reached by this expedition were of great importance to the United States when, forty years later, there was a dispute with Great Britain over the rival claims to the Oregon country.

With the end of the war with England (1812-1814) most of the hindrances to westward expansion were removed. After a quarter of a century of preoccupation with European affairs, America, now that she might look

108 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

forward to a long period of peace, could concentrate **on her own** western lands, in which the enormous resources of a vast unexploited territory awaited the national effort. The post-war enthusiasm for western expansion led to a great increase in the frontier population, and what had been a steady flow during the war became a veritable torrent after it. Thus the population rose from 1 million in 1800, to 2½ millions in 1820, and to 3½ millions (one-third of the whole American population) in 1830.

As the emigrants to these lands were mostly drawn from the existing population of the eastern states, a " vacuum " was left in the older states, where, with the enormous industrial development of the whole country, there grew a great demand for labour from Europe. This demand was rapidly met. For example, in 1817 no fewer than 22,000 Irish and Germans emigrated. Until about 1840 the European immigrants generally tended to stay in the eastern states, where they filled the gaps left by those who had gone west from those states. This fact had important effects on the social and economic development of the country, for it made the Mississippi Valley for a long time " the real home of American democracy."

The Acquisition of Florida

When the United States, after the war of 1812, turned its back on Europe, it became more conscious of the need to develop some kind of policy in relation to its neighbours in the North American Continent. The position in this respect was that Alaska still belonged to Russia, while Great Britain claimed the whole of the vast western area lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, from the south of Alaska to the present state of California, an area known in those days as the Oregon country. Spain, of course, was the greatest rival of the

United States in the American Continent. Besides the whole of South America, except Brazil and Guiana, she owned Central America, including most of the West Indian Islands, and North America west of the Mississippi Valley (i.e. west of the area which was added to the United States by the Louisiana Purchase).

But most important of all, from the American point of view, Spain owned the peninsula which is now the State of Florida. This was then divided into two : the whole of the main peninsula called East Florida, and a western portion occupying the coast from the western boundary of East Florida to the mouth of the Mississippi. Spain unquestionably owned East Florida, but the United States disputed with her the ownership of West Florida, on the ground that it was included in the area transferred to Napoleon and hence to the United States by the Louisiana Purchase ; whereas Spain held that it had nothing to do with that transaction, but was part of the area of Florida ceded to her by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783.

The United States badly needed that strip of land and proceeded to occupy it in 1810, Spain being too weak to resist. But the rest of Florida in Spanish hands was a thorn in the flesh of the Americans, for it remained an asylum for pirates, fugitives from justice, and runaway slaves, while both Floridas were the home of marauding tribes of Seminole Indians. These Indians in West Florida at last grew so dangerous that President Monroe in 1817 ordered General Andrew Jackson, the hero of the battle of New Orleans against the British at the end of the war of 1812, to crush them, if necessary driving them into East Florida.

Jackson went beyond his orders and executed his mission to such purpose that in 1818 he actually conquered East Florida. This placed the American Government in

a dilemma, but, realising that Spain was in no position to defend her American territory at this time, they decided to put on a bold front, stand by Jackson, and uphold the conquest. Spain gave way and, in return for the assumption by the American Government of the claims of American citizens against Spain for damages to their commerce during the Napoleonic War, ceded the whole of Florida to the United States by a treaty signed at Washington in February, 1819. By the same treaty the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase territory was fixed on a line running along the Red River, Arkansas River to its source, and thence to the Pacific Ocean.

Thus an important new territory was added to the ever-expanding public domain of the United States. It was the logical development of the Louisiana Purchase and achieved at once the completion of the possession of the outlets of the Mississippi region, the definition of the boundary between American and Spanish interests in the west of the Northern Continent, and the acquisition of the excellent harbours of Mobile and Pensacola as outlets for the rapidly growing cotton industry of the South.

The cotton industry now grew at a tremendous pace. Many cotton planters of the South moved from the Carolinas and Georgia into the fertile Mississippi Territory. The result of this movement, combined with the effects of the invention in 1793 by Eli Whitney of the cotton gin, a machine for separating cotton seed from the fibre, was seen not only in an absolute increase of total output, but in the growing proportion of it from western areas, as shown in the figures of production. In 1810, out of a total crop of 80 million lbs., less than 5 millions were grown west of the Alleghanies. In 1820 the total crop had more than doubled, to 177 million lbs., and of this 60 millions were produced in the new western states of

Louisiana (admitted 1812), Mississippi (admitted 1817), and Alabama (admitted 1819); while in 1825 the total crop was about 300 million lbs., of which the western states produced half.

The Monroe Doctrine

With all these developments, events now rapidly moved to the logical outcome of that process of turning tier back upon Europe which had characterised American policy since the War of 1812. In the process which now developed, three sets of events met and merged, and produced that fundamental principle of American international relations known as the Monroe Doctrine. The first of these was the growth of a national consciousness in the United States arising from the rapid expansion of the West, The second was the ease with which the United States had so recently acquired Florida from Spain. The third, and finally effective, cause was the condition of Spain in Europe and her inability to prevent the revolt of her colonies in America, resulting in the threat of the Holy Alliance in Europe to do the job of bringing back the revolted colonies into the Spanish fold on Spain's Behalf. Thus the diplomatic situation in Europe and the condition of Spanish America played very conveniently into the hands of the Government of the United States.

The Spanish colonies in Central and South America had felt the repercussion of the Napoleonic War as much as, and in certain ways even more than, North America. In 1808 Napoleon had deposed the Bourbon dynasty of Spain, suppressed a rising in Madrid, and put his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. The consequent revolt of the southern Spaniards against this move had its counterpart in America, where the various Spanish colonies refused to recognise Napoleon and set up Provisional

Governments of their own, chiefly because they wished to abolish the rigid mercantile system which was as detrimental to their welfare as the eighteenth-century mercantilism of Britain had been to that of the British American colonies. At first the Spanish Americans continued their political allegiance to the Spanish throne. But when the Bourbons, restored in 1814, after Napoleon's defeat, attempted to reimpose this deadly economic system, the colonies revolted afresh.

The United States naturally watched with close interest and sympathy the struggle of the Spanish colonies against their European masters, and were the first to recognise them as independent states by sending diplomatic missions to each in 1822. But in the next year Spain appealed for the aid of the Powers united at that time in the suppressive league miscalled the Holy Alliance. A French army marched into Spain, restored the King who had by then been dethroned, and visited the rebels with a savage retribution. When the restored King at this moment appealed for the further help of the Holy Alliance to bring back to his allegiance his revolted colonies, the situation for the United States was acute. And at this point it was made more tense by the decision of Russia to begin the colonisation of Alaska, her property in the north-west of North America. The Czar issued a ukase extending Alaska to parallel 51, which actually encroached upon the Oregon country jointly claimed by the United States and Great Britain.

In these circumstances, George Canning, who had succeeded Lord Castlereagh at the British Foreign Office, suggested to America a joint declaration to the Holy Alliance against " any forcible enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjugation," but, as America's price for this was that Britain should at the same time announce her

recognition of the revolted colonies, which Canning did not yet feel ready to do, the Administration of President Monroe had to proceed alone, yet with the knowledge that they had the sympathy of the British Government. For the fact was that Britain, no less than the Spanish colonies themselves, had gained such commercial advantages from their liberation from the mercantilist yoke of Spain that her ultimate support of the United States on this question was certain.

In the discussions in Monroe's Cabinet which followed, the strong view of the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, son of the former President and destined himself to be Monroe's successor in the Presidency, prevailed. Thus President Monroe, in his Annual Message to Congress in 1823, put the American position in a pronouncement which has been known ever since as the Monroe Doctrine.

"The occasion," he said, "has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers.

"We owe it, therefore, to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers (i.e. the 'Holy Alliance'), to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or

controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The Monroe Declaration had the desired effect, and Europe did not intervene. In the following year Britain recognised the independent Latin American Republics, and Canning could truly say : " We have created a new world to redress the balance of the old." So the Spanish American colonies finally secured their independence through the vigorous action of the United States and the support of Britain, and the problem of relations between the United States and her southern neighbours remained to be worked out without interference from the Old World.

The Monroe Doctrine is of the greatest interest to us to-day. But it has been frequently misunderstood. There is no word in it about America having no interest in European affairs, nor any indication that she might not, by circumstances then unforeseen, be driven to take it. The Doctrine lays down in unequivocal terms the simple fact that the United States will not tolerate interference in the American continent by Powers not already holding possessions in it. It was against the prospect of an attack by a *coalition* of European Powers that Monroe's message protested. It dealt only with the American facts in America and not with the possible implications of the doctrine in Europe. No doubt America's non-intervention in European affairs was a cordlar in the minds of those who formulated the pronouncement] but manifestly its full purport for the future could not at the time of its utterance have been apparent. The cry which, in effect, arose from Monroe's Message was, quite simply,

" America for the Americans ! ", and that has been the corner-stone of American foreign policy ever since!

" The Era of Good Feeling "

With President Monroe there began an " era of good feeling " in party pohtics, arising from the fact that the Federalists were so weakened as to be ineffective and that the Republicans were actually the only party. The War of 1812, in fact, had " nationalised the Republican Party," and nothing is more indicative of the growth of a national consciousness in this period. The West was now developing so rapidly that the very thing which Quincy and the elders of the East had feared now happened, and the new areas began to play a distinctive part in the politics of the nation.

By 1821 nine western states had been added to the original thirteen, besides two on the Atlantic seaboard, Vermont (admitted 1791) and Maine (1820). There were thus in 1821 twenty-four states in the Union. The census of 1820 showed that the total population approached 10 millions and that in the year in which Monroe became President (1817) no fewer than 20,000 immigrants had landed at the ports. As a result of this census there was a redistribution of seats in the House of Representatives, whereby 47 out of a total of 213 seats in the House were apportioned to the states west of the Alleghanies, while, by 1821, with two Senators from each of the nine western states, 18 of the 48 members of the Senate came from those states. This constituted a sufficient force to make itself felt in the Federal Legislature.

The fact that the Republicans had assumed a national outlook was clearly shown, for example, in their attitude to the establishment of a second National Bank in 1816. The Republicans had always opposed the National Bank,

116 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

the creation of Hamilton and the Federalists in 1791, and believed that the state banks were the "pillars of the nation." Thus, when the Charter came up for renewal in 1811, the Republicans, during Madison's Presidency, refused to recharter the Bank. But the War of 1812 had revealed the weakness of the state banks, which failed to take the strain, and in 1816 the Republicans found themselves using Hamilton's old arguments in favour of a new National Bank, and it was established.

Another sign of growing national consciousness under the Republicans, in the days of their undisputed sway in national politics, was the work of Chief Justice Marshall at the head of the Supreme Court. John Marshall was a Virginian and a Federalist of moderate views. He had been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by John Adams in 1801 at the age of 46, and was destined to hold this key-post for thirty-four years, until his death at the age of 80 in 1835.

It has been said that Marshall holds a place in America's legal history similar to that of Hamilton in her financial history. Certainly Marshall was the greatest figure ever to sit on the Supreme Bench in America, and just as Hamilton's measures, in spite of the rapid decline of his Party's strength, had a lasting influence on the national development, so Marshall's judgments left a permanent imprint on the interpretation of the Constitution. Hamilton's financial measures effected a high centralisation; so Marshall's judgments tended to enlarge the power of the Federal Authority as against the states. At a time when the national area was rapidly expanding, decisions as to the respective provinces of the Federal and State Authorities, under the Constitution, were of the utmost importance.

The Constitution had granted specific powers to the

Federal Congress and these powers were constantly tested in the days of this rapid advance. For example, in 1819 Maryland laid a tax on the business of the branch of the new National Bank set up in that state, on the ground that Congress had no authority under the Constitution to establish a National Bank. The decision of the Supreme Court under Marshall was that Congress was acting constitutionally in establishing a bank in order to execute laws for raising revenue and regulating currency, a legislative power that was indisputably within its province.

Again, in the famous Dartmouth College case, which arose from the action of the Legislature of New Hampshire in altering the charter of the college against the wish of the Trustees, the Supreme Court under Marshall held that New Hampshire was acting unconstitutionally in passing a law impairing the obligation of contracts. On other occasions he did not hesitate to declare, as for example in the *Marbury v. Madison* case, that an act of the Federal Congress was unconstitutional, by way of emphasising the fact that the Constitution was above Congress. So Marshall's judgments had the triple effect of making the Constitution supreme, of tending to strengthen the Federal Authority as against that of the states, and of bringing what might seem purely state questions within the ambit of the Federal Court.

One-party government could not last long, and, in spite of Monroe's "Era of Good Feeling," the Republican Party inevitably tended to break up into sections. The result was that at the end of Monroe's second term there were four candidates in the field for the Presidential Election of 1824: J. Q. Adams, son of the second President and Monroe's Secretary of State; General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, the victor of New Orleans and Florida;

Henry Clay, of Kentucky; and JVilUam Crawford, of Georgia.[^] When the electoral vote was taken it was found that Jackson had 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. As no one candidate had a clear majority, the House of Representatives, in accordance with the Constitution, had to choose between the first three. After a struggle their choice fell on Adams. This naturally infuriated the followers of Jackson. They dubbed Clay, who, being out of the running, had supported Adams in Congress, " the Judas of the West," and, when Adams chose him as his Secretary of State, they asserted that these two had entered into a corrupt bargain to keep their idol out and thus to defeat the " will of the people."

The Frontier Reaches the White House

As might be expected from these embittered proceedings the " Era of Good Feeling " under Monroe now rapidly gave place to an " Era of Bad Feeling " under Adams. Jackson resigned his seat in the Senate and stumped the country, with a team of managers, in a campaign to turn out the " whole dynasty of Secretaries " and to make certain of his election next time. Adams was thus placed in an extremely unpleasant position and his Presidency was a very unhappy one. The country was now clearly divided into sections and ripe for the creation of new party alignments/ As Herbert Agar, in his book on the American Presidents, says, " About the time of Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, the country became a democracy, or rather three separate democracies: a thoroughgoing social and political democracy in the new western states, where conditions of life reduced inequality to a minimum ; a Greek democracy in the south, based on slave labour and accepting the leadership of the educated class ; and lastly, in the north-east (where the

new industrialism had brought wealth and power), a democracy of city mobs bossed by politicians who took their orders from the rich."

It was this thoroughgoing social and political democracy in the new western states which, under the influence of Andrew Jackson, now became supreme. It was the democracy of a pioneer community, in which, where men were scarce, every man counted, and in which, as a modern American historian, D. S. Muzzey, says, "The test of a man was what he could *do*, not how much he *knew*. If he could manage a wild horse, drive an axe deep, and repel an Indian raid, he was the right kind of American ; and his vote and opinion were worth as much in this democratic country as those of any merchant in Boston."

President Adams and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, now met sectional opposition wherever they turned, and they were finally discredited by the Protective Tariff of 1827, the "Tariff of Abominations"¹ as it was called by its opponents in the south. Already two[^] tariffs had been imposed in an attempt to keep cheap British, manu- factured goods out of the country and so to protect and foster[^] American manufactures. But, as they boTh failed of their purpose, a yet higher tariff was proposed in a Congressional Bill in 1827. The South felt that by it they would be doomed to support the manufacturers of the North out of the tariff, for with the great increase in cotton production the price was falling, while the cost of manufactured goods, thanks to the tariff, was constantly rising.

Nevertheless, the Tariff Bill passed both Houses, though by narrow majorities, and when Adams signed the Bill there was a real danger of a break-up of the Union. Vice-President Calhoun proposed a convention to declare the Act null and void, and Daniel Webster actually suggested

120 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

the formation of a separate Southern Confederacy, a strangely prophetic proposal. Consequently, Adams's stock, at **the** very moment when he was seeking re-election in 1828, was about as low as it could be. Certain states were already preparing for disruptive action, but when Jackson was elected against Adams in 1828, the opponents of the tariff decided to hold their hands to see if Jackson would reverse the policy of his predecessor.

[Jackson's election was, in some respects, the most remarkable in the history of the United States. He carried every state west of the Alleghenies and south of Maryland, and was the first President to come from the "Western Waters." His electoral campaign emphasised the growing split in the ranks of the Republicans and provided the main divisions with new labels, those who broke away to form the nucleus of a new party opposed to Jackson being called National Republicans, and later Whigs, and those who supported Jackson calling themselves Democrat-Republicans, and later simply Democrats.

The election was also noteworthy for the extraordinary scenes which occurred when Jackson came to Washington. Crowds thronged the city and a disorderly mob rushed the White House to get free refreshment and the opportunity of shaking "Old Hickory" (as Jackson's hero-worshipping followers familiarly called him) by the hand, and in the process walked all over the Presidential furniture, smashed the Presidential china and glass, and very nearly crushed the President himself to death. The "Frontier" had indeed come to the White House, and these scenes were in very truth a portent of government not *only for* *and* *of* but also *by* the people.

(Jackson's conception of the Presidency was different from that of his predecessors in office during the forty

years of its existence. They had generally, as the Fathers of the Constitution had intended, deferred to the will of Congress. Jackson thought of himself rather as an officer chosen, like the ancient Roman Tribune of the Plebs, by the common people, to champion* their cause directly against what he regarded as the oligarchical tendencies of Congress. His character was so resolute and dominating, his personality so aggressive and combative, and his conception of rule so absolute and uncompromising that his Presidency came to be known as "the Reign of King Andrew." His period of office was marked by the wildest inconsistency of attitude and action, and, although he constantly inveighed against the evils of partisanship, he was himself the most partisan and partial of all Presidents, his first act being to remove about a thousand public officers and to replace them by his own supporters.

The new President showed no particular desire to support the anti-Tariff campaign and thus encouraged the attitude of defiance of South Carolina. In a great debate on the sale of public lands in 1830 Daniel Webster, in what is regarded as the greatest oration ever delivered in Congress, supported the plea of the eastern states to hold up for a time such sales. This was regarded by the western representatives as nothing less than an attempt to close the West to further immigration in order to keep cheap labour for the factories of New England. Thus was raised the issue of Union or Liberty, and Jackson came out strongly on the side of Webster with the cry, "Our federal Union—it *must* be preserved." Then came a new Tariff Bill, which, though less onerous than that of 1828, still imposed a high tariff, and South Carolina prepared to resist its imposition and, if necessary, to secede. While Jackson was clearing the decks for action against the recalcitrant state, a compromise tariff

was proposed. This was accepted and civil strife was mercifully averted.

In 1832 Jackson was nominated for election for a second time, though he had always insisted that he would never accept re-election. The issue of the election was the re-chartering of the National Bank. Jackson was among its opponents on the ground of the anti-democratic tendency of so vast a national force as that represented by a powerful federal institution of this kind. When the Bill for the re-chartering of the Bank passed Congress, Jackson vetoed it, denouncing the Bank as a dangerous monopoly. In spite of this, he gained an overwhelming victory in the Presidential Election of that year, defeating his opponent, Clay, by 119 electoral votes to 49.

Jackson took this as a mandate to press his attack on the Bank. He gave instructions to the Secretary of the Treasury to withdraw the Government's deposits in the Bank and to deposit them with certain state banks. This happened during the Congressional recess, and when* the Senate reassembled it passed a vote of censure on the President. The President, quite rightly, protested against the vote of censure as unconstitutional (the only constitutional procedure was by impeachment), and after a great struggle the record was finally expunged from the journal of the Senate.

The overthrow of the Bank came at a critical time in America's economic history. There was such general prosperity in the 1830's as to make the nation overconfident. There was a great growth of foreign trade, the country had cleared the National Debt, and the customs were bringing large surpluses into the Treasury. The revolution in transport, promised by the introduction of the railway, gave speculation new confidence. All sections of society felt themselves to be at the opening

of a boom period, and large sums were borrowed by individuals, companies, and states to invest in all sorts of new activities. In the new western states there was a fever of speculation in land, a passion for real estate, to which Americans always optimistically turn in periods of prosperity, "wildcat" banks sprang up in the west issuing notes far beyond their real capital, and, as usual, the increase of currency was mistaken for increase of wealth.

The boom was such that a crash was bound to come unless a halt were called. In 1836 Jackson issued his famous Specie Circular, prohibiting the acceptance by the officers of the United States Treasury of any money except in gold and silver in payment for public land. In face of the inability of the new banks to back their paper with specie, the boom of the West collapsed and the panic of 1837 came in at full blast. As a result, the nation was faced with misery, penury, and starvation. Six hundred banks failed, building and railway construction ceased, factories closed, and thousands of manual workers were thrown out of employment* Moreover, this industrial depression was intensified by the failure of the harvests in 1836 and 1837, and the price of flour inevitably rose. There was rioting among the starving people of the cities and mobs broke into granaries. By the end of the year there was a national deficit of 10 million dollars.

It took the country five or six years to recover from the depression. Meanwhile, the system of Government deposits was revolutionised. The National Bank was not restored, but the Government never again encouraged the use of state banks. Instead, it adopted the policy of storing its revenues in vaults in the larger cities, and not until the time of the Civil War did it adopt the present system of National Banks.

An Economic and Political Revolution

The period of Jackson's two terms as President saw, then, both an economic and a political revolution. It was a period of many new inventions and discoveries, chief among them the invention of the reaper in 1834, which began a revolution in agricultural methods; the beginning in 1836 of the use of the vast anthracite deposits of Pennsylvania, which revolutionised the methods of iron-smelting and forecast the age of steel; the application of the screw propeller to ocean steamers in 1839, which heralded a vast change in methods of ocean travel; and the invention of the locomotive and the railway. This last was perhaps the most important of all, and the rapid progress of railway development was phenomenal, for, starting in 1830 with a twenty-three-mile track (the Baltimore and Ohio Railway), by 1840 the lines had multiplied one hundred-fold throughout the eastern states.

At the same time a democratic revolution was proceeding in the states. In most of them the State Constitutions were radically amended, introducing a large extension of the franchise and the pernicious system of popular election of executive officials, and even judges, instead of choice by the State Governor. With these changes went also the building-up of political machines under party bosses, as a result of which those who had helped successful candidates for office were rewarded with offices themselves. This was known as the "Spoils System" ("to the victor belong the spoils"), and under it, trusted government servants of long standing were ousted by the successful candidate's supporters, on the specious plea that it was true democracy that such offices should "rotate" and more men be given a chance to hold them.

During Jackson's Presidency this system, which had

grown up in the individual states, was transferred to the Federal Government. At the same time began the system of National Conventions for nominating the candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President and for publishing a party programme, or "platform." Under this system, once the candidate is adopted by the Convention, the Presidential Electors of the appropriate party are pledged to vote for him, and the candidate who gets a popular majority, however small, in any state carries all the electoral votes of that state. Jackson and his opponents were nominated in 1832 in this way, and since then all Presidents and Vice-Presidents have been nominated by National Conventions.

By 1833, those who were opposed to Jackson clearly emerged as a new party. Its members called themselves, significantly, Whigs, from the precedent of the party in England in the seventeenth century which opposed the despotism of the throne. The Whig Party was not strong enough at the end of Jackson's second term to defeat Van Buren, Jackson's Vice-President, and his nominee for the succession. But at the next election, of 1840, "the Whig ticket swept the country," and W. H. Harrison, of Ohio, one of the heroes of the War of 1812, was overwhelmingly elected.

[Thus ended "the Reign of Andrew Jackson." Jackson brought the Frontier to the White House and led a democratic revolution in his time. During his Presidency America experienced her "first major economic depression," which Jackson's attack on the National Bank had prompted by encouraging speculation through the state banks, and which his Specie Circular had precipitated by exposing the financial unsoundness of the state banks. Thus Jackson's Presidency witnessed also an economic revolution at work]

Jackson turned the era of "good feeling" into one of "hard feeling" and brought a new party alignment into existence. But he had both championed the cause of the people and at the same time upheld the supremacy of the Federal Authority. Jackson was a strong President and probably the most influential between Jefferson and Lincoln. He personified the new democracy and brought nearer to realisation than any man before him Jefferson's vision of the rights of man secured by political organisation and action. But a larger problem for the nation was now looming, that between North and South on the issue of slavery. Jackson had foretold that the nation would become hopelessly divided unless the agitation on slavery ceased. As we shall see, he spoke more truly than he knew,

Chapter 9

GATHERING WAR CLOUDS

The Significance of the Period

The quarter of a century that elapsed between the election of Harrison in 1840 and the assassination of Lincoln in 1865 was a period fraught with the utmost significance and consequence in the history of the American people, for it saw the rise and climax of the greatest crisis in American history. (This crisis involved the disruption of the Union, with the secession of the Southern States, a civil war in which the protagonists fought for and against the principle of union, the triumph at once of the cause of union and the cause of liberty in the victory of the North, and the abolition of negro slavery and the granting to the negro of rights intended to make him the equal of the white man)

The American Civil War was the most terrible, because the most fratricidal, war of modern times. Fiction often embellishes the story with a false colour and romance, and the current tendency to take at their face value the pictorial presentations of historical episodes, so frequently to be seen in the commercial cinema, gives point to Philip Guedalla's witty remark that for many people the American Civil War was nothing more than a war fought between men in postmen's hats and men in dustmen's hats. But it is evident that so terrific a conflict, in which the passions of the people were universally aroused and the whole of the national resources and energies were employed in a struggle of attrition in

which " brothers' blood " was profusely shed until one side was bled white, must have had causes of the most profound and deep-seated kind!

{Those causes may be summarised as emotional, political, and economico-social. If, as Jefferson had asserted in the Declaration of Independence and as many believed, it was a self-evident truth that all men are born equal and that among their inalienable rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, it followed, as Lincoln was later to argue, that no state could endure half slave and half free. This human aspect of the struggle was its emotional driving force, ~~but it must not be supposed that the Civil War was a war primarily about slavery.~~ As the struggle reached its climax it became more and more clearly a battle of the champions of the principle of Union against the protagonists of the right of secession. The Southern States were perfectly logical about this. They did not continue to press their claim to be slave-owning states within the Union, but at the last merely asserted their right to be free from the interference of the non-slave-owning states, and to secede and form a union of their own. On this aspect of the question Lincoln was equally uncompromising} " It is safe to assert," he said, " that no Government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination."

But the overpowering cause, which, indeed, included the other two, was the economico-social one. The original view of the South was that the institution of slavery was an evil forced upon America by the English, who were the profiteers of the Slave trade, and that it was a temporary evil which the passage of time and the growth of the American white population would eradicate. But the growth of the United States, combined with the invention of the cotton-gin, only fixed slavery more and more

inexorably upon the economy of the South, and the slave-owners themselves, in spite of the contrary sentiments felt and expressed by the more enlightened among them, became the slaves of slavery. Yet their solution, which was to secede, was made impossible by the very nature of the expansion of the United States, described in the last chapter. The movement into the West turned what might otherwise have remained a state question into a national issue, and national sentiments having been aroused, secession became an impracticable solution and war for the Union inevitable]

The Origin and Rise of Slavery

It is important to note that slavery was not an institution gradually introduced in certain states, but one which was at first recognised as universally existent throughout the land and later excluded by those particular states in which its maintenance was not economically profitable. Slavery was first introduced into the area of the present United States in 1619, when two hundred negro slaves were brought in a Dutch ship to Virginia from the West Indies. Slaves had, of course, long before been brought to Central and South America, and as early as 1502 negroes began to be taken to Hispaniola (Haiti), where Hawkins landed his first cargo in 1563. The trade passed more and more into the hands of the English, who, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, gained from Spain the monopoly of transporting slaves from Africa to the New World. By 1770 two hundred British vessels were being used solely as slavers. Enormous sums were invested in the slave trade in the eighteenth century and many highly-placed English people, including Queen Anne herself, drew large dividends from the traffic.

The slavers in their voyages covered a triple cycle.

Having landed slaves in the South they travelled North, where they shipped cargoes of rum from the distilleries of New England, with which they later debauched the negroes in Africa. The negroes, weakened by alcohol, were then rounded up and shipped to America, where they produced sugar and molasses, which were bought by the New England distillers to make more rum. So was established a vicious circle economically advantageous to all concerned except the negroes who, having suffered the horrors of " the middle passage " of the three journeys forming the cycle, were sold into slavery. The responsibility, therefore, for the presence of this scourge of American society must be shared by all three parties—the British whose ships fostered the trade, the NortherrL Colonies whose alcoholic products thus found a ready market, and the planters of the South who found the negroes a docile form of cheap labour.

It was soon evident that the South was to be the real home of the negroes in America, for the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, and rice was admirably served by such labour. " The climate suited the physique of the negro and the labour fitted his intellect." By 1715, negroes constituted 25 per cent, of the population south of the Potomac, 9 per cent, of that of the Middle Colonies, and only 3 per cent, of that of New England. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were about 400,000 negroes in British North America, and of these three-quarters were in the South, where they comprised two-fifths of the population, while in the colony of South Carolina there were at that time twice as many blacks as whites (the state of South Carolina still has more blacks than whites in its population), *This* rapid growth was frightening even to some of the slave-owners themselves, and Jefferson, himself a Virginian slave-holder, once said, in dis-

cussing this question, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

There were several attempts made to abolish the trade, but the vested interests proved too strong, and in the later Colonial period the British Government disallowed Colonial Bills passed in this sense. Yet, however enlightened some Southern planters might be, negro slavery in America was not, in the last analysis, a moral but a economic and political issue, and the slave owners found themselves at once held in the grip of an economic vice from which they could not extricate themselves, and forced, in any case, to remain in it in order to maintain their political position. When the Constitution came to be written, therefore, the Southern States found themselves obliged to press for the recognition of slavery, and by Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution they were allowed to add three-fifths of "all other persons" (for the word slave is nowhere mentioned in the original Constitution) to the white population for purposes of apportioning membership of the House of Representatives (though negroes, of course, had no representation in Congress).

Moreover, among the "powers forbidden to the United States" was one to prohibit the importation of "such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit," for twenty years. Thus, it was not until 1808 that Congress, freed from this ban, prohibited the importation of slaves, and from that time it was within the power of any state then existing to maintain slaves but not to introduce any new ones from outside. But the twenty years' ban on the action of Congress had done its work, and a sufficient number of slaves had by then been introduced to ensure the continuity of the institution. *Consequently, every attempt of the North

to press, by petition to Congress, for the abolition of slavery was met by the proper constitutional reply that it was a domestic matter and the concern solely of individual states. And, indeed, only by an amendment of the Constitution could abolition be carried, and this did not happen until 1865, when the Civil War had destroyed the power of the South to prevent it.

The Missouri Compromise

During the first thirty years of the life of the Republic, up to 1819, eight new states were admitted from the West, of which five (Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama) were admitted as slave states. The position therefore in 1819, when Alabama was admitted, was that in the Senate, the representatives of free and slave states were equal in number. Now, by that time the North had a population of 5,152,000, with 105 members in the House of Representatives, and the South a population of 4,485,000, with 81 members. Faced with this inequality in the Lower House, it was of vital importance, from the point of view of political strength, that the South should endeavour to maintain its equality in the Senate. Equally, the politicians of the North realised that, if they could secure the prevention of further admission of slave states, they would ensure their own political predominance through the expanding West, and destroy for ever the dominant influence of the South.

When, therefore, in 1819 the Territory of Missouri (a section of the original Louisiana Territory, the most southerly portion having already been admitted as the slave state of Louisiana) applied for admission to the Union as a slave state, the issue was fairly joined. A long debate ensued in the Senate as to the constitutional right of Congress to impose conditions of admission of



SALE OF NEGRO SLAVES AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



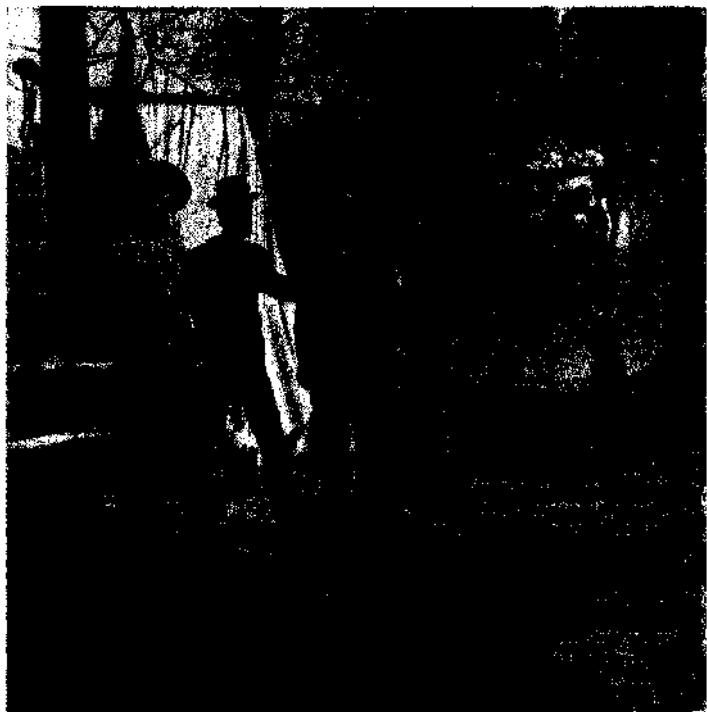
A PRIMITIVE STEAMBOAT ON THE MISSISSIPPI
(Photo by E.N.A.)



ROAD TRANSPORT, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Covered waggon plying between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, a 20-day journey.

(Photo by E.N.A.)



FORTUNE-SEEKERS IN THE CALIFORNIAN GOLD RUSH, 1849

(Photo by E.N.A.)

states to the Union. At last, in 1820, a compromise was reached. This was the famous Missouri Compromise, and it was made possible by the simultaneous application of Maine, a part of Massachusetts, to break away and form itself into a separate state. Congress, agreed to admit both Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state thus maintaining the equality of the two sections in the Senate, and deciding that slavery should be prohibited in the whole area of the original Louisiana Purchase north of parallel 36° 30', except in the new state of Missouri, whose southern border was along that line of latitude.

(The Missouri Compromise proved to be a purely temporising decision^ Both sides thought they had benefited by it. The South had kept their equality in the Senate and the North had gained the important advantage that Congress should continue to determine the status of slavery in the Territories, as well as securing the greater part of them for non-slavery.) But some of the acuter elder statesmen in America saw the truth of it. J. Q. Adams described the Missouri Compromise as "a reprieve only, not a final sentence," and the aged Jefferson said that this momentous question, "like a fire bell in the night," awakened and filled him with terror. "In the gloomiest hour of the Revolutionary War," he added, "I never had any apprehensions equal to those which I feel from this source." The fact was that, while the debates had doubtless emphasised the moral aspect of the slavery question, the Compromise made it irrevocably a political issue. The premonitory thunder of the storm was thereby only muffled, not silenced, and it rumbled on over the next two decades to roar out again when further extensions of territory once more brought the whole question to the front.

From the time of the Missouri Compromise there grew up, outside the legislative chambers, a strong Abolitionist movement in the North. Among the most active spirits in this agitation was William Lloyd Garrison, a compositor, who set up a press in Boston, whence he issued a new journal called *The Liberator*, on which he did all the work of editor, typesetter, proof-reader, and so on, himself. In the first number, produced in 1831, he gave a foretaste of the fanaticism with which he was to plead his cause. "I shall strenuously contend," he wrote, "for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. Urge me not to moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest AND I WILL BE HEARD."

Garrison's crusade stirred the country and kept the slavery question before the public at a time when politically it was supposed to have been decently interred by the Missouri Compromise. The Southerners, at the prospect of the possible success of the Abolitionist campaign, feared not only for their economic existence^ but for their very lives, if it should succeed in encouraging repetitions of the negro rising organised by Nat Turner, a fanatical negro lay preacher, in Virginia, in the year of the first appearance of *The Liberator*. But it was not only in the South that the Abolitionist movement was opposed, (in the North, too, there were many influential people who wished to leave the matter where it was, partly for economic reasons and partly because they recognised that abolition was a highly complicated matter involving rights of property, compensation, and other legal difficulties)

There were others, called anti-slavery men, who must be clearly distinguished from the Abolitionists. (Such men as Webster and Sumner regarded slavery as the "calamity of the South and not its crime"/¹ in contradistinction to

Garrison and the Abolitionists who regarded it as a sin) The South would not believe that Abolitionism was as small in volume as it actually was, and their behaviour in Congress, where a gag resolution was passed in 1836 destroying the effectiveness of the right of petition on the question of slavery, in breach of the first Amendment to the Constitution, and their attempts to force the Post Office to prevent the distribution of Abolitionist literature, merely weakened their case and drove the anti-slavery men and the Abolitionists into one another's arms.

Thus while, on the one hand, the anti-Abolitionists indulged in deeds of mob violence against Abolitionists, destroying their printing presses and vilifying their propaganda, on the other, a party was gradually built up, pledged to work for abolition by constitutional means. This, known as the Liberty Party, was the foundation of the later Republican Party, which eventually carried Lincoln to the White House. Thus the moral argument gradually weakened in face of the political and economic facts. A Southern apologist put his finger on the truth when he asked : " By what moral suasion do you imagine you can prevail on us to give up a thousand million dollars in the value of our slaves and a thousand million more in the depreciation of our lands ? " It only required a new demand for statehood from the Western Territory to start the whole ball rolling once more, and this was very soon forthcoming.

Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican Cession

We have already traced the two earlier waves of westward expansion : the first beginning after the expulsion of the French in 1763 and continuing through and after the American Revolution, peopling the valleys of

Tennessee and the Ohio, and the great North-West Territory between the Ohio and the Great Lakes as far west as the Mississippi; the second, following the War of 1812, resulting in the opening-up of the Territories of Indiana and Illinois in the North, and of Mississippi and Missouri in the South, and in the admission of five new states into the Union between 1816 and 1821. We now come to a third phase of westward expansion, which at once took the boundaries of the United States to the Pacific Ocean and reopened the struggle over slavery.

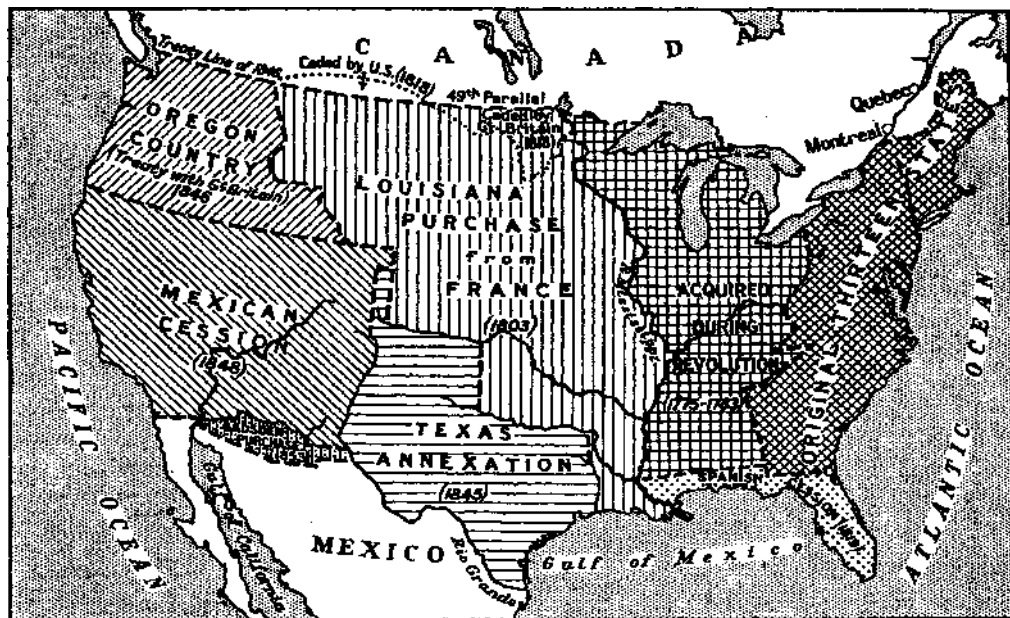
In the earlier westward movements the eastern states had been jealous of the pioneers and their potentiality to destroy the political predominance of the East. Their fears, as we have seen, proved well founded, and the arrival of Andrew Jackson at the White House betokened the political victory of western democracy. And never again, after the embittered debates in Congress of the 1830's, would it be possible to consider the application of new Western Territories for admission to the Union as states without immediately raising in its acutest form the issue of slavery. The struggle over slavery, in fact, was not a simple fight between North and South, but "between North and South for the West."

The story of the annexation of Texas is one of the most exciting in American history. Texas was a part of the Spanish province of Mexico, which had revolted from Spain and established its independence in 1821. Texas lies between the Rio Grande in the west and the Red River in the east, which latter was the boundary agreed between the United States and Spain in 1819. Across this boundary many Americans migrated, until in 1830 there were about 20,000 of them in Texan territory. In that year the Mexican authorities suddenly banned all further immigration, and this produced a crisis which

resulted in 1836 in the Texans driving out the Mexican garrison and proclaiming their independence.

The Mexicans, under their bloodthirsty President, Santa Anna, marched in to crush the rebels, who were now led by the American, Sam Houston, a former Governor of Tennessee and veteran of the War of 1812. Houston utterly defeated Santa Anna in 1836, and was elected the first President of Texas, under a Constitution modelled on those of the American states of the South, with slavery legitimised. Of the total population of 60,000 in Texas, 50,000 were Americans, and they ardently desired to be annexed to the United States. But the Washington Authorities, though in favour of annexation, were chary, for diplomatic reasons, of effecting it without the express consent of Mexico, which was emphatically not forthcoming. Besides, the fact that Texas was a slave state, and that this was just at the time when, in 1837 and 1838, slavery was again becoming a national issue, was an added reason for the Government's reluctance to take so decisive an action. Yet annexation or reabsorption in Mexico seemed the only alternatives, and when Daniel Webster, with his anti-slavery views, retired from the Secretaryship of State in 1843, President Tyler's reorganised Cabinet revived the project for the annexation of Texas.

Thus the old struggle was resumed. But again, as in the case of Missouri, Fate gave the annexationists another chance of a compromise whereby the slavery of one area might be set off against the freedom of another. This was afforded by the American claim to the Oregon country, which offered a counterpoise to Texas and presented the opportunity of overwhelming the opposition to the annexation of Texas by an appeal to national sentiment and interest in general expansion. The result was that in 1845 both Houses passed resolutions in favour of the



TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES.
(Consult this map also for Chapters 7 and 8.)

annexation of Texas, which thus entered the Union as a state, part slave and part free, with the dividing line between the two sections at the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$.

Having settled this question, the Americans now went all out for Oregon, with the war-cry "Fifty-four forty or fight," meaning that, if Britain did not agree to the latitudinal line of $54^{\circ} 40'$ as the boundary between the United States and Canada, the Americans were prepared to go to war. Already in 1842 the famous Webster-Ashburton treaty had settled the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, and now the Americans hoped that Britain might be intimidated into giving up her claim to any part of the Oregon country. But wiser counsels prevailed, and, with Mexico making warlike preparations for the reconquest of Texas, the Americans realised the absurdity of risking a war on two fronts for the sake of five degrees of latitude. Consequently, in 1846 by the Oregon Treaty the boundary between the two countries was settled by continuing the line at 49° from the Rockies to the Pacific.

Meanwhile, the Mexicans were massing on the Rio Grande, and General Zachary Taylor was ordered to move the American forces to the river boundary. The Mexican War began in 1846. Taylor drove the Mexicans across the river, and having effected a junction with another American force moving south from Kansas, defeated the Mexicans in 1847 at the battle of Buena Vista. At the same time, an American naval squadron occupied California from the Pacific side without a blow, while part of the Kansas force was detached and marched 1,500 miles westward to San Diego, in California, where it joined the naval force. While this was going on, General Scott landed an army of 12,000 men at Vera Cruz in the Gulf of

•140 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Mexico, and in September, 1847, captured the city of Mexico. The Mexican resistance was broken and a treaty was concluded at Guadalupe-Hidalgo in February, 1848. By this treaty America agreed to assume the Mexican claims of American creditors at a cost of 3 million dollars and to pay 15 million dollars in exchange for Texas, with its boundary on the Rio Grande, and the territory that was to become the states of New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, California, and a part of Colorado.

Thus in 1848 the United States on the American Continent assumed roughly its present form, for since that time there has been only one minor rectification of the frontier, apart from the addition of Alaska ceded by Russia in 1867. It was quite an amazing feat on the part of the Americans, this taking of nearly a quarter of the total continental area of the present United States " at a gulp," though some of them found the digestive process painful, for the justice or otherwise of the Mexican War was bitterly disputed. It has been generally condemned by historians as a foul attack on a weaker state, prompted by slave-holders greedy for new territory, and the only argument in its favour is that the pursuit of its object was a part of America's " manifest destiny." But the fruits of the Mexican War proved, even from the narrow point of view of immediate treasure, a far richer prize than Cortez had ever dreamed of, for by a strange coincidence, in the same year as it was ceded, gold was discovered in great profusion in California, and thus did " manifest destiny," as J. T. Adams remarks, lay a golden egg.

So in the three years between 1845 and 1848 there was added to the United States, by the annexation of Texas, the Oregon Treaty and the Mexican Cession of California and New Mexico, an area larger than that of the original

territory of the Thirteen Colonies which gained their independence in 1783, and larger than the territory of Louisiana purchased from Napoleon in 1803. The potential wealth of the new lands was incalculable, for they comprised the rich cotton areas of Texas, the orchards and the gold mines of California, and lying between them the arid plateaux of the Rockies, which, by irrigation with the aid of modern engineering science, were to be made productive of the fruits of the earth beyond the possibilities seen by the men of the middle of last century.

Moreover, the acquisition of California and Oregon had opened new windows to the West, through which Americans were to gaze with new eyes upon their future. For these new areas were profoundly to affect, for good or ill, the internal and foreign policy of the United States and to make the Pacific as much their concern as the Atlantic. The programme of territorial expansion on the mainland was indeed complete, but the human problems that that expansion implied had yet to be set and solved. A new West had been acquired : it had yet to be peopled and exploited, and many bloody battles had to be fought over the problems arising. "The first and most immediate of these was the extension of slavery. -^

The Compromise of 1850

No sooner had the new territory been acquired than the storm over slavery broke once more. In 1846 the House of Representatives had already passed a resolution, moved by David Wilmot and known as the Wilmot Proviso, to exclude slavery from the Territory of the Mexican Cession, but the Senate, where; with Texas and Florida admitted in 1845 as slave states, the pro-slavery advocates were in a majority, rejected it. It now became

142 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

evident that the Missouri Compromise could no longer meet the manifold and clamant needs crying out for satisfaction, for now the anti-slavery men demanded the exclusion of slavery in any part of the new West, even south of the Missouri (36° 30') line, and the pro-slavery men contended that even in Oregon, many degrees north of the line, "nothing should authorise the prohibition of slavery." In these circumstances the fight was on once more.

The Congressional session of 1848-9 was dominated by the question and revealed four schools of thought on the question of slavery. First, there were those who advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. Secondly, there were those supporting the Wilmot Proviso to exclude slavery from all Territories. Thirdly, there were the Southern extremists, led by Calhoun and Jefferson Davis, who denied the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in Federal Territories, on the ground that slaves were private property, and contended that, if that property were legal in the states, it must be equally legal in territory which was the common property of the states and which the Federal Government held in trust for the nation, an argument which made the Missouri Compromise illegal. Fourthly, there were those who advocated popular, or squatter, sovereignty, that is, the right of the settlers, who might be from either free or slave states, to decide the issue for themselves. \S

While the debate was proceeding, action was precipitated by the consequences of the discovery of gold in California in 1848. News of this rapidly ran throughout the country. The fever spread to every quarter of the land, even to the east coast, and affected every grade of society. Business men, professional men, farmers, shopkeepers, labourers, and servants deserted their work and their

masters and joined in the " gold rush." **Untold terrors were faced and** agonies endured in the journey to the **gold-fields**. Some went round Cape Horn, others **broke** the sea **voyage** to cross the pestilence-laden Isthmus of Panama and to struggle like madmen to secure a place on one of the ships plying along the Pacific coast. Yet others risked hunger and the bloodthirsty depredations of the Indians to journey in their " prairie schooners " across the deserts and mountains of the direct overland route. The result of this frantic migration of the " Forty-niners," as they were called, was that the population of California in the year 1849 alone leapt from 6,000 to 85,000, so that before the end of the year a convention had drawn up a free State Constitution, and on this basis California demanded admission to the Union as a state.

Whether the administration of " old rough and ready " Zachary Taylor, the victor of Buena Vista, who was inaugurated as President in 1849 and died shortly after, liked it or not, therefore, a crisis had come and had to be faced. In the Congressional struggle Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and other " giants of the nationalist school " came forward as the advocates of compromise in an effort to save the Union, for they knew that " peaceful secession " was a mirage. " Sir," said Webster in Congress in his famous Seventh of March speech, " your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle." And how right he was !

At the end of January, 1850, the aged Clay proposed five resolutions, afterwards incorporated in what was called the Omnibus Bill and known later as the Compromise of 1850. Slightly varied from the form in* which they were first presented by Clay, the resolutions were rewritten by Stephen Douglas, of whom we shall hear more later, passed by Congress, and signed by President

Fillmore in July, 1850. By the Compromise of 1850: (1) California was admitted as a free state, giving the North an advantage of 16-15 in the Senate ; (2) the remainder of the Mexican Cession was to be divided into two Territories, Utah in the north and New Mexico in the south, to be ultimately admitted " with or without slavery as their constitutions may prescribe," that is to say, on the " squatter-sovereignty " principle, which was actually an extension of the Missouri Compromise into the new Territory as far as the eastern boundary of California ; (3) the area of the slave state of Texas was to be reduced in return for monetary compensation; (4) the slave trade (but not slavery) was to be prohibited in the Federal District of Columbia ; (5) a new fugitive slave law was to be passed.

Thus every interest gained something from the Compromise of 1850, and " the status of slavery was now fixed in every square mile " of the American domain from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for some provision in respect of the slavery question had thereby been made for every part of the Union. The compromise was generally thought to be a final solution of the problem, and, though there were some rumblings about secession, the Congressional election of 1851 found those in favour of Union in a majority in every southern state but South Carolina. The Compromise, perhaps, slightly favoured the North at the time, but, by actually achieving the postponement of an armed conflict for ten years, it ensured the final triumph of the Union, because during the decade of truce the North was so strengthened as then to make the permanent disruption of the Union ultimately impossible.

Expansion and Secession

Both parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, agreed to abide by the Compromise, and in this way the question of

slavery was kept out of Congress for some years. But there was a good deal of extra-Congressional agitation over the new fugitive slave law of 1850, which brought the whole Federal machinery into play "to recover runaway slaves. Every citizen was bound to assist in the capture of a slave escaping from a slave state into a free one, and heavy fines were imposed on those preventing his arrest. Inevitably organisations grew up in the North to defeat the ends of what they called the "inhuman and diabolical provisions" of this law, and the system known as the "Underground Railroad," whereby all sorts of people offered food, shelter, and money to fugitive slaves as they "followed the northern star to the land of freedom" was established, and the road to the North became a network of "stations on the underground."

-But, generally speaking, the country was tired of the slavery agitation, because it wanted to be free to devote itself to developing the resources of the new lands. And, indeed, the decade 1850-1860 was one of great prosperity. Vast wheatfields were sown in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota; gold and silver continued to be produced in profusion in California, encouraging new business everywhere; and the mills and factories of the North, stimulated by the rapid growth of railway construction, increased their output enormously.

In the South "King Cotton" reigned. An unending demand for cotton by the mills of America and Europe led to a concentration on cotton-growing, so that in 1850 cotton constituted 48 per cent, of American exports. This great prosperity led Southern planters into a false interpretation of economics and to a glorification of slave labour. They failed to realise that free negro labour could provide as great an output as slave labour, as was amply proved later by the fact that cotton production

increased nearly 200 per cent, between 1850 under slave negro labour and 1880 under free negro labour. Moreover, they misread the prosperity of a few large planters for that of the whole community. The " dominant minority " of large planters amounted in 1850 to no more than 75,000 in a population of 7 million whites.

With all this economic expansion went a great increase in immigration impelled from Europe by industrial distress and political oppression. In 1840, for example, 84,000 immigrants arrived ; in 1854 nearly half a million. So the American people worked feverishly in the 1850's, and refused to look up from their economic preoccupations, while the great black cloud was spreading and was bound in course of time to burst and swamp this hive-like society in a deluge of blood. And yet the very condition of expansion which produced these vast activities of the people, and which was the underlying cause of the Civil War, was itself to be the means of salvation of the nation in its darkest hour. For the West was an acquisition of the United States as a whole without any previous political existence. " It was a vast property in common," and it complicated what might have been a simple issue between the North and the South, and made secession impossible without a blow.

This strange influence of nationalism was emphasised and reinforced by the very economic developments that we have just described. It was the acquisition of the West that led to these new activities and so to the need for railways, while Californian gold provided quick capital for their construction. Of the 30,000 miles of track laid down by 1860, one-third was in the northern half of the West. This meant that the northern West was connected with the Northern forces by direct artificial communication, where, without the railways, they must have been

bound to the South, because the Mississippi was the natural, and would otherwise have been the only, line of communication, and that leading to the South. Therefore, as J. T. Adams says, " Had the West joined the South, the break-up of the nation would have been inevitable. As it was, the railways made it possible for the West to join the North, which it preferred to do in opposition to slavery. Once joined to the North, however, coercion of the South became vital, owing to the essential unity of (our) great valley. The line of 30° 30' might divide two civilisations fairly, but ' 01' Man River ' held them both and would not let them go."

Kansas-Nebraska

Clearly the line of the Missouri Compromise could not hold in face of the facts. Those facts were that California, half of which lay to the south of the line, had been admitted as a free state ; New Mexico and Arizona, which when the time came would probably enter as free states, were nearly wholly south of the line ; and now came the demand for a transcontinental railway to join the new lands of the Pacific coast with the Middle West. In 1853 a plan to construct a transcontinental railway in the South led to a rectification of the frontier with Mexico, whereby the United States paid Mexico 10 million dollars for a strip of land to the south of Arizona (the Gadsden Purchase *). But, as it turned out, this was not the route of the first transcontinental railway, for another and more urgent project was soon under discussion.

In 1854 a proposal was introduced by Senator Douglas of Illinois, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, to organise the central part of the Indian country as a new Federal Territory called Kansas, with-

¹ See map on page 138.

out excluding slavery from it (i.e. on the basis of squatter sovereignty as in the case of Utah and New Mexico). But very soon, on the advice of the South and with the President's approval, he changed his plan and proposed that the Territory should be divided into two along the line of the 40th parallel, one called Kansas to the south of the line and the other called Nebraska to the north of it. Thus the territory was to include all the Indian preserve except what is now Oklahoma, and it was anticipated that Kansas would be a slave area and Nebraska free. This proposal involved the definite repeal of the Missouri Compromise which was included in the Bill. What Douglas wanted was a Northern transcontinental railway, and the price he was prepared to pay to the South for it was a large new section of the North given over to slavery.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in May, 1854. So the Democrats got their railway, and the Missouri Compromise was definitely repealed, but at the cost of broken faith with the Indians and a nation drenched in blood, for now events moved slowly but surely to a climax. The North woke to the inward purport of the Act, which was nothing less than the recognition of slavery as a nation-wide institution. The moral effect was to revive the long dormant Abolitionist sentiment in full vigour, and this was clearly shown in the passage by ten Northern States of Personal-Liberty Acts forbidding their officers to aid in the seizure of fugitive slaves. The political effect was the break-up of the Whig Party and the formation in 1854 of a new one, called the Republican Party, whose platform was that slavery was "a great moral, social, and political evil," and which pledged itself to work for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850, and

to put aside all other differences until the contest with slavery was ended.

Meanwhile, the North was sending emissaries, armed with " bibles and breech-loaders," into the new Territory to persuade or terrorise the people into voting for freedom and non-slavery. This attempt to " abolitionise Kansas " led to civil war there between the free soldiers and pro-slavery men, and even to fisticuffs in the Senate. The temperature of the nation, it was evident, was reaching fever heat. In the Presidential Election of 1856 John Fremont, of California, the candidate of the new Republican Party, actually carried eleven states with 114 electoral votes and 1,341,264 popular votes, against James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the Democrat, who gained 174 electoral and 1,838,169 popular votes. . The Republicans had every right to rejoice at such a result in so short a time, and they began their preparations for the next campaign with high confidence that four years hence their candidate would reach the White House.

Chapter 10

THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Election of Abraham Lincoln

In nominating Buchanan, a mediocrity, as Presidential candidate in 1856, to the exclusion of Douglas who was their natural leader, the Democrats were playing for safety in the hope of pacifying Kansas, and the news of his election was accordingly received with relief by the conservative elements in the country. But the problem of Kansas was not so easily shelved, nor could the passions already aroused be thereby stilled. Hardly had Buchanan been installed in 1857 than a decision of the Supreme Court, in the famous Dred Scott case, refanned the flames of popular indignation in the North.

Dred Scott was a negro slave of Missouri who had been taken by his master into free northern territory and brought back again to Missouri. Later it was pleaded on his behalf that by virtue of residence in a free state he was *ipso facto* liberated. The case came finally before the Supreme Court, which declared that a slave was not a citizen of the United States but the property of his master, and that Congress had no power, without due process of law, to deprive a citizen of his property. Further, the Court held, a negro, not being a citizen, could not sue or gain the protection of the Courts. The South was naturally jubilant at this decision, but the North refused to accept its implications, and the ultimate effect of the Dred Scott case was greatly to swell the ranks of the Republican Party.

It also led to the strange episode of Harper's Ferry. In October, 1859, John Brown, of Kansas, with an armed force of eighteen men, including five negroes, seized the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and, raiding the houses of neighbouring planters, actually freed some of their slaves. He was soon overawed by United States Marines, under the afterwards famous Robert E. Lee, and later tried for treason and hanged. The John Brown Raid was the act of a religious fanatic and senselessly added fuel to flames already sufficiently widespread.

It is some measure of the fever pitch now reached by public feeling that the anti-slavery men should magnify the insensate raid on Harper's Ferry into an act of public heroism, and raise its perpetrator to the status of a saint and martyr, enshrining their devotion in the marching song of the Northern armies. John Brown's Body a'mouldering in the grave might inspire the North, but it equally filled the slave owner of the South with the dread of an armed rising of negroes and the massacre of his family, and convinced him that no peaceful solution was possible, short of a peaceful secession. But things had gone too far for a peaceful secession to be possible, for the North was now fully aroused and the South could make no compromise with the "Black Republicans."

It was in this situation that Abraham Lincoln appeared in full stature on the political scene. Lincoln had been born in Kentucky in 1809. His parents were generally destitute and constantly on the move in search of a livelihood. Lincoln himself was a completely self-educated man. At forty he was an obscure lawyer in Springfield, Illinois, with eight years' experience in the state legislature and one inconspicuous term of two years in the House of Representatives in Washington. At fifty he was "twice the man he had seemed a decade earlier," and

had then become the obvious choice for President by the Republican Party. In 1846 Lincoln was elected as the only Whig member of the House of Representatives from Illinois and spent two very formative years at Washington, but failed to gain re-election two years later, and returned to Springfield to his legal practice.

During the ten years which followed he became absorbed in the problem of slavery and the preservation of the Union. By the year 1858 he had become a leading Republican in Illinois, and in that year he contested the vacant Senatorial seat of Illinois with Douglas. Lincoln, from the point of view of popular appeal, had everything against him. He was lanky and awkward in carriage. As to the angularity of his body, his father once said that he "looked like he needed a carpenter's plane put to him." His clothes hung about him like sacking and his coarse black hair was always unkempt. Nor was he a great orator, though his speeches remain for us magnificent, because they possess that rare quality, which Lincoln's speeches share with Burke's, of retaining an immortality on paper. But whatever Lincoln's shortcomings, and however the power to define his fundamental attractiveness may escape us, there was indubitably something about him which made him a figure unique in the history of America.

In accepting the nomination to contest the seat in the Senate with Douglas, Lincoln delivered a speech which at once gave him a nation-wide reputation. In this Convention speech he contended that the slavery agitation would not cease until a crisis had been reached and passed: "A house," he quoted, "divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government," he continued, "cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved ; I do not expect

the House to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction ; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

After this Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of public debates which Douglas accepted, and the debates were followed with interest all over the country. The question was, " Does the Constitution give Congress the right to exclude slavery from the Territories ? " Lincoln held that it necessarily did give that right, Douglas the opposite view. Douglas won the Senatorial election by the narrow majority of eight votes, but Lincoln had established himself as a national figure.

In 1860 the South appeared momentarily to be in a strong position, for the Compromise of 1850 had during the decade actually operated in its favour and Buchanan's Administration seemed partial to the cause of slavery. In the South the number of slaves had doubled between 1820 and 1860, in the latter year reaching the total of 4½ millions. Yet the number of slaves that even this huge negro population provided was not enough in face of the ever-growing demands of the cotton mills in the North and in England. The price of slaves rose prodigiously, and the South, in defiance of the law of 1807 abolishing the slave trade, smuggled new ones in from Cuba and Africa. Douglas himself admitted that 15,000 slaves were imported in the later years of the decade 1850-1860. Then came the fiasco of Harper's Ferry, and in February, 1860, the South determined to get its rights clarified by Congress. Jefferson Davis introduced into the Senate a

154 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

set of resolutions containing the demands of **the** South. Those resolutions constituted nothing short of the demand for the protection of slavery by Congress in every part of the United States.

Jefferson Davis was a Senator from Mississippi. He had been born in Kentucky in 1808, the grandson of a Welsh immigrant, and started life in poor circumstances. But when his family moved to Mississippi he began to prosper and became a regular army officer. Later he became a successful Mississippi planter and entered the Senate on behalf of that state. Davis's resolutions repudiated Douglas's doctrine of squatter-sovereignty and split the Democratic Party between the supporters of Davis and the upholders of Douglas. Consequently, in the Democratic Convention of 1860 two men—Douglas and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky—were nominated as Presidential candidates. Thus the extremists deliberately acted in such a way as to ensure a Republican victory. The Republican Convention at Chicago, after three ballots, nominated Lincoln against Senator Seward, who was the leading Republican and who afterwards became Lincoln's Secretary of State. A fourth candidate, John Bell, of Tennessee, was put in the field by the rump of the Whigs.

The Presidential Election of November, 1860, was probably the most momentous in American history. In the event, Lincoln was elected by 180 electoral votes to 123 gained by his three opponents combined. He carried all the Northern States and hardly polled a single popular vote in the South. His popular vote was only 1,860,000 to 2,810,000 scored by his combined opponents. Thus Lincoln was, in fact, elected by only 40 per cent, of the voters of the country.

Secession: The Confederate States of America

The country was now fairly split into two, and no sooner was the result of the Presidential Election announced than the state of South Carolina called a Convention, and by the unanimous vote of its 169 members resolved that " the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." South Carolina thus resumed its position as an independent state. Within six weeks it was joined by the states of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas. The seven seceded states sent delegates to a meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861. , The meeting chose Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice-President of the new Confederate States of America. A Constitution for this Southern Confederacy was drawn up, very similar to that of the United States, except that slavery was expressly permitted and the President was elected for six years with a ban on re-election. This Constitution was ratified by the seven states and the Confederacy was launched.

Now, why was it that secession occurred in 1861 before Lincoln was actually inaugurated and before he had had a chance to show where he stood in this matter as the chief citizen of the United States ? For there were two sides to this question each ardently held, and both Davis and Stephens knew that secession meant a long and bloody war. Lincoln had constantly insisted that he had no intention of disturbing the institution of Slavery in the Southern States and that he was ready to enforce the fugitive slave law. And after his election and before he took office he begged the Southern States not to secede

until " some act violative of their rights was done by the incoming administration."

(The reason for secession at that moment could not* therefore, honestly "Have been Lincoln's election as President. It was due, in fact, to a complex of causes. It was not slavery alone, though that cry was made the point of concentration of all the grievances of each side against the other. The true causes lay deeper, in the differences between two kinds of social and political organisation, giving rise to a struggle of " one form of society against another form of society," the hustling, bustling business man's life of the North against the leisured easy-going life of the " Southern gentlemen."

The Southerners had as much right to their view as the Northerners to theirs. In fact, the South might reasonably argue that it was not she but the North who had changed, for it was the industrialism of the North, not the agrarianism of the South, that was new. The truth was that the industrialism of the North threatened the life of the South and all that it stood for. Slavery, in short, was the symbol of an economic system, and " the reign of King Cotton," when the political power of the South was broken in 1860, could, in the opinion of Southern statesmen, be maintained only under a separate political organisation, made possible by secession. The conflict, in short, was of one way of life against another]

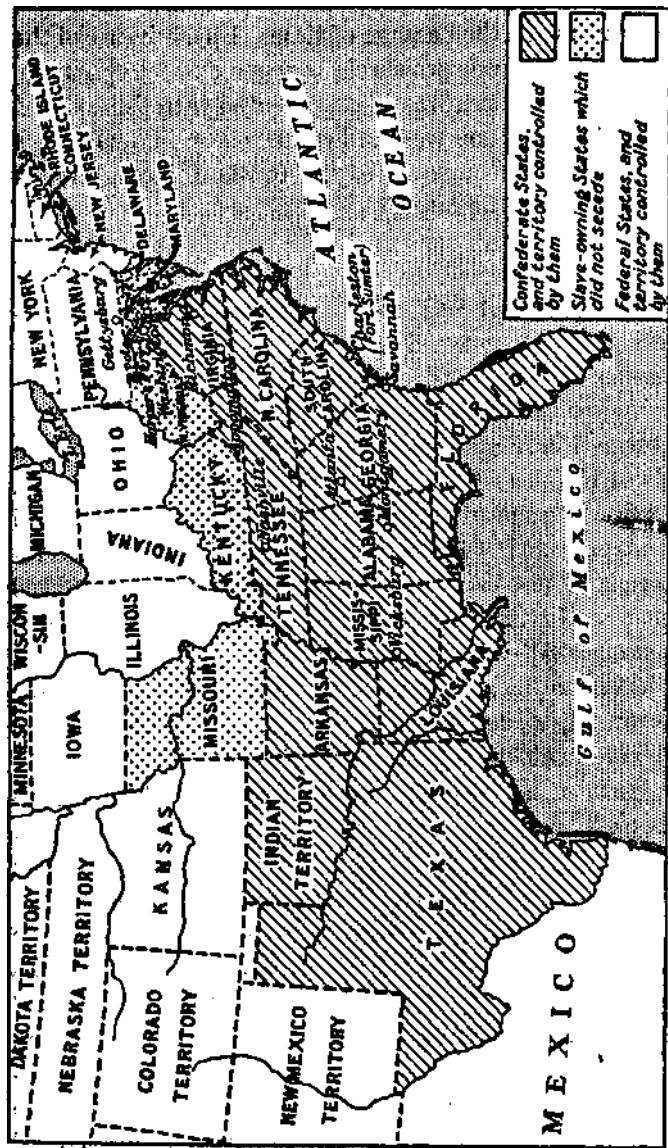
If, then, the South faintly hoped for a peaceable secession, it was because it did not realise how strong would prove the binding force of nationalism, built upon the solid rock of national expansion, and reinforced by technical developments and modern communications. But, in any case, secession had already been deferred too long. The large disparity between the populations of the North and the South would only operate to the further disadvantage

of the **South with** the passage of time. But, because of the force of nationalism, peaceable secession was impossible* and so the weaker side was soon presented with those dread alternatives, only too well and disastrously known to the smaller peoples of our own day, " to die immediately, or to fight first and die later/

The War Begins

The last days of Buchanan's Presidency saw the Administration doing nothing while the Confederacy took possession in the South of public buildings and arsenals belonging to the United States, so that when Lincoln was inaugurated in March, 1861, he faced a crisis, for all but a couple of Union forts had been taken by the Confederacy. In his first Inaugural Address Lincoln thus apostrophised the malcontents: " In *your* hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in *mine* is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to ' preserve, protect and defend it.' "

He had not long to wait for events to test the strength, of his oath, for from Fort Sumter, in Charleston, Major Anderson, with a garrison of only 83 men, informed the Federal War Department that his stores were almost exhausted. When, in April, 1861, Lincoln decided to provision Fort Sumter, the Confederates demanded its surrender. Anderson refused, but, after two days' bombardment, capitulated. The Civil War had begun, and Lincoln called for troops " to suppress the said combination " of the seven seceded states. There were two immediate results. First, the North closed its ranks, and Douglas and other Democrats came to Lincoln's side.



SCENE AND DIVISIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Secondly, the Confederacy, consisting originally of seven states, was joined by four of the eight remaining slave-holding states—Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

Virginia's secession had an important military result, for it gave the South its greatest general, Robert E. Lee, a noble and heroic figure whom Lincoln had already selected to lead the Union Army. But Lee could not find it in his heart to fight against his own state, and so he commanded the Confederate Army in Virginia until near the end of the war, when Jefferson Davis, who did not really recognise Lee's greatness, at last made him Commander-in-Chief.

The sides thus embattled in the spring of 1861 were eighteen free states in the North, and the eleven Confederate States in the South. Four of the states below the Mason and Dixon line—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—though slave-holding, remained loyal to the Union, the last two only with difficulty. The total population of the United States, according to the census of 1860, was 31 millions. Of these, 19 millions were in the free states of the North, 3 millions in the four slave but loyal states, and 9 millions in the Confederate states, including 4½ million negroes in the fifteen slave-holding states.

The population of the Northern States was rapidly increasing, while that of the Southern States was generally almost stationary. For example, during the decade 1850-1860 the population of the Northern States increased by 41 per cent., while in that same period the number of European immigrants into the North was equal to the entire slave population of the Confederate States. * In 1861 the North could call on 5 million men between the ages of 18 and 60, but the Confederacy only 1½ millions. It is evident, therefore, that the Compromise of 1850, by

160 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

postponing the conflict for ten years, **worked** ultimately to the advantage **of** the North, and there was thus some force in the remark of the poet, James Russell Lowell, in 1861 that "the crime of the North was the census **of** 1860."

The Southerners, however, appeared to possess certain initial advantages, some real and some which in time proved illusory. They were better soldiers, being more accustomed to an open-air and active life, and they were defending their own soil, which gave them the double advantage of having their supplies near at hand and of working on interior lines, besides giving them a more ardent defensive spirit. They hoped for help from Europe, especially Britain and France, who, they thought, would support them for the sake of their cotton supplies, and because of the admission of foreign manufactured goods to the Confederate States without duty. Further, they expected that all the remaining slave-owning states would join them.

But in the event, Britain and France[^] though generally sympathetic with the cause of the South, declared their neutrality, and the four slave-owning states, as we have said, remained loyal to the Union. In Virginia, indeed, opinion was so divided that the western section of the state finally broke away from the Confederacy, and in 1863 was received by Lincoln into the Union as the state of West Virginia. Finally, as we have seen, the large Democratic minority in the North, on which the South had depended for what our own epoch has come to know as fifth-column aid, failed the South completely and stood by Lincoln to the end.

The Course of the War

It would be tedious to attempt to follow in detail the military course of the war, and we shall describe its main

features only in the most general terms. It is hard for us to realise, perhaps, that it was the most bloody, as well as the longest, war to be fought up to that time since the wars of Napoleon. It involved the movements of nearly 3 million men, and there were no fewer than 2,000 engagements of one sort and another, 150 of which were important enough to be called battles. It was a war fought, generally speaking, between civilian armies drawn from a nation unused to war for many years. The war lasted for over four years and it was fought to a finish, leaving the North much more prosperous than it was before and the South prostrate and ruined.

When Virginia joined the Confederacy the Confederate capital was moved from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia, which immediately became the objective of the Federal attack. This led to the disastrous battle of Bull Run, in July, 1861, in which the Northern troops were routed. It was the first big battle of the war, and it soon sobered the Northerners, who then realised that it was not to be a short war. Then followed a lull, during which the two sides organised their forces, until at the beginning of 1862 the Federal General, Ulysses Grant, secured possession of Tennessee. In the following year Grant captured Vicksburg on the Mississippi and joined forces with a body which some months before had successfully passed New Orleans and moved up the Mississippi. Lee led Confederate forces into Maryland in 1862, but was driven back. The next year he moved into Pennsylvania, where he was defeated by General Meade at Gettysburg, the most important battle of the war and the only one fought on the free soil of the North, at the very time that Grant was capturing Vicksburg. The victory of Gettysburg and the capture of Vicksburg marked the turning-point of the war, though the South

162 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

was far from acknowledging defeat, especially as Lee had safely withdrawn the remnant of his forces across the Potomac.

In March, 1864, Grant became Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States and appointed General Sherman to take his place in the West, while he concentrated on the Potomac, with a view to capturing Richmond, the Federal capital. Sherman captured Atlanta, in Georgia, in September, 1864, and, leaving Thomas to take care of Tennessee, started his famous 300-mile march through Georgia to the sea. He cut away from his base and depended entirely on the resources of the state *en route*. His army met with no resistance and lived on the fat of the land. As "an example to rebels" and to give point to his famous phrase that "war is hell," Sherman deliberately destroyed everything in the state of Georgia remotely of military value, including public buildings, railways, depots, and machine shops, and finally, in December, reached the sea at Savannah, where he captured, as he reported to Lincoln, "150 heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, and about 25,000 bales of cotton."

Meanwhile, in the same month, Thomas gained a great victory over the Confederates at Nashville, Tennessee, so that in 1865 only Virginia and the Carolinas remained to be subdued. During the latter half of 1864 Grant had lost about 35,000 men in vain attempts to dislodge Lee and capture Richmond. But in 1865 the tide turned, and in April of that year Grant's army entered the city and Lee retreated westward, hotly pursued by Grant. Grant begged him to abandon further resistance, and later in the month Lee responded to Grant's generous terms and surrendered at Appomattox, in Virginia, with 27,000 men. Lee's men were allowed to depart to their homes and to

keep their horses which they would need, as Grant simply and generously said, " for the spring ploughing."

The Assassination of Lincoln

So, in an act of chivalry unknown to the more mechanised wars of our own day, ended the military events of this most disastrous conflict, though the political attitude of the North to the South in the ensuing years was very far from following this high example of generosity to a fallen foe. In the course of the war no fewer than 620,000 Americans, out of a total of 3 millions engaged on both sides, were slain or died of wounds or disease contracted during military service—a vastly greater proportion, both to numbers of fighting men engaged and to the total populations involved, than in the Great War of 1914-1918. The Civil War produced military commanders of outstanding ability, such as Grant and Sherman for the North, and Johnston and Jackson for the South, and one of heroic proportions in Lee. But, more important than these, it bequeathed to the nation a leader of sublime character, just as the American Revolution gave America Washington, so the American Civil War gave her Lincoln, and just as Washington was the founder and father of the United States, so Lincoln was its saviour.

Lincoln's only object in the war was to save the Union " My paramount object in this struggle/' he wrote in August, 1862, " is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery." On the battlefield of Gettysburg, which, after Meade's victory over Lee, was to be dedicated as a national cemetery, Lincoln, in November 1863, made his immortal speech, with its magnificent peroration—an imperishable guide, as true now as then, for all believers in democracy and those who abhor war, save in defence of liberty—" That we here highly resolve

that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Lincoln was re-elected in 1864—the first case in history of a great democracy being called upon "to elect a chief magistrate in the midst of a life-and-death struggle"—by an electoral vote of 212 to 21 and a popular majority of nearly half a million. Thus did the people of the North endorse Lincoln's policy of continuing the war until the South should recognise the Federal Government throughout the United States. The end was not far off, though that could not be foreseen with certainty, and when Lincoln delivered his Inaugural Address in March, 1865, Lee's surrender was still looming a month ahead. But Lincoln rededicated himself to completing the task to which he had set his hand, and called upon the nation "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

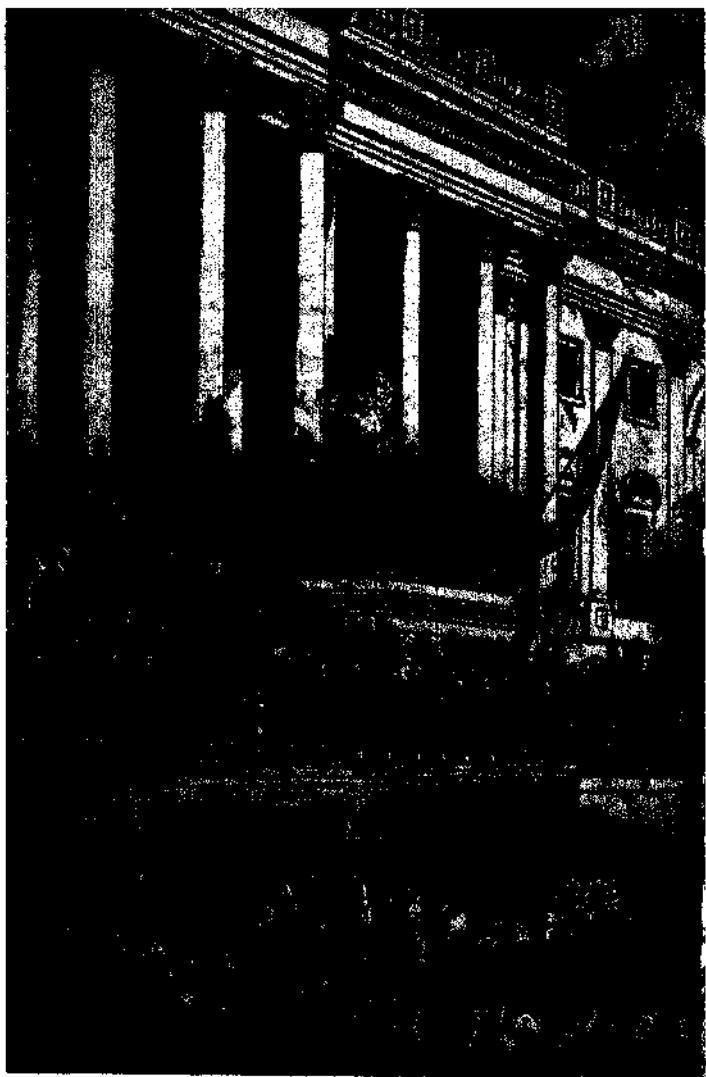
To the end he exercised that stupendous gift in him, which was a combination of the virtues of patience, serenity, and steadfastness, against the angry passions and vindictiveness of those around him. To those who demanded that Jefferson Davis should be hanged, he replied, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." And when peace had been concluded in April, his one object was to bring the seceded states back into the Union with all their former rights and privileges. "We must," he said, "extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union. . . . There is too much desire . . . to treat the people (of the South) not as fellow-citizens; there is too little respect for rights." Lincoln at that moment saw the broken union reunited, and himself once more, in fact as well as in name, President of the United States.



PRESIDENT LINCOLN WITH THE FEDERAL ARMY IN THE FIELD DURING THE CIVIL WAR



THE SOUTH SURRENDERS, 1865



LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURATION, 1865
The scene outside the Capitol at Washington.
(By permission of *Illustrated London News*)

On the evening of April 14, 1865, the anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, Lincoln went with his wife to Ford's Theatre in Washington, and as they sat in a box, a lunatic actor, named Booth, came into their box and shot Lincoln through the back of the head. He was carried unconscious to a neighbouring house, where he died the following morning. Thus "the war was won; the Union preserved; but peace and love and brotherly kindness had fled with Lincoln's soul."

Reconstruction

In 1863 Lincoln had issued a Proclamation emancipating the negro slaves in all the states in rebellion against the United States Government. This was a war measure taken by the President as Commander-in-Chief of the United States, but only the act of the slave states themselves or an amendment to the Constitution could make it universally and permanently effective. So in January, 1865, Congress passed an amendment stating that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The amendment was duly ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states in the December following Lincoln's death, and the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery was carried into effect.

Thus the war had solved two problems. It had established the supremacy of the Federal Government and ended negro slavery. But, in fact, the war created more difficulties than it overcame. Economically, it stimulated processes in the North which gave added momentum to the rising tide of capitalism, completely transforming this from an agricultural to an industrial region. But it utterly ruined the South. There, quite

apart from the devastation of practically everything on which the Southerner's life depended, and the physical destruction of assets amounting to billions of dollars, 4 million negroes were cut adrift from their moorings and wandered aimless and ^opeless without knowledge of how to earn a livelihood .Politically, the war brought about a complete shift of power from the slave oligarchy of the South to the plutocracy of the Nortfi] At the same time the West was developing rapidly and creating new problems which were to have immeasurable repercussions on the economic and political life of the nation.

For the next twenty years the Republican Party—the Black Republicans, as the Southerners called them—were supreme, and not until 1885 did a Democratic President again lodge in the White House. The reconstruction, as carried out in practice, was very different from that which Lincoln had envisaged. Whether Lincoln's policy of appeasement would have been successful had he lived must necessarily remain one of the unanswerable questions of history, but undoubtedly by Lincoln's assassination the South lost her best friend. And certainly President Andrew Johnson, who, as Lincoln's Vice-President, succeeded him in the Presidency, was not the man to carry on Lincoln's policy in the face of a hostile Congress. The truth is that the whole problem of reconstruction was subordinated to the determination of the Republican Party to maintain its supremacy, for, since the coalition of Republicans and Democrats which together had re-elected Lincoln was now dissolving, what the Republicans feared most was the return of the Northern Democrats to political power with the aid of the South, or, to put it the other way, as Professor Faulkner does, " to prevent the Southern States from returning to the Union under Democratic control."

Johnson began by attempting to implement the plan outlined by Lincoln and set up governments under military governors in the Southern States. He arranged for conventions in those states to frame new constitutions, elect state officers, choose legislatures, ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and send senators and representatives to Congress. But Congress strongly resented these "Johnson Governments," for while the Southerners accepted the Thirteenth Amendment, they, at the same time, rendered it nugatory by vagrancy laws, which imposed fines on negroes found wandering without a domicile, and forced them to labour for a master who would pay the fine and recover by the labour of the negro.

Congress regarded these "black codes" as they were called, as attempts at thrusting the negro back into slavery. Moreover, Congress was outraged by the arrival at Washington, as senators and representatives, of men who had been active secessionist leaders. Congress, therefore, refused to admit them and set up in 1866 a committee of fifteen to investigate the condition of the Southern States and to report on the terms on which they should be readmitted to the Union. The Committee recommended a new amendment to the Constitution making negroes citizens, both state and national, reducing the representation of any state which refused to let the negro vote, and disqualifying the leaders of the Confederacy from holding federal or state office.

The Amendment, which was ultimately added to the Constitution in 1868, as the Fourteenth, is regarded by many American historians and jurists as one of the most important parts of the Constitution. At the time that it was passed by Congress, however, it was not ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states. Congress, thereupon, passed a Reconstruction Act which divided

the South into five military districts each **under a Major-General** of the Union Army, with United States troops to enforce the provisions of the Act. The "Johnson Governments" were thus swept away and new ones set up. Negroes were permitted to help frame new constitutions and to run the governments, while former Confederate leaders were disfranchised. The Reconstruction Act also provided that, as soon as any state ratified the proposed Fourteenth Amendment and that Amendment had become part of the Constitution, it should be re-admitted to the Union.

Thus negro rule was forced on the South at the point of the bayonet. Dubious politicians ("carpet baggers," so called from the cheap valise in which each was said to carry all his worldly goods) came from the North to "educate" the negroes in their new school of citizenship and were supported by certain Southerners ("scalawags") in poisoning the minds of the poor perplexed negroes against their old masters, who, after all, were the only people who could finally help to bring them "up from slavery." The "crime of reconstruction," as some have called this process of military rule in the South, led to all sorts of anarchical aberrations, such as the formation by the disgruntled young Southerners of the Ku Klux Klans to persecute the negroes, and intimidate them to the point of begging to be allowed to revert to their former humble state in society.

In his last months in office President Johnson was so out of accord with Congress that he was impeached, but he was acquitted in the Senate and finished out his term despised by the Legislature. He was succeeded by General Grant, who held office for two terms. Grant was an honest soldier but no statesman, and the Executive completely lost grip of the political situation. Never

was the state of public morality so low in America as during Grant's Presidency. Corruption, graft, and speculation were rife among politicians and officials, and all attempts at the reform of public life failed.

But the "reconstruction" of the South went on. In 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, as some Southern States, having been sufficiently "purged" by the military governments aided by the carpet-baggers, had been readmitted to the Union. The remainder were now required to ratify, not only the Fourteenth, but also the Fifteenth Amendment, which was added in 1870 and which specifically stated that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied "on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." In that year all the Southern States complied with this condition and were represented in Congress. But the structure built up by Congress and the military governments under the Reconstruction Act was entirely artificial, and could last only so long as military force was maintained. Thus, by 1876, in spite of all the efforts of the North to the contrary, the supremacy of the whites was largely restored in all the states which had seceded, except South Carolina and Louisiana, where military rule continued to maintain the carpet-bag governments.

From that time a number of factors contributed to the completion of the restoration of white supremacy. In 1872 Congress had passed the Amnesty Act which restored political privileges to all but a few of the original secessionist leaders, and thus there reappeared on the Southern political scene a more sober type of Southern white. Moreover, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional some parts of the Acts passed to enforce Reconstruction. The Civil Rights Act, passed by Congress in 1875, was intended to secure social equality for the negro

170 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

by granting him equal rights with white Southerners in public conveyances, hotels, and theatres. But social equality in manners of this sort can never be enforced by legislation. The Fourteenth Amendment had used the words :. "No *state* shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens." But it was an easy escape for the Supreme Court to declare that it was not *states* but *individuals* or *private groups* who brought the Civil Rights Act into disrepute.

The Southern States, in fact, used every conceivable device to nullify both Federal legislation and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments ; for example, by introducing an educational qualification for the exercise of the franchise, thus excluding the majority of negroes, who were, of course, illiterate. And when all else failed, local intimidation could always be employed in such a way as to be beyond the reach of the law.

So it may be said that the policy of Reconstruction introduced by Congress completely failed of its purpose. It merely emphasised the demoralisation of the South, prolonged and fanned post-war hatreds, and intensified racial feeling. Besides, it did the North itself infinite economic harm. True, industrial capitalism became dominant there during the post-war years, but by concentrating on Reconstruction, Congress prevented the natural economic union of the South and West. It thus delayed the gathering of the fruits of what should have been universal prosperity and postponed the solution of the new and urgent problems which were daily becoming more and more clamant with the rapid development of the West. Finally, in the political field, the North's policy of Reconstruction merely succeeded in establishing the " Solid South," pledged never, at any price, to support the Black Republicans.

Chapter n

THE WILD WEST : THE LAST FRONTIER

Twenty-five Years of Prosperity in the North and West

We have seen how, at the end of the Civil War, America was divided broadly into three sections : the industrial North, the agricultural West, and the prostrate South; how the prospect of the reunion of the whole nation as a community joined in a true spirit of co-operative enterprise, which Lincoln had envisaged, was dissipated through the concentration of the Republicans on coercive measures against the South and the bitterness engendered in the South by their policy of " reconstruction "; and how thereby the fruits of the prosperity which followed the war were not universally shared. Not until after 1870, when the cruel fiasco of carpet-bag government and negro rule began to be successfully counteracted by the more sober Southern elements, and all the seceded states were readmitted to the Union, did the South even begin to recover, and then it was a slow and painful process.

The Republican Party had been formed for the avowed purpose of ending the political disunion caused by the slavery issue. It certainly succeeded in that aim in the narrow sense of having destroyed the power of the seceding states to maintain their independence, but, in achieving it through victory in an internecine war a *outrance*, the triumphant side found itself facing a thousand problems which it was quite incapable of solving. If the Republicans had succeeded in liberating the slaves, presumably to enjoy the right of all men to " life, liberty,

172 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

and the pursuit of happiness/¹ they had done so at the cost of the coercion of the South, their only avowed object in the war being forcible union ; so that, while they were egalitarian in respect of the negroes with one hand, they were authoritarian in respect of the Southern whites with the other. Making the American world safe for democracy in the second half of the nineteenth century was, indeed, a hard road, and the Republicans completely failed in the task.

As we have seen, the Republican Party, through its success in the war, gained a political supremacy which lasted for twenty years, during which it lost its majority in the Senate for only one Congressional term and in the House of Representatives for only four, and not until 1884 was a Democratic President again returned to the White House. The Republican Party was a party of wealth, of tariffs, and industrial interests. It represented what may be called the Hamiltonian state, standing for strength, wealth, and power, at a time, unfortunately, when no body of men of sufficient integrity and force emerged to champion the cause of Jefferson's " American Dream " of the security of the rights of man.

With the Republicans at the wheel, the whole driving force of the nation was therefore concentrated entirely on economic progress and financial objectives, to the exclusion of all ethical considerations. In face of the tremendous economic development in the North and West, which marked the quarter of a century following the war, we find in process of growth an almost completely plutocratic society, in which the Republicans became corrupt in the extreme, and there were few public men who were not smirched with the " graft " which characterised the financial transactions of the gigantic undertakings involved in this development during those years.

During the twenty-five years following the Civil War, therefore, while the disillusioned South continued its fight against adversity and its struggle to repair the ravages of war, the North and West turned to enjoy an epoch of unprecedented economic progress and prosperity. During this period vast fortunes were made in silver, gold, and oil, manufactures and railway construction developed at a terrific pace, new cities grew up, and agriculture flourished exceedingly. Of the innumerable business undertakings which boomed after the Civil War, by far the most important and far-reaching in its effects was the development of railways. In 1865 there were in the United States 35,000 miles of railway in operation; by 1887 there were 157,000 miles. In the north-eastern section of the country the various lines between New York and Chicago were united under a single management, and by 1875 five trunk lines had been laid and opened between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic seaboard.

But even more striking was the building of great transcontinental lines, joining the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. So eager was Congress to encourage this development that it granted to the Pacific Railroad Companies 100 million acres of land and loans amounting to no less than 60 million dollars. The first transcontinental railway was begun in 1864 while the war was still in progress. It was built simultaneously in two directions: the Union Pacific, westward from Omaha, Nebraska; the Central Pacific, eastward from Sacramento, near San Francisco, in California. The labour engaged on the eastern section was mostly Irish and that on the western Chinese, a fact which strikingly typified " the meeting of two worlds on American soil." The two sections were dramatically joined in May, 1869, near Ogden, Utah, where, with a characteristic plutocratic gesture, a golden spike was

driven in to celebrate the great occasion when for the first time the Atlantic and Pacific were "bound together by iron bands of communication."

It was a tremendous feat of engineering, this building of 1,800 miles of railway from the Missouri to the Pacific over yawning chasms and precipitous ledges and across vast deserts inhabited by hostile Indians and herds of buffaloes. But it was by no means the only one. Other lines, such as the Northern Pacific, as well as many more local systems, were built, and soon the country was



PRINCIPAL TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAYS OF THE UNITED STATES.

covered with a vast network of railways. Such feats, of course, were not accomplished without a good deal of disturbance and distress. This vast railway system naturally stimulated all kinds of business undertakings, which developed too rapidly for the resources of the country, and there was a financial panic in 1873, which caused prices to soar and brought much misery to the working classes.

Labour, too, became restive and began to organise itself, demanding better conditions and the exclusion of the cheap Chinese labour. The result was a series of

very severe strikes in 1877, which were accompanied by considerable violence and bloodshed, particularly in the large towns like Chicago, Baltimore, and Pittsburg. **Nor** **were** these vast undertakings carried through without a good deal of graft and corruption, in which many public men were implicated. Moreover, the new mass of business involved a novel and complicated technique of finance, which soon produced a new type of millionaire financiers, like Jay Gould and Cornelius Vanderbilt, and ultimately brought into being great corporations or trusts, such as the Standard Oil Trust under John D. Rockefeller.

The effects of this great industrial boom are shown in the remarkable figures of growth during this period, both in production and population. During the decade 1865-1875 the total output of coal, for example, increased five-fold, and that of steel one-hundred-fold. The wheat crop of Dakota increased from 1,000 bushels in 1860 to 3 million bushels in 1880, and the corn crop of Kansas over the same period from 6 million to 100 million bushels. Precious and other metals, too, showed a phenomenal rise, for whereas at the beginning of the period the total production of the whole country was 50 million dollars, at the end of it the state of Colorado alone was producing a million dollars' worth of gold, silver, and lead every month. The total wealth of the country increased from 16,000 million dollars in 1860 to 43,000 million dollars in 1880, and, most significant of all, the deposits in savings banks in the same period increased 600 per cent. The population, which was 31 millions in 1860, rose to 38 millions in 1870 (in spite of a devastating four-year war during that decade), to 50 millions in 1880, and to 63 millions in 1890. Immigration also increased enormously, for, whereas the number of immigrants fell to 70,000 during the war, in the year 1880 it reached half a million.

This vast and growing population, be it noted, occupied an area of 3 million square miles without tariff barriers and under one Federal Government. It is not surprising that so unique and unprecedented a domestic market should be exploited to the full, and that, while the benefits of financial capitalism, which was its inevitable concomitant, should be enjoyed by the more fortunate members of the community, its strains and stresses were shared by all. Among the consequences of this growth was the rapid increase in urbanisation. It is, for example, significant that, whereas in the first American census of 1790 only 3-4 per cent, of a total population of 4 millions was estimated to be living in towns of 8,000 or more inhabitants, the census of 1880 showed that 22*6 per cent, of a total population of 50 millions were living in towns of that size. Nor was it surprising that Government appropriations from the nation's great wealth should keep pace with its growth. In 1889 those appropriations amounted to one billion dollars, and when the Democrats complained of this "raid on the Treasury," the Speaker of the House of Representatives quietly but proudly reminded the House that America had become "a billion dollar country."

" Successive Wests "

The tremendous economic development which, as we have just described, filled the quarter of a century following the Civil War, was bound to have important and far-reaching effects on the vast new territories which had been acquired by the United States, but not yet inhabited and exploited—the territories lying between Nebraska and Kansas in the East and the Pacific States of California and Oregon and the Washington Territory in the West. We have already spoken of the kinetic nature of the Frontier and described how it moved steadily

westward, from the first faint gropings of the pioneers of the late seventeenth century through the passes of the Alleghanies, and how the movement gained special momentum at periods of national optimism, such as those following the end of the French war, in 1763, of the War of Independence, in 1783, and of the war with Britain, in 1814. Such a period of special, but much greater, momentum followed the Civil War. But, whereas it had taken two centuries from the foundation of the first English colony on the Atlantic coast at the beginning of the seventeenth century for the pioneers to occupy the lands as far as the Mississippi, the settlement of the area between the Mississippi and the Pacific took little more than half a century.

By 1861 the moving frontier had reached a line running south from the west boundary of Minnesota in the north to Texas in the south, with a salient bulging westward to include Kansas and Nebraska. All the areas to the east of this line had by then been admitted as states, except Nebraska (1867). To the west of it Utah and New Mexico were organised as Territories, while on the Pacific coast were the states of California (1850) and Oregon (1859). The rest was completely unorganised. But during the next thirty years, such was the rapidity of its development, no fewer than nine new states were carved out of this area and admitted to the Union. This is the region sometimes called the Far West, a phrase whose significance, since it excluded the Pacific States, is not strictly geographical. This region is more familiarly known as the Wild West, made notorious through the dime novels and "western" films, the colourful land of romantic adventure, lawlessness, and sudden death, of Indian wars, "boom" towns, and cowboys.

As a typical hero of this place and time, "Buffalo Bill"

may be a too highly coloured exaggeration, but the films, on the whole, appear to present a picture of the conditions of those primitive desert communities not too wildly lacking in verisimilitude. For it would be difficult to overstate the coarseness, hardship, and insecurity of the conditions of those times on America's last Frontier, where life was generally " poor, nasty, brutish, and short." In 1860 this region was still inhabited by hostile Indians, not yet finally subdued, and by herds of wild buffalo. Thirty years later a buffalo was a novelty and the Indians had been finally conquered and settled.

The last of what have been graphically described as Successive Wests were those of the miner, the ranche^ and the farmer. This " vast trackless desert of the plains " did not seem to invite white settlement, and for a long time there was a good deal of scepticism whether it had any future for the Americans. But the discovery of precious metals soon removed any doubts and drove the pioneers into it with an impulsion which nothing else could have provided.

Yet, curiously enough, the first true settlement resulted, not from an economic, but from a religious motive. A religious sect known as the Mormons, which grew up in the 1820's in the states of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, caused great excitement and much hostility because of their practice of polygamy. In 1846 their leader, Joseph Smith, was murdered, and they were driven from Illinois. Under a new " High Priest," Brigham Young, they migrated to the western desert and founded a new home at Salt Lake City, in Utah. There they were joined by thousands of converts, and by dint of hard work, under the autocratic rule of Brigham Young, they made the desert bloom. In 1850 the Government gave the area a new status as the Territory of Utah. The Territory

was for long, by virtue of the size of its population, entitled to statehood, but Young continued to defy the Government and to refuse to abolish polygamy until his death in 1877. After that a new social attitude developed in the community, and when, in 1896, the Mormon Church promised to abolish polygamy, Utah was admitted as a state.

The Frontier of the Miner

But the urge towards the development of the remainder of the region was by no means religious in objective. First, there was what has been called the mineral frontier. In 1858 gold was discovered in Kansas Territory, and immediately a gold rush began. The caravans of the gold seekers poured across the frontier, and by 1860 there were 100,000 miners in the camps on the sites of Denver and Colorado Springs. But the region was not so productive as California had proved a few years earlier, though there was sufficient to encourage a permanent community. In 1859 a Territory was formed, and in 1876 it was admitted to the Union as the State of Colorado. Next, in 1859, came the discovery of precious metals in Carson Valley, in the extreme west of Utah Territory. This caused another and more productive rush, and led to the organisation of the separate Territory of Nevada in 1861 and to its admission as a state in 1864.

In 1861 yet another rush followed the discovery of gold in the region that is now Idaho, actually on the reservation of the Nez Percé Indians, and, as thousands moved to the new "El Dorado" further, discoveries were made. These movements led to the creation of the Territories of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, which became states in 1889 and 1890. Meanwhile, in the South, companies were formed to exploit the old Spanish mines in New Mexico, par-

ticularly in the west of the Territory, where the prospectors discovered new deposits. This made the area sufficiently important to be made into the separate Territory of Arizona, which, simultaneously with New Mexico, was admitted as a state of the Union in 1912.

The boom in precious metals and the mining of them during and after the Civil War produced that extraordinary community known as the boom town. The boom town was a mining camp in which the saloon and the general store, as one historian has said, were the only representative institutions. It was, indeed, a part of the Wild West, where Ufe was coarse and lawless, and where the only unforgivable sin was the theft of a man's horse, his only means of transport in those days. The men were mostly reckless adventurers with nothing to lose and everything to gain, and women were scarce, virtuous women even more so.

The loneliness and desolation of the life of these mining camps, cut off from the civilising influences of older and more settled communities and from the benefits of ordered government, led inevitably to the reaction of drunkenness, debauchery, and murder. Many of the boom towns grew like mushrooms at the slightest bruited of a gold find, only to disappear when the rumour was found to be baseless. This was hardly, you would think, a secure basis for the growth of a true commonwealth. And yet, when all is said, the mountain states of to-day were founded by the miners of those early times of the gold rush, and those states have found the means of a decent, ordered, and progressive life.

The Frontier of the Rancher

In the history of the Frontier the rancher has usually preceded the farmer, and this for two obvious reasons:



THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY AT OGDEN, UTAH
In the early days of the first transcontinental railroad.



A TYPICAL BOOM TOWN
The main street of Creede, Colorado, during the silver boom of the 80's.
(Photo by E.N.A.)



COWBOYS IN TEXAS DRIVING THE CATTLE HOME
(Photo by E.N.A.)



ON BOARD AN IMMIGRANT SHIP BOUND FOR AMERICA
Mid-nineteenth century.

first, that it is cheaper and easier to **follow** pastoral **than agricultural** pursuits, and secondly, that, in the days when methods of transport were primitive, " meat on the hoof " was a commodity more readily available for market. Several circumstances combined to produce what has been called " the sudden spectacular development of the last rancher frontier." During the Civil War there had been a great growth of cattle-rearing in Texas, but there was no market in the South for the disposal of the herds. It was then accidentally discovered that the pastures of the northern plains were highly suited to the fattening of cattle. The clearing of the plains of Indians and buffalo left an open country for anyone who cared to use it. With the development of railways came the possibility of transporting the cattle from certain points to the northern plains near the great cities, where the enormous industry of preparation, refrigeration, and packing was thus encouraged.

In this situation appeared the cowboy with his picturesque costume, his skill in horsemanship, and the folklore-like songs which he crooned to his herds to prevent them stampeding. His job was to control and protect the herds in Texas and at suitable seasons to round them up, first, in the spring for marking the calves with the owner's brand, and secondly, in the summer to drive the selected animals to the railhead, whence they went by train to the north for the process of final fattening-up and slaughter.

The expansion of this industry was rapid and enormous. Great cattle companies were formed in America and Europe to exploit a profitable trade, and the cattle baron became almost as picturesque a figure at what might be called the dead end of the process in Chicago as did the cowboy at the live end in Texas. **But** the boom was too **great**

to last, and the prosperity of the industry turned **out to** be purely ephemeral. The mania for speculation and the scramble for profits led to an expansion of the business beyond the capacity of suitable pastures and the warrant of the market, and the boom collapsed in 1885.

The golden age of the ranchers' frontier thus ended. The rancher had to give way to the farmer, and the cattle industry was forced to change its methods entirely. The traditional cowboy became little more than a museum piece, to be brought periodically to somewhat bogus life for the purpose of the film and the rodeo. But, as Professor Faulkner points out, ephemeral as was the ranchers' frontier, it had distinct influences on American history. First, "it helped to open up for settlement the vast area between the hundredth meridian and the Rockies/" Secondly, it caused great improvements in the packing industry, which, under monopolists like Armour and Swift, moved westward to centres at Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Omaha, and had to find methods for coping with such problems as transportation, which led to the invention, for example, of refrigeration. The economic and social aspects of this industry were a most vital factor of American development in this period, and still play an important part in the life of America and the world.

The Frontier of the Farmer

The farmers' frontier rapidly followed the ranchers'. A number of circumstances assisted the settlement of farmers. First, they were favoured by Liberal land laws, such as the Homestead Act of 1862, which granted free land across the Frontier on condition that the settler remained for at least five years. Secondly, the opening of the transcontinental railways encouraged settlement and

made access and transport easy. Thirdly, it was soon discovered that those who had thought of the prairies as a useless arid waste were wrong, and that, on **the** contrary, they had great agricultural possibilities. Lastly, **a** large number of immigrants, particularly the highly acceptable Scandinavians, went straight through to the Great Plains, thus securing for these lands a sound and stabilised type of labour.

The land laws were constantly evaded, and the principle of commutation, whereby a man could purchase relief from the five-year limitation, was abused. Under the Homestead Act the head of a family, having been granted free land, might, before the expiry of five years, commute by purchasing the land from the Government at 1¼ dollars an acre. What happened in practice in many cases was that large tracts of land were bought up, under cover of commutation, by wealthy individuals and companies. Certainly a large part of the public domain remained in the hands of small farmers and thus justified the liberal provisions of the Homestead Act. But a considerable proportion was taken over by those who had no local interest in it, and no sense of neighbourhood, which is the only proper foundation of a true community-spirit.

The Government used every possible means to fill the new agricultural lands speedily. A vast propaganda was carried on both in America and in Europe to stimulate emigration to the agricultural West. Railway rates were lowered to a minimum and every encouragement was given to the settler. The result was that the agricultural area was over-expanded and agricultural commodities over-produced. Consequently, it is in the agricultural states in the West that, ever since, there has been the most acute economic and political discontent.

So the farmers' frontier succeeded the ranchers' frontier. The farmer kept the open ranger out by means of barbed wire, a new invention which solved the difficult problem of fencing in a land where materials for such purposes were scarce. The use of barbed wire cleared the way for the more rapid expansion of the agricultural country. The rancher resisted for a long time, but in the end succumbed and himself sought new methods. The old range country was thus transformed into wide pasture land, so that the cattleman had to fence his own property. Thus more barbed wire was used and the manufacture of it became a major industry.

The End of the Frontier

Out of the Far West region which we have just surveyed there were created during the twenty-five years under review (1865-1890) eight new states—Nebraska in 1867; Colorado (partly out of the area of the Louisiana Purchase) in 1876; North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889; and Idaho and Wyoming in 1890. As we have shown, Utah was not admitted until 1896, and the three remaining states of the West, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, were not admitted until the early years of the nineteenth century.

The Far West was the last free home of the Red Indians, and during the period 1860 to 1890 they saw disappearing their lost inheritance, which was ruthlessly invaded with the opening-up of Nebraska and Kansas. The peaceful Indians in Government reservations were the victims of corrupt Government officials who scandalously misapplied the funds appropriated for their care and welfare. The more warlike made a last desperate fight in face of the white man's advance into the desert. The Indians appear to have caught the spirit of internecine

strife during the Civil War, and in 1862 the Sioux carried out a massacre of whites in Minnesota. In 1864, to avenge another outbreak in Colorado, a band of friendly Indians was massacred by the whites, and as a result war blazed along the whole border.



THE END OF THE FRONTIER.

The Trans-Mississippi West and the States that were carved out of it.

While the Government were in favour of pacifying the Indians, the Army, generally, wanted to crush them. The result was that there were sporadic outbreaks of bloody conflicts throughout the period. By 1868 the opposition of the Apaches in the South was ended by

186 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

the American Army. In 1876 an expedition **was** despatched against the Sioux, the northern "hostiles" under their leader, Sitting Bull, and they were thoroughly subdued, though at the cost of 200 dead white men. After this they gave no more trouble until 1890, when it was again necessary, and for the last time, to send troops against them.

The Indians were the victims of the inexorable advance of the white man. The economic urge into their preserves in the West, with its lure of gold and its formerly unsuspected agricultural and pastoral potentialities, was too strong, and broken faith and mortal fights were the inevitable result. The Government did what it could to make amends, and in 1887 it passed the Dawes Act, which, while abolishing many of the Indian reservations and opening them to white settlement, granted to each head of an Indian family 160 acres of land and American citizenship. In the following year 15,000 Indian youths were in Government schools and a new era of white attitude to Indians began.

During the first thirty years of the twentieth century more than half the Indians in the United States achieved citizenship and at least half their children were being educated in public Government schools. Meanwhile, in 1907, Oklahoma and the neighbouring Indian territory were combined to form the state of Oklahoma, which was thus admitted to the Union. The very large proportion of Indian inhabitants of that state (now amounting to 100,000) have equal rights with the white man, and, indeed, are very largely assimilated to the white population in ways of life and even in blood.

In 1890 the Frontier officially disappeared, for in that year the American Census Bureau in its census report stated: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a

frontier of settlement, **but** at present the area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports." Thus did the curtain fall on the last act of the long drama of " Successive Wests." True, there were still a good many spaces to be filled, but no longer would it be possible for Americans to " go West " in the old spirit of adventure and of escape from unbearable conditions elsewhere. It would at the best be a solitary affair, not the kind of communal trek which had for so long played a vital part in the national story. The country was now fully organised politically, and Americans could no longer evade the task of facing their problems together by escape into " the great open spaces."

Chapter 12

THE NEW IMPERIALISM

The Epic Election of 1896

" If, " says Nicholas Murray Butler in his book, *Building the American Nation*, " the political discussions and debates in the United States from 1789 to 1876 were primarily and chiefly constitutional, from 1876 to the present time they have been primarily and chiefly economic." This change became very marked in the last decade of the nineteenth century, for then " the flag outran the Constitution " through a wave of imperialism which was the natural outcome of the Industrial Revolution in America. This Industrial Revolution resulted from the mechanical inventions, which so speeded up production that new markets abroad were required to absorb the surplus, and it had to be absorbed if production at that rate were to continue. And the rate of production had to continue because of the enlargement of the area of production which we have described, and the constant peopling of the new areas and old industrial centres by a highly accelerating process of immigration.

Now, the effects of the Industrial Revolution were felt in America very much later than they were in England and other European countries. This was due to the fact that the new lands offered an outlet for popular energies, and while the " wide open spaces " were still available for the potential rebel against modern industrial conditions, the grinding concomitants of such a revolution—bad factory conditions, overcrowding of cities, and so

forth—were not felt to be intolerable. Moreover, when the effects did begin to be felt, two things happened. On the one hand, there was a vast consolidated internal market which gave unlimited opportunities for the development of "big business" and all its accompanying machinery of trusts and the overweening influence of money-power. On the other, the revolution met in America conditions entirely unknown in Europe, for in America "industrialism was to encounter the mentality, not of a people emerging from feudalism, but of one emerging from the exceptionally free and optimistic life of the frontier."

These two facts account for the hectic atmosphere of the closing years of the nineteenth century in America. By that time the expansion of the American people across the Continent was complete, the "hostile" Indian had gone with the buffalo, and the Frontier had been officially declared at an end. The frontiers were the two wide oceans, the geometrically precise boundary with Canada in the north, and the still quiet border of Mexico in the south. These frontiers the Americans were now ready to overflow, and this, in a sense, was a logical development of America's growth to full continental stature.

The internal situation, as the close of the century approached, began to reveal all the conditions of political and economic revolution. The struggle between the two interests, as represented by the Republican and Democratic Parties, was most bitter during the first Presidential term of Grover Cleveland (1885-1889), the first Democrat to break the twenty-five-year-long supremacy of the Republicans. As we have said, the Republicans were the party of industrialism and big business. They therefore stood for a protective tariff, while the Democrats, under

190 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Cleveland, stood for a mere revenue tariff. But the growth of the money-power and the organisation of trusts had by that time gone too far. Trusts now covered practically every large industry and undertaking : coal, iron, timber, oil, lead, rope, sugar, and whisky.

It was these interests which influenced Congress in favour of a high protective tariff and sterilised Cleveland's efforts to reduce it. The consolidation of capital in these great Corporations had its counterpart in the incipient combinations of labour, which now began to demand for the workers the "full enjoyment of the wealth they create and sufficient leisure to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties, to share in the gains and honours of advancing civilisation," as well as laws for greater safety for adult workers, the exclusion of children from mines and factories, and the nationalisation of telegraphs, telephones, and railways. All this practical labour agitation found its more academic presentation at this time in such sociological studies as Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, in which he advocated a single tax only on land, and in Edward Bellamy's widely-read propaganda novel, *Looking Backward*, in which he "looked forward" to a co-operative commonwealth in the year 2000.

At the same time the new Far West began to make itself felt both in the economic and political fields, and it was through a coalition of the Farmers' Alliance and the American Federation of Labour that a new party and a new platform emerged. The party was known as the People's, or Populist, Party, and the platform demanded, among other things, the free coinage of silver and national ownership of railways, steamship lines, and telegraph and telephone services. They nominated a candidate, James B. Weaver, of Ohio, for the Presidential Election of 1892,

and he actually carried the states of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, and Nevada. At this election the Democrats regained power, when Grover Cleveland was elected for a second term after a break—the only example of a Presidential "come-back" in American history—and it looked as though the true effect of the Populist Party was yet to be felt.

Cleveland faced a treasury in which the gold reserve had sunk to a point at which America was in danger of not being able to meet her international obligations. This was due to the effect of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890, which, under pressure from the silver miners, had provided that the Government should buy $4\frac{1}{2}$ million ounces of silver monthly and issue treasury notes up to the amount of silver purchased. The inevitable result was the operation of Gresham's Law, which asserts that "bad money drives out good," and the people stuck to their gold and so depleted the national coffers of their necessary gold. Cleveland persuaded Congress to repeal the Silver Act in 1893 after a fight in which the "silver states" of the West, representing only two per cent, of the country, managed to hold up the Bill for weeks.

But the Treasury was still without sufficient gold, in spite of its encouragement of the people to purchase Government Bonds for gold. The payment of customs duties in gold, for example, dropped to only 20 per cent, in 1892. Gold, in fact, threatened to go out of circulation altogether, until at last, in desperation, Cleveland invited the millionaire banker, J. Pierpont Morgan, to help the Government by buying Government bonds for gold at a special discount. Morgan drove a hard bargain, but he produced the gold. This was yet another instance of the growing money-power, and Cleveland was naturally

charged by the Populists with selling the country to the bankers of New York and London.

The malcontents had, of course, nothing to hope for from the Republicans, but they were determined to get rid of Cleveland. They therefore sent out an appeal for a union of Radical Democrats, Populists, and " Silverites " to destroy " the money lords of Wall Street." It was in this overheated atmosphere that the extraordinary Presidential Election of 1896 took place. The Democratic Convention, held in Chicago, found the party ready; it only needed a leader. He was discovered in William Jennings Bryan, a lawyer of Nebraska, who was then only thirty-six years of age, and who, because of his crusading zeal on behalf of free silver, the Convention nominated. The " gold " Democrats broke away, but their candidate polled only 135,000 out of more than a million popular votes. Bryan was opposed by the Republican, William McKinley, of Ohio.

The election was fought on the issue of " free silver," by which the " silver " Democrats meant that the Government should coin unlimited silver at a ratio to gold of 16 to 1, " without waiting for the consent or aid of any other nation." This silver heresy was a natural product of the financial condition of the new West, where the farmers, building up their businesses, were of the debtor class. But as to its becoming an election cry, a New York Democratic newspaper wrote : " Lunacy dictated the policy and hysteria evolved the candidate." The reply of the Republicans and the " sound money " Democrats was that they favoured, and were willing to work for, " international bi-metallism," that is to say, the use of both gold and silver as a medium of exchange under agreements with other nations of commercial standing in the world, thereby safeguarding the nation against the

financial disaster which must inevitably result from free silver coinage in America operating in isolation. But the policy of bi-metallism had no future, because no other country was so placed as America in the matter of precious metals.

The electoral battle of 1896 was most bitter. Bryan swept through the country on a whirlwind campaign, in which, it is estimated, he addressed no fewer than 5 million Americans, probably a record in pre-wireless days. And there is no doubt that, by his youthful fire and his amazing oratory, he made many converts to "free silver/' But he failed to be elected, and McKinley was returned with a popular majority of 48,000 and an electoral vote of 271 to 176. The country had been faced with difficult alternatives, for neither side presented a moderate policy, which many Americans would have been eager to support, whose aim would have been to curb the inordinate influence of trusts and monopolies and to prevent the erection of unreasonable tariffs which injured the mass of the people.

In electing McKinley, in these circumstances, the American people played for safety, but at the price of the triumph of property and big business and of a resultant struggle, to be waged with great fierceness, between capital and labour. The mass of the Democratic Party had, in fact, gone too radical. In doing so it permitted the triumph, at the other extreme, of conservative capitalism, through the return of the Republicans, who were to hold unbroken political power for the next seventeen years. The West, which had in the past made possible the election of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, were unable to secure the return of Bryan, with the result that a movement which might have led to a democratic and economic revolution was nipped in the

194 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

bud, and the nation, as it marched into the twentieth century, was set on a course towards an all-pervading capitalism and an entirely novel imperialism.

America's New Diplomatic Strength

At no time in her history up to the last decade **of the nineteenth** century had America thought of territorial expansion in terms of overseas possessions, as we understand them. Up to the year 1893 the nearest she had come to an extra-continental acquisition was in **the** purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. But Alaska is not strictly extra-continental, though it stands in frozen isolation in the far north-west of the American Continent, being cut off from the remainder of the United States by the whole depth of the west coast of Canada, and is still classified as a Territory.

The purchase of Alaska seems to have arisen from the junction of impulsions from both sides—on the one hand, the desire of Russia to get rid of a white elephant, and, on the other, the passion of Seward, the Secretary of State, for American expansion. It cost the United States 7 million dollars, but was so little thought of at the time that it was disrespectfully referred to by contemporary Americans as "Seward's ice-box," though it has since proved to be a valuable property, the product of the gold mines of the Yukon valley alone having realised many times as much as was originally paid for the whole territory. In another way, the purchase of Alaska is interesting as an undoubted indication of that greater sense of diplomatic strength gained by the North through her victory in the Civil War, which was also demonstrated in the firm* stand taken by the United States over the French in Mexico and the *Alabama* arbitration with Britain.

The first of these arose from the tragic fiasco of **the**

Emperor Maximilian. The Emperor of the French, Napoleon III, had thought the preoccupation of the United States with its civil war an excellent opportunity to satisfy his hunger for prestige, and had in 1863 persuaded the Archduke Maximilian of Austria to accept the throne of Mexico, then in a state of revolution. This puppet Empire was easily established while the American Civil War was on, but when it was over Seward's firm stand forced Napoleon to recognise that the game was up, and he withdrew his troops. Maximilian foolishly remained behind and was court-martialled and shot in 1867. The importance of this episode and its outcome was that the Americans thereby took their stand on the Monroe Doctrine, which was to be even more forcibly vindicated a few years later over the Venezuelan boundary dispute with Great Britain.

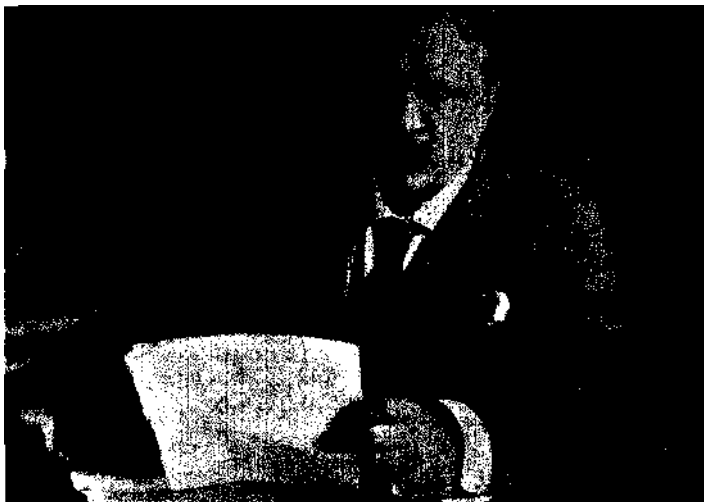
The *Alabama* arbitration arose from the depredations during the Civil War on the commerce of the North by raiders of the South, such, as the *Alabama*, built in British shipyards and allowed to slip away to do immense damage to the mercantile marine of the North and to assist in prolonging the resistance of the South. After the war America demanded reparation, and in 1872, as a result of arbitration, the matter was settled by the British paying America 15½ million dollars as damages. But the whole episode* left a good deal of bitterness behind and heightened the feeling in America, already strong since the war of 1812, that Britain was her inveterate foe.

Nor was this the end of diplomatic trouble with Britain, for a few years later, in 1887, diplomatic relations were broken off between Venezuela, on the northern coast of South America, and Britain, over a dispute concerning the boundary between that state and the British pos-

session of Guiana, to its immediate east. The United States offered to arbitrate between the parties, but the attitude of Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, was that it was none of the business of the United States. The dispute went on for some years, and the United States, importuned by Venezuela, continued to press Britain to agree to arbitrate. Finally, in 1895, President Cleveland persuaded Congress to take the matter into its own hands, and it appointed a boundary commission, even at the risk of war with Britain. But there was a revulsion of feeling in Britain and wiser counsels mercifully prevailed. In 1897 Britain agreed to submit the question to arbitration, and the boundary was finally settled, on the whole favourably to Britain, in 1899. Thus was the Monroe Doctrine upheld as the basic principle of American diplomacy.

These successful demonstrations of diplomatic strength in connection with the American Continent itself were accompanied or followed by overseas adventure and imperial expansion, which seriously began in 1893 with American intervention in the Hawaiian, or Sandwich, Islands, in mid-Pacific. America's interest in the Pacific as a trading route dated back to the late eighteenth century, when American merchants first began to sail to the Far East, and throughout the nineteenth century she took her share with European Powers in the scramble for rights and concessions in China and Japan. In this process she became interested, with Britain and Germany, in the island of Samoa as a coaling station in the South-West Pacific, and in 1899, after a good deal of international wrangling, obtained sovereign possession of the island of Tutuila, which, with its excellent harbour of Pago Pago, has since been known as American Samoa.

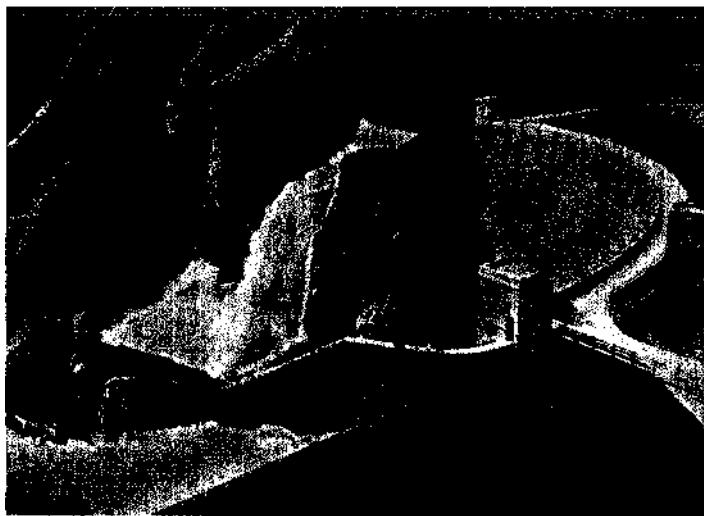
Similarly, under the impulse of trading interests, in the Hawaiian Islands, with their capital of Honolulu, there



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS
INSULAR POSSESSIONS, 1901-1909
(Photo by Topical Press)



A STREET IN THE PHILIPPINES
The main thoroughfare of Luchan, in the island of Luzon.
(Photo by E N A)



THE GREAT ROOSEVELT DAM IN ARIZONA
The means of reclaiming 13,000 acres in Salt River Valley.
(Photo by E.N.A.)



MAKING THE PANAMA CANAL
At work on the Culebra Cut in 1909.
(Photo by E.N.A.)

had grown up since the middle of the nineteenth century a considerable community of American merchants and planters. These American residents enjoyed full rights of citizenship and became the dominant political force in Hawaii. In 1893, when the Hawaiian Queen, Liliuokalani, a bitter enemy of the whites, was dethroned after attempting to overthrow the constitutional government which the Americans controlled through their franchise and the holding of the principal Government offices, John L. Stevens, the American Minister to Hawaii, wrote: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." He set up a Provisional Government, landed troops from an American cruiser then in Hawaiian waters, and raised the American flag. A treaty of annexation was drawn up, though it was not ratified until 1898.

In 1900 the Hawaiian Islands were made an American Territory with full American citizenship, a Governor, a Senate, a House of Representatives, and a representative in Congress at Washington. Thus had the American people for the first time overflowed the continental boundaries of the United States and started on a career of imperialism which by no means stopped at Honolulu.

The Spanish-American War

The island of Cuba, the "pearl of the Antilles," within a hundred miles of the toe of Florida, was the next area into which the American people stepped beyond the mainland of North America. The island had been continuously in the possession of Spain since its discovery by Columbus at the end of the fifteenth century. It was a rich preserve of sugar and tobacco plantations, and was inhabited by a few pure Spaniards, a large body of Spanish-Negro-Indian crossbreeds, and for the rest by

198 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Scottish, Irish, and American planters. The government was in the hands of corrupt Spanish officials, whose harsh rule drove the Cubans to periodical outbreaks of revolt, and, though the average Cuban was little less corrupt than his Spanish masters, he made a human appeal to the American, who has always been prone to associate with his solid economic interests a genuine sympathy for the under-dog.

In 1895 another of the periodical revolutions broke out, and ferocious methods were employed by a new Governor, General Weyler, to crush it. The Americans, apart from seeing their capital destroyed in the general upheaval, could not resist the appeal of humanity against Weyler's atrocities. Each candidate in the epic Presidential Election of 1896 had expressed sympathy with the down-trodden Cubans, but all President McKinley's efforts to persuade the Spanish authorities to grant liberties to them proved vain. McKinley was described in a letter by the Spanish Ambassador at Washington as a "cheap politician who truckled to the masses," and when this got out and was published in a newspaper, American public feeling ran high with patriotic indignation.

The crisis came in February, 1898, when an American battleship, *Maine*, was blown up in Havana harbour. Although the Spanish Government expressed its readiness to go to arbitration on the incident, the Americans were convinced that it was no accident, though the cause of the explosion remains one of the unsolved mysteries of history. From this moment public passions throughout America were inflamed, not for the last time, by the yellow Press, led by W. R. Hearst, the new owner of the *Morning Journal* and other widely-read newspapers. McKinley was in favour of appeasement, but Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, told him

he had " no more backbone than a chocolate éclair," and urged that Spain be driven entirely from the New World.

Under these incitements to bellicose action, the President turned to Congress, and in April, 1898, they carried resolutions recognising the independence of Cuba, demanding the withdrawal of the Spaniards from the island, empowering the President to use military and naval forces, if necessary, to put the resolutions into effect, and pledging itself to " leave the government and control of the island to its people " when it had been pacified. This was a virtual declaration of war with Spain, and war now began.

The events of the Spanish-American War may be briefly summarised. Commodore Dewey, dashing from Hong Kong with the American Far East Fleet, in May, 1898, defeated the Spanish Fleet, which was obsolete and out of condition, in the harbour of Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands in the far Pacific, where, later joined by land troops from America, he captured the city. At the same time, the Spanish Admiral, Cervera, with a fleet which had moved from the Cape Verde Islands, was blockaded in the harbour of Santiago, at the south-eastern end of Cuba.

The land campaign on the island was made picturesque by the charge on San Juan Hill of a volunteer cavalry regiment, known popularly as Rough Riders, made up of cowboys, ranchmen, and Indians, whose second-in-command was Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who resigned his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to join this force. Admiral Cervera's fleet was then destroyed at Santiago, and this made possible the capture of the city by the land forces. At the end of the year 1898 peace was signed in Paris. By the treaty Spain

agreed to withdraw from Cuba and to cede to the United States the island of Porto Rico in the West Indies, the Philippine Islands, and the island of Guam, a useful naval station in the Pacific, about 1,500 miles east of the Philippines.

The war had some interesting sequels. In 1900 the Americans, in their new strong position in the distant Pacific, were able to play a leading part in the suppression, by an international force, of the Boxer Rising in China, and in the important diplomatic settlement which followed that outrage. In the Philippines an insurrection of Filipinos was organised. It cost more lives than the war itself, and was not finally quelled until 1902. In 1907 the Americans established a government in which the Filipinos, the "little brown brothers," as President Taft once called them, were allowed some share, with the promise that they should have their independence when they were fit for it. This pledge was kept. In 1935, the islands were granted a Constitution under what was called "Commonwealth Status," with a President and a National Assembly of their own, though with certain safeguards for American naval bases, and a promise of full independence in 1946.

In Cuba the American garrison was not withdrawn until 1902, when it became a republic with an elected President and a Legislature of two Houses, but with certain provisos securing to the United States coaling stations and the right to intervene to maintain adequate safeguards for the protection of life, property, and liberty—a right which the United States has not failed to exercise. Porto Rico was organised as a Colonial Territory, a status somewhat like that of British Crown Colonies, with a Governor appointed by the President of the United States. In 1917 the Porto Ricans were

granted rights of American citizenship and a Senate fled by the people of the island.

The most curious result of the Spanish-American War was the declaration by the Supreme Court that "the Constitution does not follow the flag," probably because, as a contemporary American said, "the flag was so lively no Constitution could follow it and survive." The fact is that the rigidity of the American Constitution, to which we have referred earlier, was such as to make it impossible to stretch it so as to cover with its protecting hand the rights of the populations, amounting to some n millions, of the new American lands thus acquired in the West Indies and in the Pacific. So it became necessary to regard the new lands, not as an integral part of the United States, but as "Insular Possessions/" and their inhabitants as "subjects."

This, it is manifest, was something quite new in the history of the American people. It was surely a bitter quandary for good Americans that, having solved, by means of a bloody civil war, the antithesis of slaves in a community born in the philosophy of the right of every man to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," they should now find themselves in the even more cruel predicament of membership of a state in which, founded on the principle that "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," over 10 per cent, of the population were not citizens but "subjects."

Of a truth, as J. T. Adams so significantly remarks, Alexander Hamilton had evidently led the Americans a long way from Thomas Jefferson on his hilltop at Monticello. For it was the very strength of the Union, after it had recovered from the scars and ravages of the Civil War, that had driven it along this imperial path. And

202 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

thus it was that Spain lost hold of the last tattered remnants of her once proud empire in the New World, and, as Spain went out, the new imperialism of America came in.

The Achievements of Theodore Roosevelt

The incarnation of this new spirit in America was Theodore Roosevelt. While the events which we have just described were proceeding, McKinley was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1900, and Roosevelt was elected as Vice-President. Roosevelt, whom the party bosses had already found a little too forceful and independent, was supposed by them to have been thus safely relegated **to** a state of impotence, for the office of Vice-President is one of little influence and less responsibility. By a curious irony, however, it was the hand of the assassin which undid these plans of the party leaders, for in September, 1901, when McKinley was attending the inauguration of the Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo, he was shot by a mentally deranged anarchist, and a week later, when he died of his wounds, Roosevelt automatically succeeded him as President of the " United States and its Insular Possessions."

In some ways Theodore Roosevelt was the most remarkable man who ever held the office of Chief Magistrate of the United States. He was born in New York City in 1858, of a family of Dutch origin, " of moderate wealth and good social position." He graduated at Harvard and was a scholar of some standing. He retained **from** his adolescence a certain boyish zeal and energy, a passion for the " strenuous life," and it was these qualities in him which got things done, endeared him to most of his countrymen, and made him in his day the " best-known man in the world." Having had some experience

in the political world, especially during six years on the American Civil Service Commission from 1889 and later as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he returned from the Cuban War a popular hero, and on the strength of this popularity he was elected Governor of the State of New York. In 1901 he was "kicked upstairs" to the Vice-Presidency, and succeeded fortuitously to the Presidency in the same year, at the age of forty-two.

Roosevelt's first Message to Congress in December, 1901, was a long and able statement covering many points of policy, but from it we may gather the three main ideas which made up his conception of the Presidency : first, the need of a strong central authority ; secondly, the desirability of recovering for the Executive something of the power that it had lost to the Legislature ; and thirdly, a determination to break the corrupt control of the "criminal rich." As to the first, it was evident that the growth of the consolidation of business was something which passed beyond state boundaries, and that, therefore, only the Federal Authority could hope to control it. As to the second, he interpreted his oath of office, "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States," as meaning, not merely the registering of Congress decisions, but the initiation of legislative action and its direction in the interests of the nation. And he was successful in this part of his work because of his popularity and his ability to use the press and platform on behalf of an active Executive against a supine Legislature.

As to the third main plank in Roosevelt's platform, here, though it was the most popular of his intentions, he was likely to meet a solid phalanx of opposition. For American big business had reached enormous dimensions by the opening of the twentieth century. For example,

in the very year of Roosevelt's inauguration as President, J. P. Morgan and Co. announced the formation of the United States Steel Corporation with a capital of 1,100 million dollars. The "billion-dollar trust" had arrived.

Now, Roosevelt was a Republican and a member of the wealthy classes. As such, he could not be opposed to industrial capitalism. He recognised that business consolidation was inevitable and that the trust was a necessary part of modern industrial development. Roosevelt took a perfectly sane and reasonable view of what he acknowledged to be a concomitant of the tremendous economic expansion of the United States. What he set out to do was to curb the inordinate development of corporations, which monopolised the necessities of life, like coal, oil, meat, and sugar, on which the public depended and from which a few gained fabulous profits. His purpose was to cure "the unhealthy condition" produced, as he said, "by the purblind folly of the very rich men, their greed and arrogance, and the corruption in business and politics." The cure, as he saw it, was to use the political organisation of the nation for the nation's health. "The great development of industrialism," he said in 1905, "means that there must be an increase in the supervision exercised by the Government over business enterprise." But it was one thing to state the principle and quite another to make it effective, as Roosevelt was to find.

In 1890 had been passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which stated that combinations or trusts in restraint of trade were illegal, and that anyone so monopolising trade or commerce was guilty of a misdemeanour. The law was so generalised and vague that it was mostly ineffective, but under it Roosevelt now proceeded, through the

Attorney-General, **to** bring suits against **certain large** corporations. Only a few of these actions succeeded in dissolving some of the overgrown trusts, and even then **it** was a purely formal process, which did not prevent **the** defeated corporations from re-forming under another guise. But Roosevelt's action did succeed in awakening public opinion, at least for a time, to the existence and virility of the canker that was threatening to eat away the very vitals of American democratic society. These economic forces, however, were too deeply entrenched **to** be demolished by mere political and judicial action, and in the end Roosevelt's "trust busting" proved little more than an interlude in the natural progress of aggressive capitalism, which proceeded in spite of him.

In three other directions, however, Roosevelt's work was splendid and permanent: namely, in his plans to conserve the natural resources of the country, in his irrigation policy, and in the cutting of the Panama Canal. For a century and a quarter there had been unchecked wastefulness in the utilisation of the nation's natural resources. The pioneer had wrested his farm out of hardwood forests, allowing priceless timber to burn or rot, and later lumber companies had stripped millions of acres of pine lands of all saleable timber, leaving nothing but desolation behind. The same wasteful process operated in the case of mineral deposits. At the opening of the twentieth century, indeed, there was a real danger of the land being completely denuded.

While there was still some land not yet in private hands, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to authorise the President, at his discretion, "to withhold timberland from entry for public sale." He then got Congress to extend this power to mineral lands as well. He called a meeting of the Governors of all States to discuss regional schemes of

conservation and re-afforestation, and appointed a committee of experts to report on the way in which the resources of the reserved lands could best be utilised in the national interest. In this way, during Roosevelt's Presidency, forest and mineral lands were reserved to the extent of a total acreage of no less than 180 millions, " a tract larger than France and the Netherlands combined."

In 1902 the President secured the passage of the New Lands Reclamation Act. By this the proceeds of the sale of land in the " Cowboy States " were to go into a special irrigation fund. The irrigated lands were to be sold to settlers at moderate prices, on a ten-year instalment plan, the proceeds going constantly to renew the fund. Hereby huge tracts of land, formerly only useful as cattle-grazing areas, were irrigated and brought under the plough. For the irrigation of the arid West, huge dams and reservoirs were constructed; for example, the Eagle Dam on the Rio Grande, the Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River in Arizona, and the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming. In this way, during the next few years, a million acres of the Great American Desert were gradually brought under cultivation.

The Panama Canal and American World Prestige

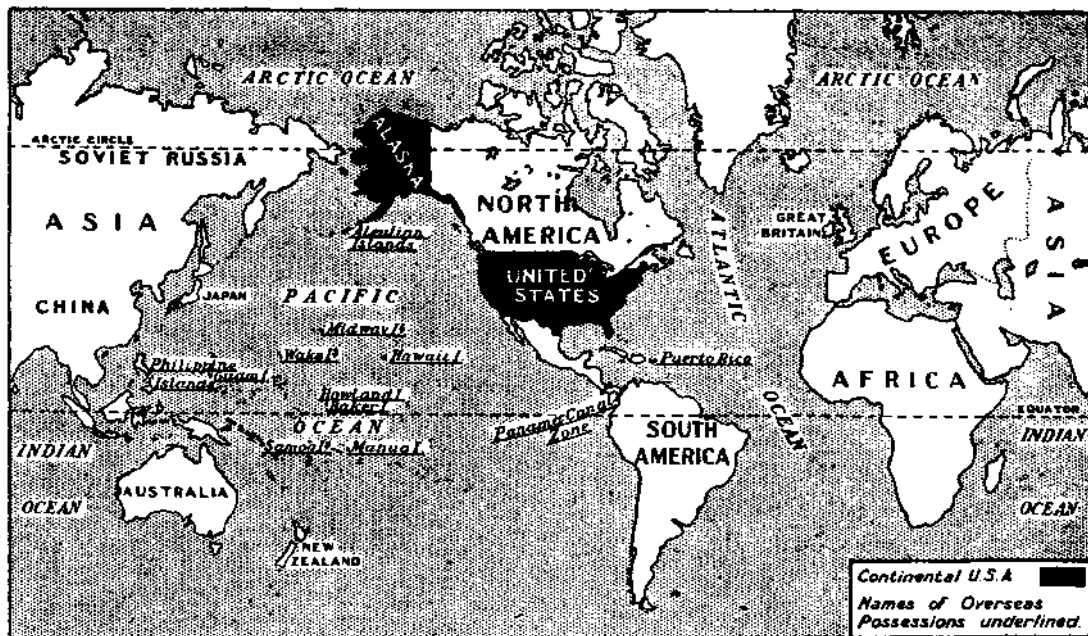
The project for the cutting of a canal through Central America was an old one. In 1850, after a long controversy and much ill-feeling, a treaty, known, from the names of the representatives who signed it, as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, was concluded between the United States and Great Britain, jointly guaranteeing the neutrality of any canal built across the Isthmus, and undertaking not to seek exclusive control over it, or to fortify it, or to acquire colonies in Central America. In 1881, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal, began work on

behalf of a French Company at Panama, a province of **the** independent state of Colombia. But the work did not prosper, and the company, through scandalous mismanagement, failed, and was anxious to sell its rights and apparatus to the United States, which at this point decided to take up the project.

In December, 1901, a new treaty abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and Britain allowed America to proceed unhampered. In June, 1902, after a long discussion on the relative merits of a route through Nicaragua and one through Panama, Congress empowered the President to secure the route through Panama and to purchase the rights and equipment of the French Company.

Roosevelt took the matter up with enthusiasm. He bought out the French Company for 40 million dollars, but when he tried to negotiate with Colombia to purchase the necessary concession, it refused the terms offered. Very conveniently for the United States, in November, 1903, a revolution occurred in Panama in the presence of American gunboats, and within three days her independence was recognised by the United States. A new treaty was then made with independent Panama, whereby the United States bought the perpetual lease of a strip of land ten miles wide across the Isthmus—the Canal Zone—for 10 million dollars and an annuity of 250,000 dollars for nine years. Many years later (in 1921) the United States apologised to Colombia and paid her 25 million dollars; much more than Colombia would have been ready to accept in 1902.

Thus the new work of excavation began in May, 1904. But there were tremendous difficulties: the sanitation of the Isthmus, the combating of disease in the pestilence-ridden country through which the canal was to pass, the importation of sufficient and suitable labour, the technical



THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD.

Showing Alaska, Panama Canal, and Overseas Possessions. (Consult this map also for Chapters 13 and 16.)

controversy over a lock or sea-level system. In 1906 Congress decided that the lock system should be adopted, and that the construction should be executed directly by the Government and not by outside contractors. Within eight years, in 1914, the greatest engineering feat in the history of the world up to that time was completed and the canal was opened to the world's traffic.

It is difficult to exaggerate the commercial benefits conferred on America and the world by the opening of the Panama Canal. The saving of mileage for sea-going vessels that it affected was enormous. For example, it cut down the sea distance from New York to San Francisco from 13,000 to 5,300 miles, from New York to Yokohama from 13,000 to 9,700 miles, and from London to San Francisco from 16,000 to 9,000 miles. The opening of the Canal was the logical completion of America's new imperialism, and it brought true Columbus's dream of a direct westward sea route from Europe to the Far East.

It was fitting that this great work should have been begun during Roosevelt's Presidency, if pitiable that the negotiations connected with its inception should have been clouded by some disingenuousness on his part. For Theodore Roosevelt was an Imperial American, who thought in terms of America's importance as a world force. He was overwhelmingly elected to the Presidency in 1904, and his full term (not strictly a second) was marked by actions calculated to emphasise American prestige in the eyes of the world at large. He vindicated the Monroe Doctrine by his revival of interest in South America. At his suggestion, for example, a dispute over the rights of European nations to collect debts by force from South American Republics was referred to the Permanent Court at The Hague. He directly intervened in the affairs of the Central American Republics on the sound plea that, if

the United States intended to say " Hands off!" to the Powers of Europe, sooner or later she must keep order there herself.

In 1905 he mediated to bring the Russo-Japanese War to a close, and the treaty which ended it was signed at Portsmouth in New Hampshire. In 1907 he received the Nobel Peace Prize. When he declined to run for a further term in 1908, he was at the height of his popularity, and would easily have been re-elected. He was then only fifty, and the tragedy of his last years was that, under the American political system, there is no real job for an ex-President to do. While in retirement he evolved a doctrine which he called the New Nationalism, a sort of state socialism, calling for " far more governmental interference with social and economic conditions than we have yet had." This made him many enemies among his former party friends, the " standpatters," from whom he revolted and joined a new party—the Progressives—which split the Republican vote and thus made possible the election in 1912 of Woodrow Wilson, the first Democrat to sit in the White House since 1897 and the second since 1860.

Chapter 13

THE AMERICANS GO EAST

The Character and Work of Woodrow Wilson

The election of Woodrow Wilson as President in 1912 is an interesting illustration of the working of the American political system, which made it possible for a University Professor, of unimpeachable background and irreproachable integrity, and almost entirely lacking in political experience, to be taken up and backed by the caucus of the Democratic Party, though it knew hardly anything about him, and its political outlook and purposes were quite different from his.

Wilson was born in Virginia in 1856. On one side he was pure Scottish and on the other Scottish-Irish, and his grandparents had all been immigrants from Britain ; so that, unlike any other President, except Andrew Jackson, he had behind him no more than one generation of American ancestors, His father was a Presbyterian Minister, who had an enormous influence on him throughout his life. In following his various " calls," his father moved about a good deal in Wilson's youth, and in this way, by the time he was eighteen, Wilson had lived in the states of Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. His youthful sympathies were entirely with the South during the years of reconstruction following the Civil War, and he grew up in an atmosphere of Liberal political views. He early conceived the intention of entering politics, and was, from a boy, a great admirer of Gladstone, whom he described as " the greatest statesman that ever lived."

Indeed, the two men were somewhat alike in character and outlook and, as Herbert Agar ironically says, "in their intimate knowledge of God's hopes and plans."

Wilson had a successful, if not too brilliant, academic career, and, though his scholarship was not profound, he became a good teacher, writer, and speaker on political science and law. In 1890 he became Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Princeton, in New Jersey, and in 1902 President of the University. This position gave him honourable standing in his country, busy administrative experience, and opportunities to publicise his political philosophy. This suited his attitude and intentions, for, to quote Agar again, "he did not want the artist's or the scholar's leisure ; he wanted wide attention for his politico-moral sermons."

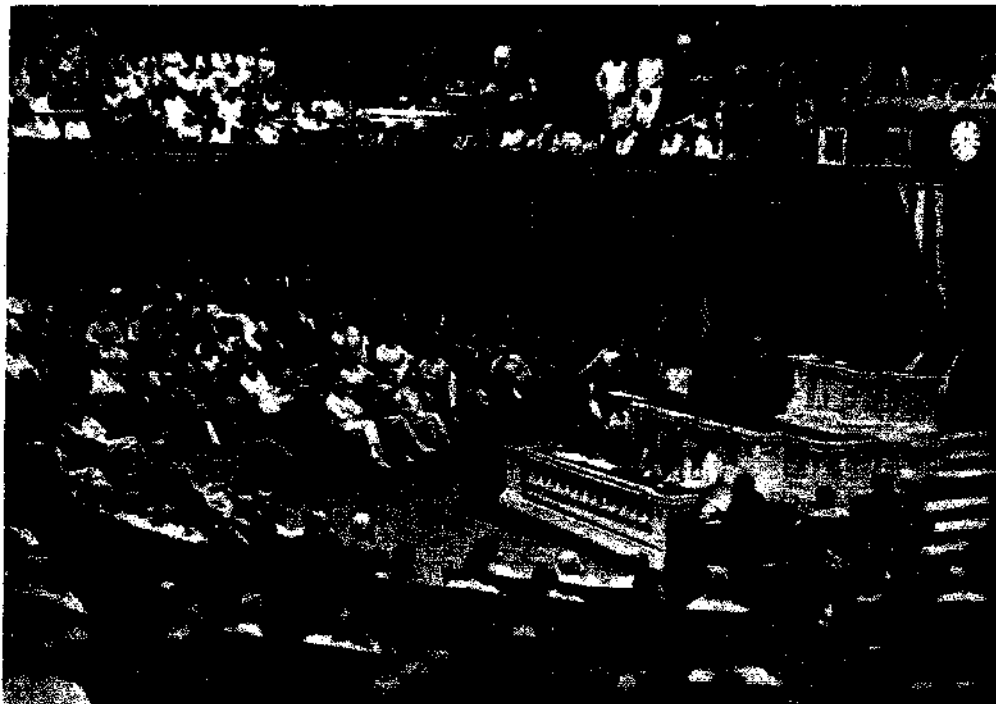
At Princeton, one of the three greatest Universities in America, he found a microcosm of contemporary American society, and in that spirit compounded of single-minded courage and tactless autocracy which finally ruined him, he set about breaking up the exclusive college clubs and societies, which corresponded to the country's political caucuses and industrial combinations, and generally democratising the life of the University. He had not gone far with this intention in practice, when, in 1910, within eight years of his appointment as President of Princeton, he was elected Democratic Governor of the State of New Jersey, and in this position of political power he attracted more and more the attention of the national Democratic Party leaders.

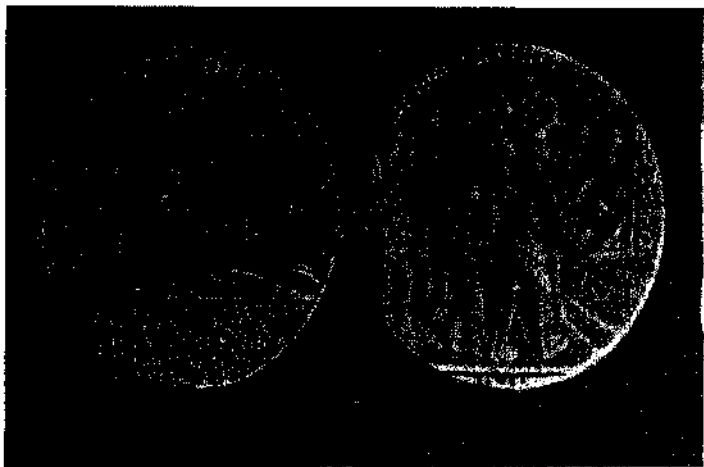
The trouble with the Democrats was that they were without a policy of sufficient substance to oppose to the platform of the Republicans and without a leader round whom all could rally. W. J. Bryan had been defeated three times in Presidential Elections, and the causes for

PRESIDENT
WOODROW
WILSON
DELIVERING
A MESSAGE
TO CONGRESS

The Democratic (Wil-
son's) side of the
House faces the
camera.

(Photo by Topical
Press)

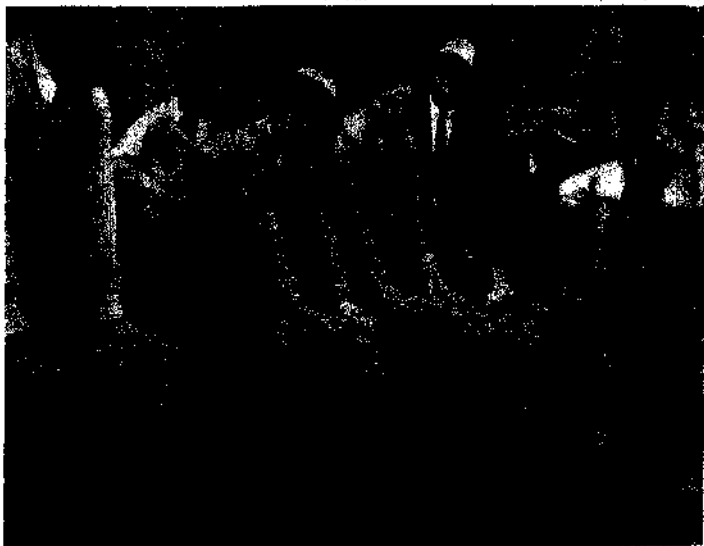




THE LUSITANIA MEDAL STRUCK BY THE GERMANS TO COMMEMORATE THE SINKING OF THE SHIP, MAY 7, 1915.

On the reverse Death is seen selling tickets in the Cunard Office. Above are the words *GESCHÄFT ÜBER ALLES* ("Business before everything"). The words *KEINE BANNWARE* on the obverse mean "No Contraband."

(Photo by E.N.A.)



PROHIBITION IN AMERICA

Los Angeles police officers pouring brandy seized from a "Speakeasy" into the city's drains.

(Photo by E.N.A.)

which he stood were, in any case, sectional and obsolescent. Wilson appealed to the party bosses because they thought they saw in him one through whom they could appeal for the people's suffrages and yet whom they could easily control because of his lack of knowledge and experience of the ramifications of the political machine and of his pedagogic simplicity. But they would never have broken in upon the half-century-old supremacy of the Republican Party on their programme or their candidate alone. In the event they moved to victory through the dissentient ranks of their opponents. It was thus that Wilson was adopted as prospective Democratic candidate for the Presidency within a few months of taking up his first political post.

William H. Taft, of Ohio, Roosevelt's Secretary of War, had been nominated by the Republicans in 1908 on the recommendation of the outgoing President, and his election was easily secured. He was "the most lovable man who had ever ruled in the White House," but his Presidency seemed "tame and uninspired" after the strenuous and electric Roosevelt, and after his defeat, when standing for a second term in 1912, he returned to his true vocation as a lawyer and a judge, and at last found his appropriate niche when he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1921. Although Taft continued Roosevelt's policy of attacking Big Business, he could do no more than touch the fringe of the evils of a system that was growing stronger every day.

The strength of the vote of the common man was becoming more and more undermined by the political and social influence of the great industrial groups, which used their vast wealth to corrupt politicians in the lobbies of Congress for the furtherance of their objects. An eventual revolt against the system by the more progressive members of the Republican Party, so long without an effective political

opposition, was inevitable, and in 1911 a group of Republican Senators from the Middle West, led by La Follette of Wisconsin, formed the National Progressive Republican League for the "promotion of popular government." No sooner had the new Party marked La Follette as the prospective Republican candidate for the Presidency, than suddenly Roosevelt returned to the political arena and, through his popularity, ousted La Follette. Although Roosevelt had always protested that he would never stand for a third term, he now entered the Presidential race, declaring that his "hat was in the ring."

At the Republican Convention at Chicago in June, 1912, there was a terrific struggle between the "stand-patters" supporting Taft and the champions of Roosevelt. When Taft, through his control of the administrative machinery, secured the votes of a majority of the Convention, Roosevelt marched out with the insurgents and called a separate convention at Chicago, at which a new Progressive Party was formed, with a platform which included a programme of radical political, social, and industrial reforms. Roosevelt was unanimously adopted as the Presidential candidate of the new party.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Convention chose Wilson, and there were thus three candidates in the field: Taft, Roosevelt, and Wilson. (Debs, the Socialist candidate, had no effect on the election.^ The election resulted in a decisive victory for Wilson, and though he polled 2 million fewer popular votes than his combined opponents, his electoral vote was 435 to 94 (of which Taft received only 8). In the Congressional Elections of the same year, the Democrats also secured control of both Houses of Congress, an advantage they had enjoyed only once since 1895.

The Presidential Election of 1912 was noteworthy for another reason besides the fact that it gave the Democrats their first success for seventeen years, for it was the first in which all forty-eight states, as we know them to-day, took part. In 1912 the last two areas still governed as Territories, New Mexico and Arizona, were admitted as states, and so the process of state-making over the whole continental area covered by the United States was at last completed. This was a far cry from the North-West Ordinance of 1787, which marked the beginning of the political aspect of the process of territorial expansion. In just a century and a quarter thirteen states had grown to forty-eight, and a population of under 4 millions had swelled to 95 millions.

This mere statistical statement of growth indicates a vast development and process of change that created conditions which all the political organisation in the world could not hope completely to control. But Wilson made a brave endeavour to do so, and in his brief Inaugural Address, delivered in March, 1913, to a great throng gathered outside the Capitol at Washington, he called upon the American people to consider a vision of what America might be.

"We have built up," he said, "a great system of government. But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost. . . . We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standard we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried in our hearts. . . . We shall restore, **not** destroy. . . . The nation has been deeply stirred—

216 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. . . . This is not a day of triumph : it is a day of dedication."

That, if you like, was a sermon, but a sermon in the spirit of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. Nor was Wilson's policy mere words, for in the first two years of his administration he was instrumental in carrying out some very useful reforms. The Underwood Tariff Act reduced the average duties from the 40 per cent, of previous Acts to 26 per cent., and in the case of some necessities removed the duty altogether, and to make up for loss of revenue by this Act, Congress approved the first Federal income tax. The Federal Reserve Act effected a real reform of the banking system. The Clayton Act strengthened the Government's hands in dealing with bad corporations, while it gave new rights to labour, legalising trade unions, boycotts, strikes, and picketing.

Further, Wilson caused the repeal of the Act which, in breach of the original undertaking with Britain, allowed American coastwise vessels to pass through the Panama Canal without toll. The way in which Wilson got this measure through Congress was a striking illustration of his conception of the Presidential office. Wilson revived a practice, which had been in abeyance for more than a century, in fact, since the days of John Adams, the second President, of addressing Congress in person in his Messages. His view was, like that of Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, and Theodore Roosevelt, that the President was " the immediate interpreter of the people's will," the leader of American democracy. In pursuance of this plan he dominated Congress from the beginning. In the case of the repeal of the Panama Canal Tolls Act

he came before Congress in person, and commanded the repeal of the Act on the ground that on it depended matters of great international delicacy, and, without asking what those matters were, Congress did the President's bidding.

The delicate international matters, in fact, concerned Mexico, where, in February, 1913, a revolution broke out, and in order to keep the road clear for any necessary action, Wilson wished to placate Britain and other Powers on the question of the Panama Canal. Wilson's policy of " watchful waiting " with regard to Mexico did not pay, and the United States was forced to intervene in February, 1914. The intervention, however, led to nothing but loss of prestige for the United States, and it was not until 1917 that, without help from Wilson's policy, the sordid civil strife in Mexico ended with the triumph of President Carranza under a new Constitution.

There is no doubt that Wilson's work as a domestic reformer, so far as events allowed him to proceed with it, was enlightened in aim and substantial in achievement. How much farther he would have gone with his democratic programme we cannot judge, for in 1914, in the middle of his first term, war swept over Europe. From the first, America was seriously affected by its world-wide repercussions, and in 1917, was finally drawn actively into it. But the present judgment of the cruel failure of his world policy at the end of the War must not blind us to the reality and good of his earlier achievements.

America and the World War

The immediate reaction of the American people to the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914, was one of " stunned amazement." They could not understand, any more, indeed, than the average European, why the

218 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

murder of an Austrian Archduke in the street of an obscure Balkan town by a shot from the anarchical pistol of a Slav malcontent should swamp the Continent in a deluge of blood. Except on the eastern seaboard, Europe seemed almost as far away to the average American mind as another planet. In the Great Plains across the Appalachians, away on the Mississippi and the Desert, the people were absorbed in the business of their own continent, while to the people of the Pacific States China was far more real than Europe. Not that Europe knew any more about America than America did about Europe : the ignorance was mutual, and this fact accounts to a large extent for what happened on each side of the Atlantic until America entered the War in 1917.

Moreover, America was the " melting-pot " of different races, whose assimilation was seen, when the test of loyalties came with the War, to be not sufficiently complete to withstand the call of blood. More than 8 million immigrants had entered the country in the decade 1900-1910, and in 1914 there were in America no fewer than 9 million Germans or persons with at least one German parent. The Irish, too, were strongly pro-German, and the considerable body of Scandinavians, mainly in the North-West, was Teutonic in its sympathies.

Why, then, since obviously the vast mass of the people, amounting then to nearly no millions, was of ultimate British stock, did not the trick of racial sympathy equally work in favour of Britain ? The answer is threefold. First, the psychology of the bulk of the people, engendered by the history of America's relations with Britain, was compounded largely of an anti-British complex, so that the sentiment of the mass of Americans in the early days of the War was inclined to be against Britain. Secondly, this testing-time brought into prominence the implied

corollary of the Monroe Doctrine; that is to say, the principle of barring the intervention of Europe in the affairs of the American Continent carried with it, in last analysis, the inference of American non-intervention in the affairs of Europe. Thirdly, the Americans had for more than a century been looking and going West. Westward expansion had been at the root of their history, and when at last they reached the western coast, their mercantile and imperial development had been in the Pacific rather than the Atlantic.

Thus neutrality was naturally the first reaction of Americans, but as the repercussions of the War pulled them forcibly round in the opposite direction, these three causes changed to their antitheses. Huge orders for food and war materials poured into America from the Allies, while a great deal of the world trade of the Central Powers fell into American hands, and the neutral countries were soon buying six or seven times as much from America as they had ever bought before. The excess of American exports over imports, which had been 690 million dollars in 1913, rose to 1,800 millions in 1915, and to 2,500 millions in the first ten months of 1916. Moreover, British propaganda in America proved to be much more efficient and effective than German, and to this were added the results of the incredible folly of Germany's unrestricted submarine campaign. Thus America turned her gaze and activities from the West, the original anti-British feeling was transformed to sympathy, the implications of the Monroe Doctrine were disregarded, and the Americans at last went East.

President Wilson, therefore, had no difficulty in making his declaration of neutrality at first effective. He quarrelled with Britain, inevitably, over the effects of her blockade of Germany and over the age-old problem of the

freedom of the seas. His numerous notes of protest to Britain became quite famous, but he soon found himself transferring his protests to Germany because of the effects of her submarine warfare, particularly after May, 1915, when the *Lusitania* was sunk.

There were not wanting those in America who now cried out for a "shooting-war" with Germany. They were led by Theodore Roosevelt, who accused Wilson, quite unjustly, though he had said that the Americans were "too proud to fight," of pusillanimity and callous indifference to the fate of American victims of German sea outrages. In the crisis the Republicans closed their ranks and Roosevelt returned to the fold, though he was not adopted as Republican candidate. Thus the Presidential Election of 1916 was a straight fight between Wilson, readily renominated by the Democrats, and the Republican candidate, Charles E. Hughes, on the issue of peace or war. Wilson, winning one of the closest fights in the history of Presidential Elections, was re-elected by the narrow majority of 277 electoral votes to 254.

But, though Wilson was returned to continue his policy of avoidance of war, he was soon drawn into the vortex of battle. At the end of 1916 Wilson defined the peace terms that America would support, and in January, 1917, Germany proclaimed the unrestricted U-boat war, whereupon Wilson broke off diplomatic relations. In February, America armed her merchantmen. In April, 1917, Congress declared a state of war with Germany and granted the President full powers to carry it on. Wilson made the War a completely moral issue for the American people, and in doing so had them solidly behind him. America, he had said in his speech to Congress, had no quarrel with the German people; only with the military despotism of Germany. "The world," he added in a

phrase, famous or infamous ^according to your point of view, " must be made safe for democracy." That he failed to make it so was his and the world's tragedy. *

America's entry into the War came at a moment when the fortunes of the Allies were at a low ebb, for France was bleeding to death, and in that same month the submarine war reached its peak, and this vicious counter-blockade bade fair to starve Britain into surrender. The arrival of the Americans on the actual field of battle was necessarily slow, but when it came, it came decisively: America went East with a vengeance and fully repaid her debt to France for France's help a hundred and forty years before, in her own fight for independence, when her total population was smaller than the army she now created.

No fewer than 24 million Americans were registered under the Universal Draft Act, and 4\ millions of them were mobilised. By November, 1918, there were 2 million Americans in France, more than half of them, significantly enough, transported by the British Navy. America's losses, it is true, were trifling compared with those in her own Civil War, and infinitesimal compared with those of European nations in the Great War; for while, in the Civil War, America lost 600,000 out of a total population of about 32 millions, in the Great War she lost about 100,000 out of a total population of over no millions, whereas among the European nations there were 8\ million soldiers killed. But there can be no sort of doubt • that America's participation in the Great War hastened its end by precipitating the collapse of Germany, which was to give a war-scarred Continent at least a twenty-year truce.

In January, 1918, Wilson laid before Congress his famous Fourteen Points as a programme of world peace. Open diplomacy, the freedom of the seas (though this was

afterwards dropped), the breaking-down of economic barriers between nations, reduction of armaments, reparations (but not indemnities), self-determination as a principle of political organisation—all these were among Wilson's panaceas for ending the international anarchy. But most important of all to Wilson was the fourteenth, which demanded the creation of a League of Nations. When the Armistice, a purely military convention, had been signed in November, 1918, and the Peace Conference gathered in Paris, Wilson came to Europe, determined to implement his programme.

His reception was an extraordinary demonstration of popular belief in the power of academic ideas to heal the world's wounds and bring in a new heaven and a new earth. America, the great democracy, at that moment was the most powerful nation in the world, and Wilson, as its representative, the potential saviour of humanity. The ascription of a Messianic quality to his crusade suited Wilson's mood at this moment. But, confronted with the competing claims of the various victors, with the realism of the French, and the intransigence of Clemenceau, who, having twice experienced the desolation of his country under the iron heel of Prussia, was determined to secure its eastern frontier against further ravishment, Wilson had to watch the gradual whittling-down of his Points until all that remained was the League of Nations, and that in a condition so emasculated as to be little more than " the affirmation of a moral purpose " in the form of a preamble to a treaty.

If Wilson, at the time of his peace mission, was regarded by enslaved Europeans as the personification of the " American dream " of liberty, he now became anathema to the more influential sections of the American nation. In the autumn of 1918 the Congressional mid-term

elections had resulted in the return of a Republican majority in both Houses, which was some indication of the trend of opinion. Moreover, Wilson had alienated American sympathies by his wholly partisan selection of American peace commissioners for Paris. Thus, when he returned to America in 1919, with the Treaty he had signed and the Covenant of the League he had created, the Senate repudiated both.

The Americans, in fact, experienced a severe revulsion of feeling, and swung back from their brief eastward venture into a rather sullen isolationism, from which they were not to recover until, twenty years later, their anger was again aroused by the revival of the same aggressive barbarism which had laid Europe low, and their sympathies were stirred anew on behalf of those who were once more its victims. Wilson attempted to appeal direct to the nation against the vetoing legislature, but the physical strain of this effort combined with the moral shock of the failure of his plans were too much for his physique, and he collapsed.

From his sick-bed he watched the victory of Warren G. Harding, the Republican candidate, "a hack politician from Ohio," in the Presidential Election of 1920, who was returned with a popular majority of 7 millions and an electoral vote of 404 to 127. The Election, said a Republican leader, "was not a landslide; it was an earthquake." In July, 1921, Congress passed a resolution to the effect that "the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America, by the joint resolution of Congress, approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end." In this laconic manner did the Americans officially end their participation in the first World War.

The final judgment of history on Woodrow Wilson is

not yet. Perhaps more than any other American he has been the victim of that latter-day fashion of "debunking," to which some recent American writers are addicted, and his true stature is difficult to discern through the mists of odium and obloquy, which enshroud his memory in his own country. It may well be that, in the light of later events, the judgment of his countrymen will be reversed, and mankind may yet acclaim him as the real pioneer of a world order which he failed to establish only because he was before his time.

The Republicans Return to Power: Boom and Depression

The War had left Europe desolate, prostrate, and bankrupt ; it left America physically unscathed and economically enriched. The centre of economic gravity had, in fact, shifted from the Eastern to the Western Hemisphere, and America, from being before the War a debtor nation to the extent of several billions of dollars, became after it the foremost creditor nation in the world. Yet this national good fortune did nothing to lift from the hearts and minds of Americans the cloud of disillusion which the War had cast over them or to dispel the cynicism with which they regarded the peace. Nor did it save them from miseries and upheavals which were the trans-Atlantic counterpart of those which in the post-War years disturbed the nations of the European Continent.

In 1919 industrial unrest was all but universal in America, and there was a most extraordinary epidemic of strikes in almost every industry, trade, and service, from the mines to the docks, from the hotels to the hairdressers, and from the police force to the fire brigade ; so that the external international war, which had united the American nation in one great political and moral purpose, gave place to an internal economic war, which tended again to

sectionalise it. The industrial struggle was made more bitter by the influence of an extreme syndicalist wing of the forces of labour, originally founded in 1904, and known as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), though this movement was strongly repudiated by the more conservative trades union organisation, called the American Federation of Labour.

But there was another aspect of the effect of the repercussions of the Great War and its aftermath on American society, and this produced results which took an idealistic form. This was specially seen in the ratification of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the Constitution, respectively establishing Prohibition and Woman Suffrage. The first of these and its strange sequel are difficult for English people to understand. The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors were not mentioned in the original Constitution, and therefore action with regard to them was part of that "reserve of powers" which belonged to the individual states. Thus the state could choose its own line in this matter, and there were, before the days of Prohibition, both "wet" states and "dry" states.

For some years there had been a strong movement in favour of enforcing the prohibition of intoxicants throughout the United States. There were no doubt great abuses in the drink trade, particularly in the "saloons," or public houses, where drunkenness and riotous conduct often resulted from lack of any control. Industrial interests contended that drink, especially spirits, lowered the potential of output. But the most powerful advocacy was of puritanical origin. The Anti-Saloon League became a formidable champion of Prohibition, working through the lobbies of Congress, and its efforts were reinforced by the violent and bigoted oratory of individual "pussy-

foots." But, short of the conversion of every individual state to the desirability of total abstinence, nation-wide Prohibition was only to be accomplished through a constitutional amendment, giving Congress power to enforce it everywhere.

The War, with its tendency to produce at the same time moral aberrations in society and equally violent righteous reactions to them, created the conditions in which teetotalism was erected into a panacea for every kind of social sickness, and eight months after America's entry into the War, Congress, in December, 1917, passed the Eighteenth Amendment, providing for national Prohibition to go into effect one year after the ratification of the Amendment by the necessary three-quarters (36) of the states. The thirty-sixth state, Nebraska, ratified the amendment in January, 1919, and it was effective from January, 1920. But what had been a movement of largely puritanical purpose caused many more social evils than it cured. It would have proved beyond the power of any government, of no matter how law-abiding a community, to enforce such a law: in America, with its admittedly "lawless tradition," it was impossible to execute it. The people discovered innumerable methods, from home-brewing to "speakeasies" and "bootlegging," of evading the law, which was at length brought into such disrepute that, after thirteen years of failure, it had to be repealed.

As to Woman Suffrage, here again methods of voting were part of the "reserve of powers" belonging to the states, and by the time America entered the War, twenty-nine states had already granted the vote to women. The long agitation for nation-wide woman suffrage grew during the War with tremendous force, and in January, 1918, Congress, after a close fight in the Senate, passed

the Nineteenth Amendment, stating that " the right of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." By the end of 1919 only twenty-two states had ratified the Amendment, but, thanks to a campaign cleverly organised by the National Woman Suffrage Association, the thirty-sixth state was won over in time for the Presidential Election of 1920. The electorate was thereby enlarged by the addition of 8 million voters, and the position now is that there is complete adult suffrage throughout the American Commonwealth.

The defeat of the Democrats in 1920 began a succession of three Republican Presidents—Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover—who had to face, according to their lights, the difficulties of post-War America. But their lights were dim and flickering, and the idealism that had characterised the Democratic Presidency of Wilson now gave place to a complete Tecklessness. This showed itself in wild speculation on the stock-market, and the amassing of huge fortunes, like that of Henry Ford, through the development of mass-production processes, whose object was to create high wages, which would in turn increase the consuming power of the masses and hence the market for mass-produced goods.

Thus with the emergence of the billionaire went the rapid growth of the labour-saving apartment and the popular passion for the cheap automobile. In this completely amoral " go-getting " atmosphere the tone of public life began to fall until it dropped far below even that of the 1870's. Scandals became rife in high places, and at least three of Harding's Cabinet Officers were charged with criminal offences and imprisoned, while two others committed suicide in very dubious circumstances. Harding's only policy was, as he said, to " return to normalcy,"

which meant that he wanted to revert to the conditions of pre-War times, as though the War had never occurred, and as though nothing had happened to the soul of the nation during the previous five years.

From the point of view of the health of the American body social, the really shocking thing about the scandals of the Harding regime was not so much that they happened, but that nobody cared, and even Calvin Coolidge, the Vice-President, and Herbert Hoover, a member of Harding's Cabinet, who were both destined to succeed him at the White House, seemed quite unperturbed by these flagrant official delinquencies. When Harding died suddenly, in 1923, he was succeeded by Coolidge, of Massachusetts. His nickname, "silent Cal," perhaps sufficiently indicates his inability to inspire any movement calculated to uplift the national *morale* from the depths to which it had sunk.

But the period of the Coolidge Presidency was one of uninterrupted prosperity. The National Debt was considerably reduced and the standard of living rose. The boom which characterised the "Coolidge prosperity" was marked by the wildest orgies of speculation on the stock-markets, not only among the seasoned gamblers, but in every stratum of society, including "stenographers and bell-hops." The boom lasted through Coolidge's second term, which began in 1925, and even into the Presidency of Hoover, who succeeded Coolidge in 1929.

Herbert C. Hoover was the "engineer in politics." His great technical and administrative talents had been used to the nation's advantage during the War in the key post of Food Administrator, and later as Secretary of Commerce in the Cabinets of Harding and Coolidge. But he was practically without political experience. His whole social philosophy, which was conceived in purely material-

istic terms, was well summed up in his phrase : " The slogan of social progress is changing from the full dinner pail to the full garage." But the nation's hope that the " Coolidge prosperity " would continue were doomed to disappointment, and in October, 1929, came the inevitable crash on the American stock-market, the premonitory sign of a depression which was to become prolonged and world-wide, and ended in becoming " the most terrific economic storm that had yet rocked the nation."

As the weeks passed, things became worse : banks failed, factories closed, and the numbers of unemployed rose frighteningly. The nation's distress was heightened by a prolonged drought, which destroyed crops and livestock in the South and West, and the difficulties of the Government were increased by the election, resulting from the people's revulsion, of a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives at mid-term, 1930.

In these circumstances, with the Executive out of harmony with the Legislature, no very helpful legislation could be looked for, and the Acts of Congress were no more than palliatives, which could only touch the surface of so widespread a malaise. As the Presidential Election of 1932 approached, the depression had already lasted for three years and showed no signs of ending, and it was unlikely that Hoover, any more than his predecessors offering themselves for re-election during a slump, would politically survive it. He easily secured the nomination of the Republican Convention, while the Democrats chose Franklin Roosevelt, then Governor of New York. There was, perhaps, little to choose between the two " platforms," except in their attitude to Prohibition. Both sides realised that something would have to be done about this piece of social legislation, which was having such disastrous effects upon American society, but while

230 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

the Republicans stood for revision, the Democrats went all out for abolition, that is, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

As it turned out, this question paled before that of the depression, which actually dominated the election. But as to this, the Democrats were little less vague in their election "platform" than the Republicans, and it was not until later that the Democratic programme developed as a code of social reform. Yet, the "New Deal," for what it seemed worth at the time, was preferable to anything offered by the Republicans who had so signally failed to lift the nation out of the slough of despond into which it had so deeply fallen. Hence there was the inevitable "swing of the pendulum" and Roosevelt was sent to the White House by the electoral votes of no fewer than forty-two states out of forty-eight, and a popular majority of 6 millions. The Congressional Elections at the same time gave the Democrats sweeping majorities, of 191 in the House of Representatives and of 22 in the Senate. Thus for the first time since 1919 the Democratic Party controlled both the executive and the legislative branch of the Government. With such tremendous advantages, what would they do to restore the prosperity of the country? We shall see.

Chapter 14

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL

Roosevelt and the Democratic Programme'

F. D. Roosevelt went to the White House in January, 1933, by a strange coincidence, in the very month of the very year in which Adolf Hitler reached political power in Germany. In view of the later world conflict of ideologies, of which Hitler's triumph in 1933 was a premonitory sign and in which America was to play so dominant a part, the coincidence was ironical enough. And, indeed, there were certain likenesses between the American situation of depression and distress, from which Roosevelt was called upon to attempt to extricate the American people through the instrumentality of a "New Deal," and the German social and political chaos, which Hitler called upon himself to end by means of a "New Order." But while the American political system, with its democratic machinery, might, at any time from its inception, permit the rise of a Roosevelt to the headship of the state, in Germany only the political disintegration which followed the overthrow of the old imperial system at the end of the Great War made possibly the leadership of a Hitler.

In short, Roosevelt was elected President of the United States by the established suffrages of the people ; whereas Hitler was propelled into the position of *Fuhrer* in Germany by the surge of a revolutionary tide which overwhelmed every opposing political force and swept away every vestige of the traditional social and political fabric. If we may say, therefore, that the situations in the two

countries were momentarily not unlike, we cannot say the same of the two leaders. We can truly assert that they were both remarkable men, but after that the likeness ends. For no two men could be more unlike each other than Roosevelt and Hitler, in their birth and upbringing, in their social, cultural, and professional background, and in their political ideals and methods. •

The most remarkable thing about F. D. Roosevelt was that he was a Democrat, for he belonged to that wealthy stratum of American society which furnished the leaders and sinews of the Republican Party, and he was a relative of a former Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt. The first American Roosevelt was a Dutch immigrant who settled in New Amsterdam in 1649, a few years before it was annexed by England and became New York. He did well in America, and from his grandsons emknated two branches of the family, the elder of which produced the twenty-sixth President, Theodore Roosevelt, and the younger, which produced the thirty-second President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Both branches of the family remained, throughout the generations, in the State of New York, the elder branch on Long Island, the younger at Hyde Park, on the Hudson River. Here Franklin Roosevelt was born on January 30, 1882. His father died in 1900, but his mother, to whom he always owed much in his career, lived to see her only son do something which no previous American had ever done—rule for a third term as President; for she survived, vigorous and active to the last, until 1941, when she died at the age of eighty-six.

Roosevelt went to Groton, the American Eton or Harrow, and to Harvard, the American Oxford or Cambridge. In his boyhood and youth he led an active, open-air life, and at school was more remarkable for athletic

than academic achievements. **It** was at one **time intended** that he should enter the Navy, and, though this did not materialise, ships and the sea have remained among the passions of his life. As it was, he graduated in law, not at Harvard, but at Columbia University, in New York, and later joined the most aristocratic law firm in New York City, which handled the legal business of some of the wealthiest people in the city, including the Pierpont Morgans.

Soon afterwards, at the age of twenty-three, he married the remarkable woman who did so much to shape his career, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, a cousin, descended from the Theodore branch of the family. When Roosevelt, as he soon did, became interested in politics, instead of doing the natural thing, for one in his social position, and joining the ranks of the Republicans, he broke all the rules of his class and attached himself to the Democrats. In fact, he became more Democratic than most of his party, and soon manifested that advanced Liberalism which was thenceforth to characterise his political outlook and actions, a sort of amalgam of the democratic philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, the "new nationalism" of Theodore Roosevelt, and the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson.

Thus, when his cousin Theodore, as we have described, was splitting the Republican Party in the Presidential campaign of 1912, Franklin was working ardently on behalf of Woodrow Wilson, who afterwards rewarded him by making him Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a post which he held, and in which he did notable work, throughout the Great War. In the election of 1920 he was nominated by the Democrats for Vice-President, but was, of course, overwhelmed with the rest of his party in the political "earthquake" of that year. In the following

year, at the age of thirty-nine, he was struck down by a dreadful paralysis, against which he battled with incredible fortitude, and which left him crippled but steeled, by his exercises in the triumph of will-power, to meet and overcome whatever forces of opposition or hazards of ill-fortune might face or visit him for the rest of his days. In 1928, when he was slowly recovering his strength, he was persuaded to stand as Democratic Governor of the State of New York, and was elected. In this office he watched the growth and spread of the depression under Hoover, and slowly and quietly surrounded himself with friends and supporters, who stood by him in the election of 1932, when he was Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

Roosevelt had a great advantage over his Republican opponent, President Hoover. He had that elusive quality called charm, and the gift, like Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Wilson, of appealing to the masses, a power which he was to use in the long period of his Presidency even more tellingly than any of his distinguished predecessors, assisted as he was by that miracle of scientific invention, which was denied to them, the wireless. Hoover completely lacked this gift of popular appeal. His talents lay in an ability "to convince individual men, small coteries of men, in conference." But at a time when public feeling was running high, urged by the most potent of all forces, economic distress, this particular strength of Hoover could avail him little.

It was, in any case, easy for the Democrats to persuade the people that the unhappy state of the nation was attributable to the disastrous policies pursued by the Government, whereby the ideals on which the War had been won were abandoned and the fruits of victory thrown away. Somebody must be responsible, and who else but the party in power? The Republicans had nothing to offer

which had not yet been tried. The only remedy, according to the Democrats, lay generally in " a drastic change in economic governmental policies " and specifically in the repeal of Prohibition, the extension of Federal credit to assist the states to provide unemployment relief, and unemployment and old-age insurance, under state laws. On this programme Roosevelt swept the country, and the American people awaited, if with empty pockets and pulled-in belts, in an attitude of cautious hope, the implementation of the plans of the new Administration.

Preliminaries to the New Deal

When, on March 4, 1933, Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office, he was confronted with a situation such as no previous President had faced on his inauguration, for it was without precedent in American history. We may study the analytical statistics of economists, which are voluminous about this period, but we do not have to delve very deeply into them to realise the human suffering behind them. For the depression was not merely financial, not simply a matter of stock-markets : it was something which affected every section of the national life, involving stark human misery, and for many literal starvation. Industrial production and farm income dropped to less than half the figure of 1929. The total national income, which had been 80,000 million dollars in 1929, fell to less than 40,000 million dollars in 1933. General business dropped to 60 per cent, of the normal, and exports fell to the lowest mark of the century. The banking system practically collapsed, for in 1932, 1,400 banks failed, and during the first two months of 1933 many* banks in the larger cities either closed their doors or declared moratoria of varying length, by which the business of the banks was suspended.

236 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The numbers of unemployed at this time were computed to be somewhere between 13 and 17 millions. Long queues ("bread lines"), formed by millions of citizens to obtain the very staff of life, were a daily sight in every town. Hundreds of thousands were evicted from their homes and slept on park benches. Families moved despondently from the towns in search of food and livelihood on the farms, but the average farmer was himself struggling against mortgage foreclosure, and had no work to offer. • The public soup kitchen, at best, or the garbage pail, at worst, was the only source of sustenance for many Americans in the year of grace 1933.

When the new President delivered his Inaugural Address, heard by hundreds before the Capitol in Washington and by millions over the wireless in every corner of the land, he was speaking to a society whose very foundations were shaking beneath them, whose cherished institutions were on the verge of collapse, and whose way of life seemed to be disintegrating before their eyes. "The only thing we have to fear," declared the President, "is fear." The distress of the people, he said, came from "no failure of substance," but from the unscrupulous money-changers, who stood indicted in the court of public opinion. "The measure of the restoration," he went on, "lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit." The greatest task before the Government, he said, was "to put the people to work," partly by direct Government recruiting, as would be done in the emergency of war. "We must move," he said, pursuing the military parallel, "as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline." He was going, he told the nation, to ask Congress to act, but if they failed to do so, he would not hesitate, he added in a highly significant

phrase, to demand "the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were, in fact, invaded by a foreign foe."

Whether or not this utterance was a threat of dictatorship, the powers the President was soon granted appeared to be little short of those of a dictator. First, he declared a bank moratorium, a long bank holiday, in effect, during which the whole banking system was to be overhauled and restarted under Government auspices. Next, an Economy Act empowered the President to cut the salaries of all Federal officers and employees by 15 per cent. Next, an Act was passed permitting the manufacture and sale of light beers and wines. This was carried with a view to bringing in Federal revenue and in anticipation of the repeal of Prohibition.

The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment had already passed Congress in the last days of the Hoover Administration, and had, in fact, been ratified by the necessary three-quarters of the states, as the Twenty-first Amendment, before the end of the year 1933. Thereby the situation simply reverted to that of 1919, and every state once more became the master of its own fate on this question. Thus ended a social experiment which was admitted on all hands to have been a dismal failure.

Following this the President was authorised to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps to carry out public works connected with re-afforestation and other projects, which actually reduced the unemployment figure by nearly half a million in the first year.

Major New Deal Legislation

These were the President's preliminary measures of that large and complicated code of enactments and adminis-

trative decisions which was to be carried into effect during the next two or three years under the general name of the New Deal. To assist him in this work he not only selected his Cabinet with great care, bringing into it for the first time in American history a woman Cabinet Officer—Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labour—but sought the aid of a number of technical experts, university professors, and specialists in various fields of applied learning, some of whom he brought into the Administration as Under-Secretaries, and who soon came to be familiarly known as the "Brain Trust."

As to the major New Deal legislation, upon which Congress, on the initiative of the President, now embarked, we cannot do more here than survey in briefest outline its main features. It may be conveniently divided into five parts, as follows : (1) finance, (2) agriculture, (3) industry and public utilities, (4) labour organisation, and (5) social security.

(1) As to finance, the Roosevelt programme had two aspects—the raising of prices through inflation, which meant going off the gold standard, and improving and stabilising the baijking system. The President was given the power to fix the dollar at his own price, which he did in 1934 at 59 per cent, of its 1900 value. Prices consequently rose, but not to the extent expected, or to a point corresponding to the fall of the dollar. Further, the President improved the banking system by securing greater Federal control over money and credit.

(2) As to agriculture, in May, 1933, Congress passed the Farm Relief and Inflation Act, which assumed that the farmer's plight was due to overproduction, and accordingly authorised the President to establish the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), whose business it was to encourage farmers to reduce their

acreage, in return for payments in money and **kind** to compensate them for the land temporarily taken **out** of cultivation. Congress also approved the setting up of **the** Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation (FFMC) to extend financial aid to farmers in debt, and the Farm Credit Administration (FCA) to make loans to farmers in order to save them from foreclosures on mortgage. To finance all this a tax was imposed on the processors of farm products, who, of course, quickly passed it on to the consumer.

(3) Even more thoroughgoing was that part of the New Deal legislation which was concerned with industry and public utilities. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), passed in June, 1934, was "a two-year emergency measure for the purpose of providing employment and stimulating industry/' First, it allowed for the construction of federal, state, and local schemes, for which money was provided by means of a bond issue amounting to 3,300 million dollars. Secondly, it gave the President vast powers "to promote the self-regulation of industry under federal supervision, curtail over-production, increase wages, shorten hours of labour, and raise prices." "Under such a system," -says Professor Faulkner, " 'rugged individualism ' was gone, the* philosophy of *laissez-faire* disregarded, and a slight beginning made toward co-operation and economic planning."

The National Industrial Recovery Act was carried out through the National Recovery Administration (NRA). This body, in conjunction with representatives of industry and labour, formulated schemes, which the President approved and were promulgated by him. Although the NRA did not last beyond May, 1935, when the Supreme Court pronounced it unconstitutional, it achieved a good deal, especially in the interests of labour, for it permitted

tie organisation of trade unions, abolished child labour, and raised wages in the sweated industries. ,

In the case of Public Utilities the Government undertook the direct organisation of certain schemes, and created, for example, the Tennessee Valley Authority, which was empowered to build dams, instal electric power plant, launch a programme of flood control, re-forestation, and prevention of soil erosion, and to manufacture explosives and fertilisers from nitrogen products. Nothing in American economic life had hitherto been more unregulated, chaotic, and subject to financial chicanery than the private development of public utilities, from water supply and transport to electric power and radjo. The Utilities Holding Act (August, 1935) established a Federal Power Commission to regulate utilities doing an inter-state business, and the Government thereby hoped to set up a kind of model to be followed in future. But, as might be expected from the existence of long-standing and hitherto unchecked vested interests, this was the most bitterly opposed element of the whole composite mass of New Deal legislation.

(4) As to labour, the President's policy was to do something quickly and get people back to work. For the masses of workpeople had naturally suffered most from the depression, which, even for those who were able to get work, had resulted in the lowering of wage scales, the increase of industrial accidents, through the dropping-off of supervision of safety devices, and the overworking of women and children, because their labour was cheaper. The Emergency Relief Act of May, 1933, created the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and authorised the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to make available to the individual states 500 million dollars for the purpose of emergency relief. Next

month, under NIRA, was set up the Public Works Administration (PWA), under the Secretary of the Interior, " to promote construction in the public interest."

There was the most bitter and hostile criticism of this expenditure, but the Government's answer was that this part of the New Deal legislation had resulted in millions being given work instead of a demoralising dole, and that half the money had been spent on local schemes long overdue, such as new school buildings, slum clearance, and housing plans, and this, moreover, with money that the Federal Authority alone could provide. On the other hand, in spite of PWA, there remained millions of unemployed throughout the country. American labour, however, gained some permanent advantages, which they had not enjoyed before, from this legislation, for Federal Labour Exchanges were set up in 1933, and an Act was passed requiring the Government to place their contracts only with " fair wage " contractors.

Moreover, the law now allowed the organisation of unions and collective bargaining. This led in its turn to the tightening-up of the mutual organisation of employers, which tended to neutralise labour's advantage. The resultant strikes led to the intervention of the Government and the setting-up of Boards of Arbitration, so that some good came at last out of this turmoil,

(5) As to social security, this was perhaps the most important side of the New Deal legislation. The Social Security Act of August, 1935, established many benefits for the working classes in America, which they had never before enjoyed. Among other benefits, the Act provided, first, for old-age pensions to the needy by means of 50-50 Federal grants to the states ; secondly, for contributory old-age pensions for workers, by means of an income tax on employers and a " pay roll " contribution from

employees ; and a Federal-State scheme of unemployment insurance through a " pay roll " excise tax paid solely by employers to the Federal Treasury.

Opposition to the New Deal

If it is difficult for the average American to comprehend the implications of the New Deal, it is still harder for a Briton to understand them. The New Deal was to some Americans a panacea for all the social and economic ills from which the country was suffering ; to others it was stark state socialism, directed by a leader assuming the powers of a dictator, or at least seeking the establishment of a dictatorship. It was regarded with a kind of negative hopefulness by the hard-pressed people, whose lot it was designed to relieve, and with bitter hostility by the Republicans and others, who deplored the expenditure of billions of public money, not on national defence or the sinews of war, but on public works and other activities, which, in their view, were not the business of the state but of private enterprise.

To grasp the inward meaning of the New Deal, four facts about it should be kept in mind. First, America was far behind several states of Europe, and particularly of Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, in the development of what are usually called the social services, such as labour exchanges, health and industrial insurance, and old-age pensions. These reforms were almost unknown in America before 1933, and, though long overdue, they were regarded by many as foreign to the American spirit. Secondly, therefore, the New Deal on this side of it was no more state socialism than, for example, were the reforms of the Liberal Government in Britain between 1906 and 1914, though British people who recall or read of the attitude of the landed classes

to Lloyd George and his budgets in those years will appreciate the hostility of the moneyed classes in America to Roosevelt, as the demands on the public exchequer mounted to meet the costs of the new legislation. Despite these criticisms, the truth remains that "the fundamentals of capitalist economy—private ownership of the means of production and distribution and the profit system—were maintained."

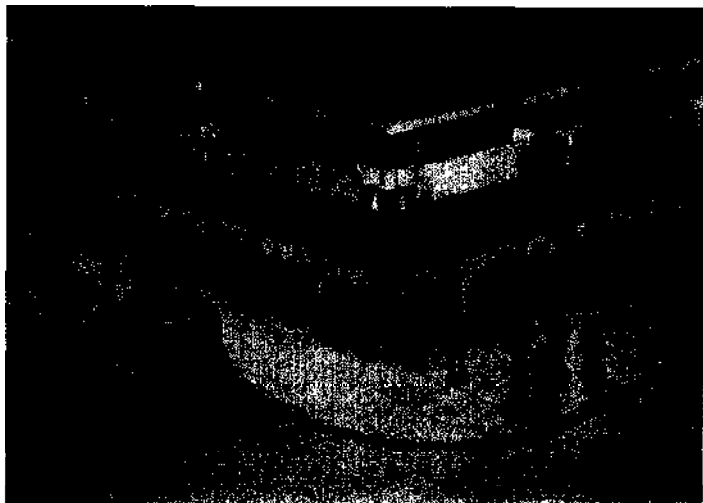
Thirdly, the New Deal was not a fully-fledged scheme on paper in 1933 : it was gradually and painfully built up, and slowly and far from always successfully applied, over a period of years. Fourthly, the New Deal can hardly be properly described as a revolution, as some writers and critics have called it. In essence, it was little more than a wide and deep application of Federal supervision to the economic life of the nation, and in that sense only the extension of a process which had been slowly and steadily spreading since the late nineteenth century, as, for example, in the Inter-State Commerce Act of 1887, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, and the Co-operative Marketing Act and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act passed during Hoover's Presidency. Indeed, as Charles and Mary Beard point out in their book, *America in Mid-Passage*, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the two main planks in the New Deal, merely "gave legal expression to the economic doctrines of organised agriculture and organised business enterprise/

The New Deal, in short, sought to prevent "the disintegration of the existing economic system by establishing some sort of balance between economic groups, by preventing capital's exploitation of labour and of the producers of raw materials." President Roosevelt stated his aim quite simply in March, 1934, when he said:

"What we seek is balance in our economic system: balance between agriculture and industry, and balance between the wage-earner, the employer, and the consumer."

The main point for British people to grasp in studying the New Deal legislation is that it was a complex code of statutes and regulations passed by the Federal Legislature and applied by the Federal Executive to the Use of the states. It was in the individual states that the people suffered, yet the states were helpless to improve the situation. Thus the Federal Authority had to step in and act more vigorously than ever before. In doing so, it raised all sorts of political and legal problems which had to be settled by the Supreme Court. This could not have happened in Britain, a unitary state, in which Parliament is supreme. The United States, on the other hand, is a Union of 48 states, over which the rights and powers of the Federal Parliament, or Congress, are strictly limited by the Constitution, and in the event of a conflict between them, the Supreme Court may override either.

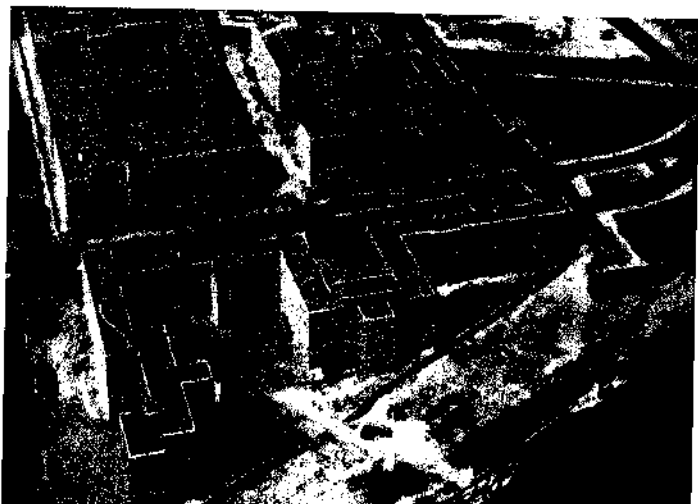
Many Americans feared the New Deal for various reasons, though few of them condemned it outright, since it did bring manifest benefits to the community. The three main lines of opposition and criticism may be stated. First, the New Deal legislation gave the President vast new powers and tended to create law-making bodies outside Congress; in short, it threatened an autocracy or dictatorship. With this danger went the organisation of a great body of Federal officials to execute the new laws and regulations; in short, the threat of bureaucracy. Secondly, the new legislation, by increasing the powers of the Federal Authority, weakened the powers of the states and threatened to place them at the mercy of an overriding Central Government. Thirdly, if they went un-



THE DEPRESSION IN U.S.
 A "bread-line" outside a relief station in New York.
 (Photo by E.N.A.)



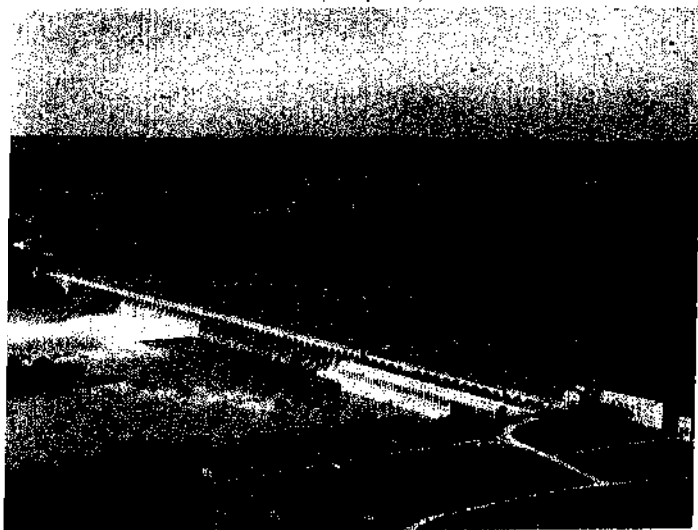
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT INAUGURATED FOR A THIRD TERM, 1941
 Taking the oath outside the Capitol.
 (Photo by Topical Press)



THE NEW DEAL: SLUM CLEARANCE IN NEW YORK

Blocks of flats being erected in the Harlem District by the Public Works Administration (PWA) under the New Deal legislation.

(Photo by E.N.A.)



THE NEW DEAL: THE WILSON DAM AT MUSCLE SHOALS ON THE TENNESSEE, IN ALABAMA

Work carried out by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) for the development of agriculture and industry under the New Deal legislation.

(Photo by E.N.A.)

checked, the actions of the Federal power, many feared, might jeopardise the whole American political system. All these doubters and opponents looked eagerly to the Supreme Court to take the necessary action to prevent what they regarded as the disastrous consequences of the New Deal, and they were not altogether disappointed.

Roosevelt Twice Re-elected

The Legislature and the Executive defended the new legislation on the simple ground that it was necessary in order to meet the emergency. They considered that the Constitution permitted the exercise of such powers under the heading of the general welfare of the nation, for which the Federal Authority was constitutionally responsible, and by virtue of the power of Congress to tax and regulate inter-state commerce. Several cases arising out of the New Deal legislation came before the Supreme Court. In January, 1935, by an 8 to 1 decision, the Court nullified the section of NIRA which authorised the President to ban the transportation from one state to another of oil in excess of state quotas. In February, 1935, however, the Court upheld the financial policy of the Government. In January, 1936, the Court, by a 6 to 3 decision, declared invalid the whole of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, on the ground that it invaded the rights reserved by the Constitution to the states. The Government and its supporters bitterly criticised the Supreme Court, and tried to find ways of circumventing its decisions. Some Democrats suggested an amendment of the Constitution to give the Federal Government authority to pass social legislation. But nothing came of this, chiefly because the President objected to that solution.

The first real test of the acceptability to Americans generally of the New Deal experiments came in 1934 at the

mid-term Congressional Elections, and the New Deal won easily, in spite of the desertion of several Democrats who were opposed to the collectivist tendencies of the Administration, for Roosevelt's followers gained nine seats in the Senate and twenty-three in the House of Representatives. By 1935 the economic tide began to turn, and when Roosevelt put up for a second term in 1936, he was able to use this as an argument to justify his policy, whether, in fact, the returning prosperity was due to that policy or not. He promised "to continue his policy of social welfare legislation/" while the Republicans, who had nominated Alfred E. Landon, attacked the President for what they called his platform of "regimentation, socialism, and violation of personal and economic liberty."

But the opposition was all to no purpose, for Roosevelt was returned in 1936 for a second term by an even steeper landslide than that which had resulted in his first election in 1932. He was elected by no less than 523 electoral votes to 8, Landon carrying only the tiny states of Maine and Vermont, while his popular majority was 10 millions, as compared with 6 millions in 1932.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the President considered he had an indisputable mandate to proceed with his programme. But he had yet to tackle the Supreme Court, which could always render nugatory any Act of Congress, if it wished. Roosevelt considered that his conduct was perfectly constitutional, and he was not, therefore, in favour of constitutional amendment, which, in any case, as he said, would not prevent judges with social and economic prejudices from overruling Congress, since "the law is what the Supreme Court says it is." He therefore proposed in 1937, instead, to increase the Supreme Court Bench from 9 to 15, and thus outvote the obstructive members. The Bill, however, was defeated

in Congress, and the President had to wait for the operation of Nature, until in the process of time the older members of the Court died off.

From 1937, Roosevelt, in spite of the heavy Democratic majority, which, though diminished, still remained large after the mid-term elections of 1938, had to face a good deal of opposition in Congress, where even members of his own party seemed to have a genuine fear of his establishing a dictatorship. The very recession of the depression and the beginnings of the restoration of prosperity, in fact, made less urgent the need for extraordinary powers, and so from 1938 the President had to fight hard for Congressional support to the many plans for reform which he still had at heart.

Franklin Roosevelt wanted to build a new America, and in the normal constitutional course would have had only two years left in which to do it. But, as he entered the second half of his second term, the whole prospect was darkened by the European situation, and, as the end of his second term approached, the repercussions of Hitler's War shook America more and more every day, so that the very circumstances which caused Roosevelt to seek the suffrages of the American people for a third time in 1940 were precisely those in which his great programme of domestic reform had necessarily to be sacrificed to the more urgent calls of national preparedness and defence. Only thus could an event without precedent in American history—the election of a President for a third term—have occurred. The result is well known to all the world. Franklin Roosevelt was re-elected in 1940 by a popular majority of 5 millions, not in support of his New Deal policy, but because of the nation's belief in him as the right man to lead them in the crisis of a second world war.

Chapter 15

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Frame of American Society

The American Republic, in which Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 performed the unprecedented feat of entering upon a ninth consecutive year of office as the elected Chief Magistrate, was the political expression of a heterogeneous and unique society, with its own way of life, evolved **from** its peculiar history of rapid growth and change. The census of the year 1940, when Roosevelt was elected for a third term, revealed that the total population of the continental United States was 131,409,881, while over and above this number there was in American overseas possessions a total population of 18,131,647 persons, of whom 15,833,649 were concentrated in the Philippine Islands.

For this vast continental society the problems of social and economic organisation and of government were complicated by two outstanding phenomena: first, the history of immigration and the antics of the "melting-pot" into which the immigrants were poured; and secondly, the growth of the Federal system which politically controlled a Union of 48 states, each with its own government in the multifarious functions not specifically allocated to the Federal power.

The table below shows at a glance the growth of the population and the number of immigrants, as revealed in each decennial census between 1860 and 1930.¹

¹ At the time of writing (December, 1941), the detailed analysis of the figures of the 1940 American census had not yet been completed, and nothing beyond the general total figure was therefore available.

AMERICAN POPULATION TABLE

<i>Year of Census</i>	<i>Total Population</i>			<i>Increase over Preceding Census</i>	<i>Number of Immigrants during each Decade</i>
	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Total</i>		
1860 .	26,922,537	4,520,784	31,443,321	8,251,445	2,598,214
1870 .	33,598,377	4,968,994	38,558,371	7,115,050	2,314,824
1880 .	43,402,970	6,752,813	50,155,783	11,597,412	2,812,191
1890 .	52,101,258	7,846,456	62,947,714	12,791,931	5,246,613
1900 .	66,809,196	9,185,379	72,994,575	13,046,861	3,687,564
1910 .	81,731,957	10,240,309	91,972,266	15,977,691	8,795,386
1920 .	94,820,915	10,889,705	105,710,620	13,738,354	5,735,811
1930 .	110,286,740	12,488,306	122,775,046	17,064,426	4,107,309

This table shows first, that over the period of eighty years the population increased fourfold ; secondly, that 35 million immigrants were admitted to the United States in the eighty years, but of these no fewer than 27½ millions came in the fifty years up to 1930, or nearly four times as many as in the previous thirty years ; thirdly, that there was a drop of nearly 2 millions in the decade 1890-1900 ; fourthly, that immigration reached its peak in the first decade of the twentieth century, constituting a yearly average of nearly a million ; and fifthly, that in the decade 1920-1930 the number of immigrants was less than half that in the peak decade. Behind these cold figures lies the explanation of a whole epoch of social history.

Up to the close of the nineteenth century, by far the largest number of American immigrants came from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia. These countries provided a good stock and produced a type which was easily assimilated into and enriched the existing American

250 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

society. But from the turn of the century two important things happened. First, the Frontier ended, and so America offered much diminished opportunities to the hardier and more skilled and cultured type of immigrant. Secondly, the social and economic conditions of Western Europe greatly improved, and so gave less impetus to emigration to the people of that area.

Thus both the "pull" of the American Frontier and the "push" of intolerable conditions created by the Industrial Revolution, to which we have referred earlier, ceased to have their former effect, and tended to cause this source of immigration to dry up. This accounts for the heavy fall, as shown in the table, during the decade 1890-1900. The main source of immigration then switched to Southern and Eastern Europe, particularly Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russian Poland, and these countries soon began to provide a greater flow of immigrants than America had ever known before. This accounts for the phenomenal rise, shown in the table, during the first decade of the twentieth century.

The census of 1910 showed that there were 13½ million foreign-born inhabitants—one-seventh of the whole population—and as large a number of native white inhabitants of foreign-born parentage. The mass of the new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were from a much lower social and economic level than the old. Few of them were skilled and a large proportion were illiterate.

These facts had a marked effect on the social and economic life of America. As these immigrants were unskilled, they were attracted to the cities. As they could not speak English, they tended to be segregated in the cities. Consequently, they were at the same time difficult to assimilate and easy to exploit by sweating employers. Moreover, while these depressed groups were increasing

and multiplying, the better and more stable Americans were restricting their families. Thus, what some Americans called the "great dilution" was operating in two ways—by the diminution of the more desirable citizens and the increase of the less desirable—and creating a peculiar problem of social organisation and citizenship unknown in any other country in the world.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Government should become concerned about this problem. In an endeavour to counteract this drift towards what some called "race suicide" but was perhaps better described as "class suicide," Congress determined to act. Already, in 1891, 1893, and 1907, laws had been passed to exclude the morally, mentally, and physically unfit, as well as anarchists, vagrants, and paupers, while earlier still Chinese immigration had been absolutely prohibited. In 1917 an Act was passed imposing a literacy test for immigrants, but it utterly failed of its purpose, and in 1921 a much more drastic step was taken. In that year the Emergency Quota Act limited the number of immigrants of any nationality to 3 per cent, of the number of that nationality in America in 1910.

The object of this law was to react against the stream of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe, but it failed to restore the North European flow. The Act was renewed for two years in 1922, but, as it failed to achieve the desired effect, a new Quota Act of 1924 limited immigration to 2 per cent, of the numbers of any nationality residing in the United States in 1890, except from Canada, Mexico, and South America. In the same year the Japanese were entirely excluded. The Act was to remain in force until 1927, later postponed to 1929, by which time a body of experts was to have discovered the best means of limiting annual immigration to 150,000, on

252 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

a quota on which they were to agree. In practice the limitation proved to be even more restrictive, **for** in the year 1930-1931 the number of immigrants admitted was only 48,509, while in the year ended June 30, 1937, it was 50,244. The most recent available figure—that for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1940—was 7[^],756, which, after more than ten years of operation, was less than half the number aimed at in the Act.

Whether this kind of restriction has been the proper and most beneficial policy has yet to be seen. The basis of the law was purely quantitative, whereas many well-informed Americans have contended that what was wanted for the health and well-being of the nation was a qualitative selection. At all events, it is clear that the frame of American society was fashioned, until the period of the Great War, on the basis of almost unrestricted immigration, and that the restrictive laws which followed that period had the purely negative effect of limiting numbers. And now to all intents and purposes immigration into the United States may be said to have stopped.

But, besides this influx of a poor type of white immigrant, the American problem of social, economic and political organisation has been further complicated by the presence of a constantly increasing negro population, and, although now forbidden to settle in the United States, a considerable body of Chinese and Japanese. The negro population, which was 4J millions in 1860, had increased to 12 millions in 1930, though the proportionate change showed a drop over that period from one-seventh to one-tenth of the whole. The improvement in the lot of the negroes from 1860 was painfully slow. Most of them either remained tenant cotton farmers or migrated to the towns, where they tended to become the performers of the more menial tasks of society. But the .education of

the negroes resulted in a heavy fall in illiteracy and produced some remarkable and talented men, such as Booker Washington and W. E. B. du Bois.

The latter-day development of jazz entertainment has given the negro an opportunity to shine and profit, which an earlier age could never have provided. As to the population of the other coloured races, it increased from about 350,000 in 1900 to 600,000 in 1930. More than half of this number were Indians, the remainder mostly Japanese* and Chinese. This figure, of course, represents a very small proportion of the whole, but constitutes a formidable social problem of special communities in certain areas.

Life, Work, and Leisure

It may easily be imagined that, in face of this rapid growth of population and the effects of unrestricted immigration, economic and social planning in a competitive society was very difficult, and, in fact, generally speaking, it was not attempted. The whole economic life of the people was based on private enterprise and the principles of *laissez-faire*, and the social consequences were accepted accordingly. By the turn of the century America was producing manufactured goods twice as great in value as those of Great Britain and half as great as those of all Europe put together. With this industrialisation went a decline of the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture and a rapid and gigantic growth of towns. Of the 16 millions by which the population increased during the decade 1900-1910, seven-tenths were found to be living in towns of 2,500 or more. Between 1920 and 1930, while the total population increased by 17 millions, the farm population dropped from 32 millions to almost 30 millions, although, owing to the application

of machine methods to agriculture, there was at the same time an actual increase of food production. By 1930, of the total population of approximately 123 millions, no less than 56·8 per cent, were in towns of 2,500 or more inhabitants, and 49·9 per cent, in towns of 8,000 or more inhabitants.

So the unrestricted rush of immigrants was matched by the unchecked movements of the people from the country to the towns, and by an equally chaotic development within the towns themselves, where the conditions of life were often very sordid and depressed. In 1900 America was still "the land of opportunity," and yet, while the American standard of living was high compared with that of most European countries, it was estimated that at least 10 millions were living in poverty and that in 1914 few adult workers earned real wages high enough to ensure a reasonable minimum standard of living. In the first years of the twentieth century, it was calculated, seven-eighths of the national wealth were held by one-eighth of the population, that 99 per cent, of these seven-eighths was concentrated in the hands of 1 per cent, of American families, and that, while the bulk of the wealth of the nation was owned by 20 per cent, of the people, the remaining 80 per cent, lived on the margin of existence. This distribution has not greatly changed since then, though, on the whole, the condition of the working classes has gradually improved since 1914.

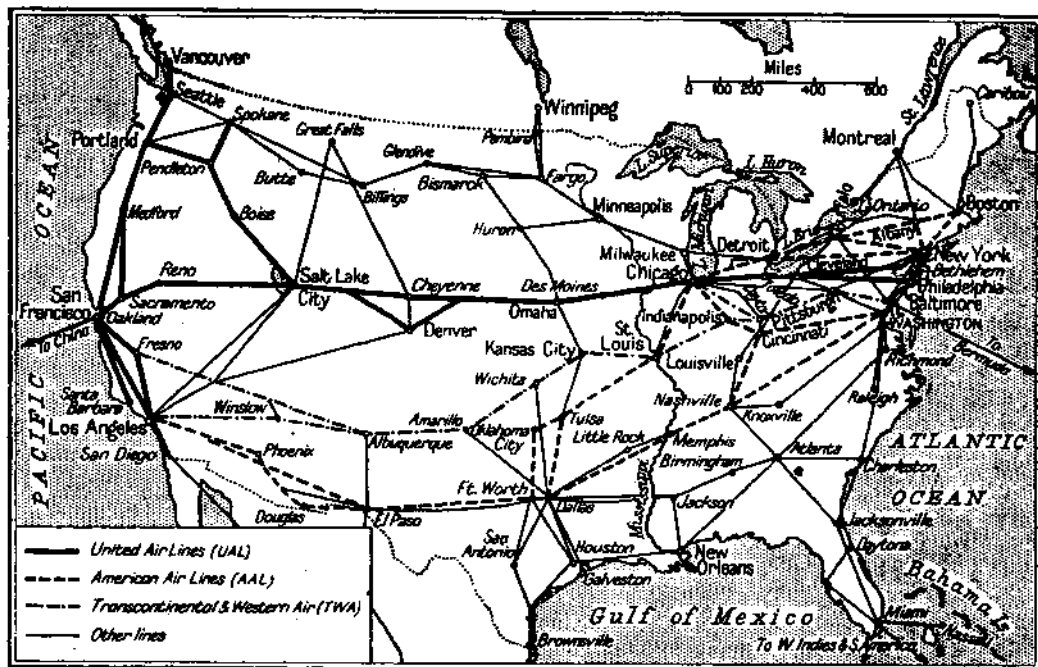
One of the most marked characteristics of American life and work is what is called standardisation. The United States constitutes the largest free market in the world, in which there is absolutely free trade without tariff-barriers over an area of 3 million square miles. Mass production is the logical consequence of this. And with the standardisation of industry goes the standardisation of life, a fact very clearly brought out in such social

studies as Sinclair Lewis's novel, *Main Street*, and in Charles Chaplin's film, *Modern Times*.

In no case is this more noteworthy, both in industrial method and in social consequences, than in the automobile industry, in which the "efficiency" of a Henry Ford in this respect has made possible the nation-wide ownership of the motor-car. In 1914, the number of motor-cars registered in the United States was 1½ millions; in 1920, 3¾ millions; in 1936, 28¼ millions, which meant practically one to every four of the population. This vast development and popularisation of automobilism gave a great impetus to road-building, and by 1935, by dint of financial aid from the Federal Treasury, there were 127,000 miles of motor roads, while by 1936 the mileage of state highways had risen to 340,000 miles, of which 289,000 were surfaced.

An interesting social consequence of this development has been a kind of mild revival of that migrating instinct which showed itself in American society in the days of the great westward expansion. "With tourist camps, way-side inns, tea-rooms, and gas stations littering the highways, America became a nation on wheels." The motor-car has speeded up the whole tempo of civilisation and made America even more the home of hustle than it already was. It has also tended to break down provincialism, which was an inevitable characteristic of so scattered a society, by linking the detached areas in a way that railways could never have achieved.

America has always been the home of invention, and this scientific urge has done more than anything to show the world how the forces of Nature may be used in the service of mankind. One has only to mention William Henry, John Fitch, and Robert Fulton in the development of the steamship, Samuel Morse and the telegraph, Bell



AMERICAN AIRWAYS.

and the telephone, Edison and the phonograph and the application of electricity to illumination and transport, the Wright Brothers and the aeroplane, and Lee de Forest and broadcasting, to realise the magnificence of America's contribution to technical progress. The effect of this inventiveness is also seen in the home, where all sorts of labour-saving devices are in common use and lighten the burden of household work for even the poorest town dweller.

The advancement of aviation was, as elsewhere in the world, slow up to 1914, but America, no less than other advanced communities, profited by the impetus given to air transport by the Great War. During the years 1927-1931 the advance was particularly rapid, and, though the depression caused a tremendous drop in output, the number of passengers carried declined very little and the industry recovered more quickly than most. In 1935, for example, the number of miles flown was 63J millions, which was nearly eight times the number flown in Great Britain and seven times that of the next highest (Germany). In that year more than 800,000 passengers were carried, more than four times the next largest, Britain, and nearly 2,400 tons of goods, far higher than any other country, except Canada. United States Airways are now the best equipped in the world, and besides the main airports, there are, on the coast to coast route, 250 intermediate landing-grounds and 580 auxiliary fields, and at no time on this route, it is calculated, is an aeroplane more than nine minutes from a suitable landing site. America has also led the way in the development of a trans-Atlantic air service, which, in association with Britain, had reached a high state of efficiency by the outbreak of war in 1939.

As to radio, the same free development as marked the

westward expansion and immigration was seen in its growth. Whereas in most countries wireless is a Government monopoly, subject to taxation, in America its development was quite unrestricted. It grew as a private business and consequently very rapidly and chaotically. By 1936 there were eight wireless networks throughout the United States and 561 stations. Congress attempted, by the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry in 1927, to bring some order out of the chaos that this freedom had caused, but radio remains a matter of purely private enterprise in America, and, because of its commercial uses, and particularly as a medium for advertising, plays little part as a means of education, as it does to some extent, for example, in Britain.

Even more remarkable has been the growth of the film industry, and here America holds unquestionable pre-eminence. In America, it is estimated, more than 100 million people a week go to the cinema, which, according to Prof. Brogan, is "more than a third of the cinema-going public of the world." Over two-thirds of the world's cinema capital is invested in the United States, and nearly two-thirds of the world's films are made there. The great film colony at Hollywood is without parallel in any other country in the world, and its power for shaping opinion and social values is immense.

Cinema-going is, perhaps, the greatest of all American amusements, but there are many other diversions, especially in the field. While Americans play many of the games played in Britain, and, generally speaking, can beat Englishmen at them, baseball, at least as a spectacle, is even more of a national game to Americans than are cricket and football to the British. Professionalism in this game is far more widespread and probably more subject to evil effects than in those games which professionals

play in Britain. Again, boxing plays a far greater part as a spectacular diversion in America than it does in Britain, but, on the other hand, horse-racing, though common, plays a less important part than here.

Education, Culture, and Religion

The educational system in America is not easy for an Englishman to understand. The first point to grasp is that the Federal Authority historically had no concern whatever with education, although part of the New Deal investigations and reports were concerned with this aspect of the national life. It is a matter for individual states, and within the states for local authorities to whom it is delegated. From one point of view, educational development in America has been as chaotic as other activities, and there is a mystifying jumble of authorities, types of educational institutions, and educational methods and enforcements throughout the country. In 1934, for example, there were 130,000 school districts, one for every thousand of the population. But when we consider the enormity of the problem of satisfactorily educating such a vast and cosmopolitan community as inhabits most of the states, we must admit that the achievements of American education have been in many respects remarkable. This is specially true of the reduction in illiteracy, in a society whose origins are so multifarious and frequently backward.

In America, educational institutions correspond, but only very broadly, to English elementary and secondary schools, training colleges for teachers, and universities. The elementary schools are called public schools, the secondary schools public high schools, the training colleges are called normal schools, and the universities are sometimes called merely colleges. In the decade 1860-1870, when the white population was about 30 millions,

there were 7 million pupils in the public schools, and there were 300 public high schools, 12 state normal schools, and slightly more than 200 colleges. In 1900, when the white population had increased to nearly 67 millions, there were 16 million pupils in the public schools, 6,000 public high schools, 175 normal schools, and 500 colleges. To-day there are 26 millions in the public schools, 7 millions in the public high schools, and about 1½ millions in universities and colleges. Besides this large development, there has been also a great expansion of adult education throughout the United States.

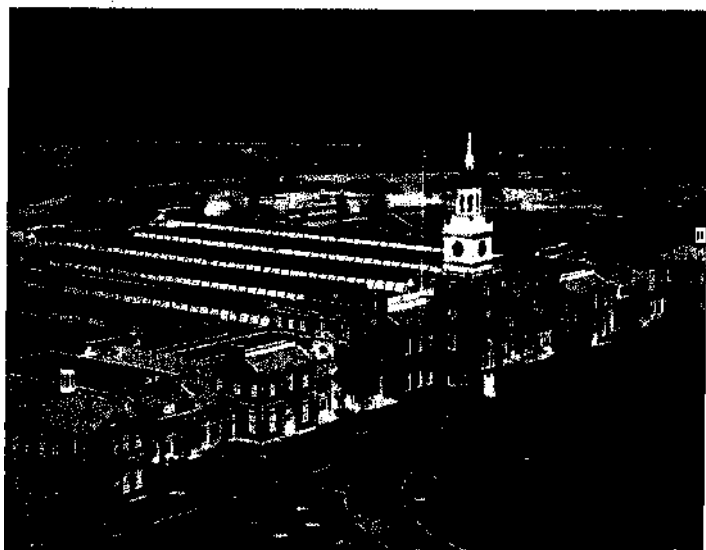
The outstanding achievement of the period 1914-1928 was to make "secondary education almost as universal as the previous hundred years had made primary education." In fact, about half the children of high school age in America are in either public high schools or in privately-owned schools, of which there are many in America. This is a very much greater achievement than in Britain, where the proportion is only about one-eighth. Moreover, the proportion of the American population not only seeking but enjoying university education is very much higher than in Britain.

It is true that there is a dark side to all this, which shows up unfavourably when compared with educational conditions in this country. The enforcement of school attendance in the primary schools is generally much less strict in America than in Britain, and even the number of compulsory school sessions is often very much lower. The status and salaries of teachers, too, are generally not nearly so high as they are here, and teachers suffer specially in times of financial stress, particularly in rural districts where they are frequently paid only for the days they work, and sometimes salary is withheld altogether. Generally speaking, the money allocated to public



AGRICULTURE: MECHANISED FARMING IN AMERICA

(Photo by Topical Press)

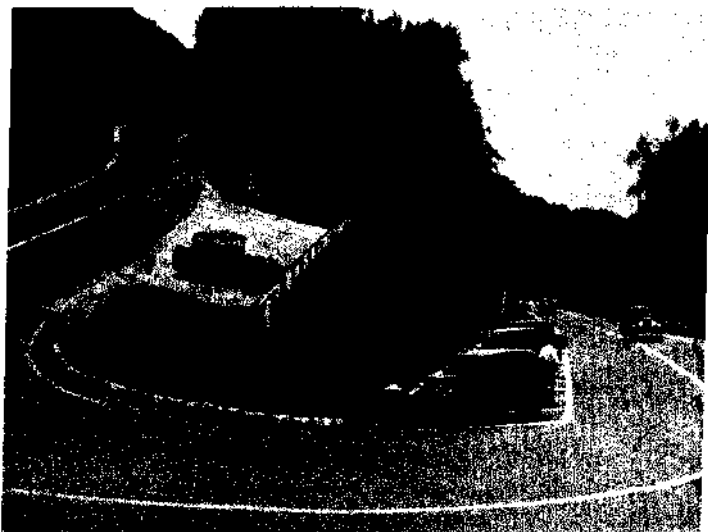


INDUSTRY: THE FORD MOTOR WORKS AND MUSEUM AT DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

(Photo by E.N.A.)



EDUCATION: THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK
(Photo by E.N.A.)



ARTERIAL ROAD: THE MOHAWK TRAIL, IN THE BERKSHIRE HILLS MASSACHUSETTS
(Photo by E.N.A.)

education goes far more to the provision and upkeep of lavish buildings than to a teaching body which has a proper standing in the community and can take pride in itself as a profession, though there are states, such as California, where their status, salary, and the respect in which they are publicly held are as high as anywhere in the world.

There can be no question that there are many ways in which America can teach us a good deal about education, both in theory and in practice. Research and experimentation in method are much more common and real in America than here, though, going with these movements, is the prevalence of crazes and "stunts," introduced and supported by cranks. Co-education is almost universal, and in the public schools in most states regard is had to the social milieu from which the children are drawn and honest efforts are made to relate educational organisation, method, and purpose to the social and economic life that the pupils will afterwards lead.

Indeed, one of the commonest English criticisms of American education is that it is too vocational in trend, and it is undoubtedly true that the American attitude to education is throughout much more technical than ours. There is, in fact, a tendency to raise trades and skills, which in Britain and most other European countries are learned in the school of life and work, to the rank of sciences in the curriculum. But in the public schools in many of the cities the school becomes the only society where a mixed population, unlike our own, can learn the art of living? together, and there alone the poor immigrant can learn how to become the civic equal of the born American. In other words, the main purpose of the American public school is the very proper one, the American community being what it is, of teaching "the art of living in a democratic and competitive society."

As to the public high schools, no doubt they contain a large proportion of children whom, under the present dispensation, we in Britain should not regard as fitted for secondary education. But it is none the worse for that. Because of the fact that it draws so vast a proportion of the age-range for which it caters, it is bound to provide a curriculum which, in attempting to suit all tastes, leaves the academically brilliant few somewhat handicapped. But it does bring together all classes of the community at a most formative period of their lives, and if in the process it sacrifices something of what is generally thought of as academic education and concentrates rather on "local social education," that is perhaps all to the good of the society of which the pupils in the schools are the future citizens.

The colleges and universities, again, are very different from ours. They are, as a rule, indeed, much more comparable with our technical colleges. In fact, as Prof. L. P. Jacks remarks, "the whole country might be described as one vast polytechnic/' It is no wonder, he says, that the schools and colleges have a polytechnic complexion, since the whole country reeks and roars with technique, in the wilderness no less than the city, and the colleges are inevitably a microcosm of the world outside. And they are more subject to interference by that outside world than are our universities, partly because of the influence of big business and partly because of the college benefactor, a far more common phenomenon in America than in Britain, who, in presenting his old university with some of his own fortune, does not hesitate to interfere with its administration, its curriculum and, above all, its social and athletic life.

But when all is said, the observer cannot escape the fact that, while education in America does not conform to our

older academic standards, it has a purpose which is consistently observed in relation to the world for which it trains its pupils, and in pursuit of this object it is taken very seriously.

The religious history of the United States has been very different from that of most European states, and it has been happily free from the bitter denominational strife which has vexed most of the older countries. For, from the earliest days of the Republic, religious toleration has been an outstanding quality of American political and social organisation. It is true that some of the original settlements, particularly in New England, had a religious motive, and that in that region Puritan intolerance was for a long time most marked. But others of the Colonies were free from this kind of bigotry, and certainly the new areas in the West, with the exception of Utah, had no such sectarian traditions, which perhaps helps to account for the fact that in some parts of those areas outbursts of passionate revivalism have alternated with periods of extreme irreligion.

In the middle of the eighteenth century nine of the Thirteen Colonies had Established Churches (six Anglican or Episcopalian, and three Congregational), but most of the new State Constitutions, promulgated during the Revolution in the latter part of the century, disestablished the Churches, and the first Amendment to the Federal Constitution in 1791 forbade Congress " to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof/¹ Yet, in spite of the absence of an Established Church and the universality of religious toleration, America remains to-day a predominantly Protestant country, though the Roman Catholic faith has more adherents there than any other single Church. Nor must it be supposed that this long-

standing freedom has resulted in a greater proportion of sceptics in America than in any other advanced community to-day. Indeed, according to statistics collated in 1928, there were in that year, out of a total population of about 120 millions, no fewer than 55 million acknowledged members of some religious denomination or other. Among these were about 18 million Roman Catholics, 8 million Baptists, 8 million Methodists, 4 million Lutherans, and 3 million Presbyterians.

The number and variety of the remaining sects are probably very much greater than in any other country in the world, for the Americans are as inventive of novel forms of worship as they are of so many other things. So, if America has been free, for a longer period than most other civilised countries, from the restrictions of ecclesiasticism, she has not lacked altars and acolytes to suit every kind of religious urge and experience. And even among the sceptics there are few who do not still sincerely believe that America is " God's own country."

Literature, Journalism, and Newspapers

American literature and newspapers reflect the American way of life—its seriousness, its individuality, its hybrid composition and cosmopolitan background—and indicate the eagerness of American citizens to know what is going on in the world around them. In the earlier days of American civilisation, literature drew its inspiration from the Old World which was its cradle, and intellectual by no means accompanied political independence. In the middle of the nineteenth century Emerson, among the most illustrious and venerable of American writers, was still declaiming that American millions could not " always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests/" but, however much Emerson himself was unable to

undo the shackles of the Old World which bound him, it is a fact that to-day America has an independent and distinctive literature. And, indeed, far from its being any longer tied to the British tradition, it is, in fact, greatly influencing British literary production in all sorts of ways. Three living American authors—Sinclair Lewis and Mrs. Pearl Buck, the novelists, and Eugene O'Neill the dramatist—have received the Nobel Prize for literature, and there is a whole body of writers in America which ranks with the best that any nation now produces, and is perhaps even higher than most in the contemporary world outside.

This literature may properly be described as distinctive because it is manifestly born of American life and conditions. Much of the best American literature is, in essence, sociological; that is to say, it reflects the social background and has a social purpose. This is particularly true of such novels as Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* and John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. Modern American poetry, if not equal to the work of the best American poets of the past, such as Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman, is none the less important, and among outstanding men and women in this field are Robert Frost, T. S. Eliot, Edgar Lee Masters, Vachel Lindsay, Harriett Monroe, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Dorothy Parker.

But it is perhaps in the theatre that modern America has made its most distinctive contribution, and is, in fact, having a visible formative influence on the development of the drama in other countries, and especially in British, whether you consider such really epoch-marking plays as Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra*, and Robert Sherwood's *Idiot's Delight*, or the experiments in Shakespearean production of such producers as Orson Welles, who was responsible for the presentation of *Julius*

Ccesar in modern dress as a study on the theme of Fascism.

In the lighter forms of the literary and theatrical arts, too, America has contributed much to our enjoyment and edification. The best of the American thrillers, for example, have given diversion to the sage as well as relieving the tedium of the life of the clerk, while the very modernistic method of social commentary, which is seen at its best in such books as Damon Runyon's *More than Somewhat*, gives an extraordinarily vivid picture of the life of gangsters, and tickles our sides without damaging our souls. In the world of musical comedy, also, America has for a long time led the way and furnished models which the English light theatre has not hesitated to copy.

America is a land of magazines and newspapers, and these reflect the social scene and serve or pander to the varying tastes of the public. Americans of all classes are vividly interested in news and views, and while there is a wide and intelligent audience for the best type of modern journalism, as in newspapers like *The New York Times* and in magazines like *Time*, there is a much wider and less critical section of the community which reads nothing but the tabloid, and is edified by the unbelievable juvenility of the comic strip.

What has been called the culture of the Jazz Age is, in fact, peculiarly American, and is composed of elements of the most varied sort, which are, in their extremes, poles apart. But in a society so hybrid and cosmopolitan as the American, such extremes are inevitable. Jazz music itself, at its worst so intolerable to many, may possibly, as an art form, have something distinctive to give in its very modern version of *Swing*. But it is probably safe to say that most of the emanations of the Jazz spirit, while they may truly reflect some aspects of the variegated life

of America, have little of permanence to contribute to the true future of world civilisation.

Government and Citizenship

t

We see the American way of life in perhaps its most distinctive form when we consider the American people organised as a political society. The most remarkable thing about this aspect of the American story is that the political institution which has stood most firm amid the constant changes in the size and composition of the community and the ever-expanding area inhabited by it, is the Federal Constitution. For this Constitution was first promulgated in 1789 for a community one-thirtieth its present size, occupying an area less than one-third of the space now inhabited by the American nation, and for only thirteen states where it now applies to forty-eight. The constancy of this instrument is all the more amazing in that there have been comparatively so few formal changes in it, although, by the wisdom of the Founders, such changes, if difficult to make, were nevertheless fully allowed for.

The use of the machinery of amendment has by no means been abused, for, after the first ten amendments, called the Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791, so near to the original promulgation of the document as to be essentially a part of it, and the eleventh and twelfth amendments in 1798 and 1804 respectively, a period of more than sixty years elapsed before the thirteenth amendment was ratified. After the group of three amendments establishing the rights of negroes (1865, 1868, and 1870) had been ratified, no further amendments were carried until our own day, for forty-three years were to elapse before the sixteenth amendment was adopted in 1913, since when there have been five, the last being the twenty-first, which repealed Prohibition in 1933.

There have, of course, been other processes of change at work throughout the history of the Constitution, through conventional growth, unwritten practice, and the decisions of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, the Constitution furnished the great foundations of the system of government which prevails to this day, and the American people still treat it with the greatest possible respect as the guarantee of their rights as citizens of the United States.

But every American is a citizen of his state as well as of the United States, and it is in the state that he should find his most active and satisfying political existence. The state in America, it should be observed, is not, like a unit of local government in Britain, the area of a mere by-law-making authority. Each of the 48 states has, on the contrary, sovereign powers guaranteed to it by the Constitution—i.e. all those not specifically granted to the Federal Authority—of which it cannot be deprived except* by a constitutional amendment. In each state there are areas of local government—counties, cities, etc.—very like those in our own country, and these are subject to the control, not of the Federal Authority, but of the state within which they are established. Each state has its elected Governor, corresponding to the President of the Union as a whole, and an elected Congress, corresponding to that at Washington. It has, besides, its own system of law and justice, which is operative within the state for all cases except those arising under the powers expressly granted to the Union by the Constitution, which are subject to the Federal Courts.

And yet it would appear that, under modern economic and political conditions, the American citizen has more to gain from the Federal than from his state government, as the state tends to become less and less real, and the

grouping into regions, based on geographical and economic affinities, more actual in practice. That the Federation rather than the individual state should be the safeguard of citizens' rights and a surer means of securing their equality, and hence practical liberty, is a strange inversion of the original antithesis of the Federalists and Republicans, of the Hamiltonian state and the Jeffersonian dream. For Jefferson saw great peril to the rights of man in the preponderance of the Federal Authority over the individual states, and feared the consequences to liberty and equality of the triumph of the Federal power, which Hamilton did so much to establish.

As things have turned out, Hamilton can be seen in retrospect as the truer prophet of economic development. It is true that the industrial civilisation which has emerged from the rapid development of the United States is in many ways deplorable, and that it tends to emphasise the plutocratic rather than the democratic quality of American society. But no earthly power could have prevented the industrial growth of America, with all its complexities, to the detriment of the simplicities of the agrarian society which Jefferson always envisaged, and it is perhaps not without significance that the Democratic Party under F. D. Roosevelt to-day stands for a liberal extension of the social services through the action of the Federal Government.

It is, then, to the Federal Government that the average American must look for a solution of modern economic and social problems and for benefits for the worker in an industrial society. This is evident in the New Deal legislation, and there can be no doubt that much of the machinery set up by that legislation for the establishment of the social services is destined to stand and to make a permanent contribution to the American way of

life. That the average citizen has a sense of the importance in his life of the place of the Federal Authority is proved by the keen part he plays in Federal Elections. At such elections all sorts of offices are filled at the same time, and the importance of the party system is most clearly seen here, for the voter is presented with a "ticket," which contains the names of party candidates for the various offices to be filled. Thus a man or woman votes for all Republicans or all Democrats in one long list.

The American party system is very different from the British. It is often said that there is no essential difference between the two parties. "The Republican Party," says Professor Brogan, for example, "is so called because it is the party to which Republicans belong, and so with the Democratic Party and the Democrats." It is true that at elections both parties tend to dodge the major issues, but it cannot be denied that the Democratic Party under Roosevelt stands for a liberal policy of social services which the Republicans do not endorse. Each party has a caucus or electoral machine as do British political parties, but in America the machine dominates politics far more than in Britain.

Again, the working of Congress in America is quite different from that of Parliament in Britain. First, there is the obvious difference that the Executive in Britain is parliamentary and may be changed at any time, while in America it is non-parliamentary and fixed for the term for which it is elected. The Cabinet in Britain is, in effect, a committee of Parliament. It is created by Parliament and can be destroyed at any time by the withdrawal of parliamentary support. In America, on the other hand, the Executive is entirely separate from the Legislature. The President makes his contacts privately with his Congressional followers, and thereby influences legislation.

But his only official contact with Congress is through his Messages, which he may or may not deliver in person.

Cabinet Officers are in touch with Congress through its Committees, to which they are frequently called for consultation during the preparation of Congressional Bills. Practically the whole of the work of both the Senate and House of Representatives is done in Committee. Congress does not have daily sessions and debates as does the British Parliament. Its sessions, in fact, are little more than occasions for voting on issues already decided on in Committee. It is therefore not possible for the American citizen to follow the daily business of Congress, as the intelligent Englishman follows that of Parliament through parliamentary reports in the newspapers.

One of the gravest problems of American politics arises from the fact that it fails to attract to its service the best minds of the country. The American intelligentsia is large and active in all sorts of good works, but it has little to do with politics, so that the nation is generally deprived of those who represent the finest fruit of its educational system in that part of the national life where it is sorely needed. Only very rarely in modern times has such a representative appeared on the scene of active politics in America. Such a one was Woodrow Wilson, but he was succeeded by the mediocrity, Warren Harding. While this abstention continues, American political society can never hope to reach the high standard of democratic government of which the community, by virtue of the fineness of its parts, is capable.

The problem of citizenship in the heterogeneous society of America is an acute one. The multifarious racial origins of the people, the varying standards of culture, the traditional liberty of its politics, and the historical *laissez-*

faire attitude to its economics, all contribute to the creation of an unplanned and even chaotic social scene, in which anti-social behaviour too readily develops. Indeed, it has been positively encouraged by the Legislature, through the passage of such laws as Prohibition, which it is impossible for the Executive to administer and enforce, and breach of which is therefore invited.

During the period of thirteen years, from 1920 to 1933, when Prohibition was part of Federal law, more social harm was done by showing how easily the law in general could be broken with impunity than by the actual breaches of this particular law itself. But at least it created for the first time a Federal police (" G " men), where law enforcement for this purpose had hitherto been in the hands of individual states alone. The growth of violent crime, racketeering and gangsterism in the United States, or rather the inability to check their growth, is, indeed, regarded by many respectable critics as attributable to the existence of forty-eight different types of state criminal law and the consequent ease with which the criminal may elude the grasp of the police authorities of one state by escaping into another.

Whether the increase of Federal power, on the lines of the New Deal legislation, is the way of salvation for American democracy, it is hardly for an English historian to speculate. But it is undoubtedly true that the individual state, as such, no longer holds the ardent allegiance of the American citizen as it once did, at least in the original Eastern States, and that the unbridled growth of an earlier epoch must more and more give place to a planned society.

Chapter 16

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

Confused Diplomacy after the Great War

For good or evil, the Great War had given a tremendous impetus to American economic imperialism, from which the country could not recede without loss of internal strength. The rapid development of America's foreign commerce, which in fact more than quadrupled between 1900 and 1920, as well as the vast increase of her foreign investments, inevitably and radically affected the time-honoured policy of isolation. This change of policy, which has been described as a diplomatic revolution, was bound to be both profound and permanent because it was supported, for various reasons, by so many and such diverse American interests, including bankers and capitalists with foreign investments which they wished to protect, industrialists seeking new markets abroad for their goods, farmers hoping to recover external markets lost during the War, and idealists striving for international peace and goodwill.

Hence, though America's official policy after the War was one of rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and refusal to support the League of Nations, the realism of some of her people and the idealism of others kept her active in the international field. Thus, on the one hand, the moneyed interests were concerned with the collection of War Debts owed by the Allies to America, while, on the other, many Americans of both political parties were in favour of joining the Permanent Court of International Justice, set

up after the War at The Hague, in Holland, as part of the machinery of international conciliation.'

As to War Debts, America followed a policy which was, in the last analysis, found to be untenable. The Allies held that the question of the Debts, due from the Allies to America, must go hand in hand with that of the Reparations due, under the Treaties, from Germany to the Allies. But America for a long time refused to recognise that in the coupling of the two lay the only hope of salvation for international finance, though there was a considerable body of opinion in the country in favour of cancelling the Debts as America's contribution to the recovery of the world after the upheaval, while many American economists thought their abandonment a small price to pay for a prosperous Europe with whom profitable trade relations would thus the more rapidly be restored. Moreover, in practice the Government made agreements with the debtor nations, through the machinery of the World War Foreign Debt Commission, established in 1922, to reduce very considerably both the capital of the Debts and the percentage of interest payable on them.

Thus, for thirteen years after the Armistice, while America demanded the payment of Debts from the Allies, she advanced to Germany loans, without which that country could not have made such inadequate Reparation payments as she did manage to achieve. Indeed, when Germany defaulted for the second time in 1928, and the European Powers concerned adopted the Young Plan, which attempted a solution of the problem by proposing that German Reparations might be reduced in proportion to a corresponding reduction by America of Allied Debts, America refused to co-operate. With the advent of the Depression, naturally, America was unable to continue making loans to Germany, who then defaulted again.

Consequently, in 1931, America for the first time agreed to consider Debts and Reparations together, and President Hoover declared a moratorium all round for one year. Since then, although America has never recognised their cancellation, Debt payments have not been resumed, and there can now be few Americans who seriously suppose they ever will be.

As to the World Court, several attempts were made to find a satisfactory basis for America's acceptance of a seat on its Bench, but, although the Senate Foreign Relations Committee actually reported favourably on the proposal to participate, it was finally rejected by the Senate itself in January, 1935. The Court thus lost the direct aid of a state that would undoubtedly have given it greatly added prestige. But America's refusal to join the League and her desire at the same time to find an acceptable formula to take part in the International Court well illustrate the curious cross-currents of American diplomacy which characterised the post-War years.

This was further exemplified in 1927, when America signed a pact for the outlawry of war, and took active steps to persuade the rest of the world to join her in this project. In that year the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, approached America with a plan for an agreement between the two nations never to go to war on any dispute which might arise between them. The American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, on behalf of the United States, signed this agreement, which became known as the Briand-Kellogg Pact. But Kellogg went farther, and sent a copy of the Pact to all the other important nations in the world, inviting their signatures to it. The result was that in August, 1928, the representatives of fifteen nations, including Germany, met in Paris and solemnly signed the Kellogg Pact, and in Janu-

276 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

ary, 1929, the American Senate ratified it with only one dissident.

But it soon became evident that not even the laboriously built machinery of the League of Nations would be sufficient to stop the drift to Germany's renewed resort to arms, her denunciation, in effect, of the Armistice of 1918, and her repudiation of what she called the *Diktat* of Versailles. And where properly constituted organs of international control failed, how could mere sanctionless paper protestations, however multilateral their support, hope to succeed? Not so easily were the American people to escape their part in helping the Mars-ridden nations of the world to emerge at last from the nightmare of international anarchy.

America's Two-Ocean Interests

Ready as America was, after the War, to demobilise her huge armies and revert to a pre-War military footing, she realised the importance of maintaining her naval strength in relation to other Powers, and particularly to the largest naval Powers of the Old World, Britain and Japan. For America's naval interests were world-wide, since she had to safeguard her future both in the Atlantic and the Pacific. If she had continued the naval programme launched during the War, she would, by 1924, have become the strongest naval Power in the world. With a view to an agreed limitation of naval armaments and a "pacification of the Pacific," therefore, President Harding, in November, 1921, invited Britain and Japan to a Conference at Washington. He invited also France and Italy as important naval Powers, and China, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal as nations with interests in the Far East.

The eight nations accepted the invitation, and when



BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE
Lord Halifax talking with Mr. Cordell Hull on his arrival at Washington in March, 1941.
(Photo by Topical Press)



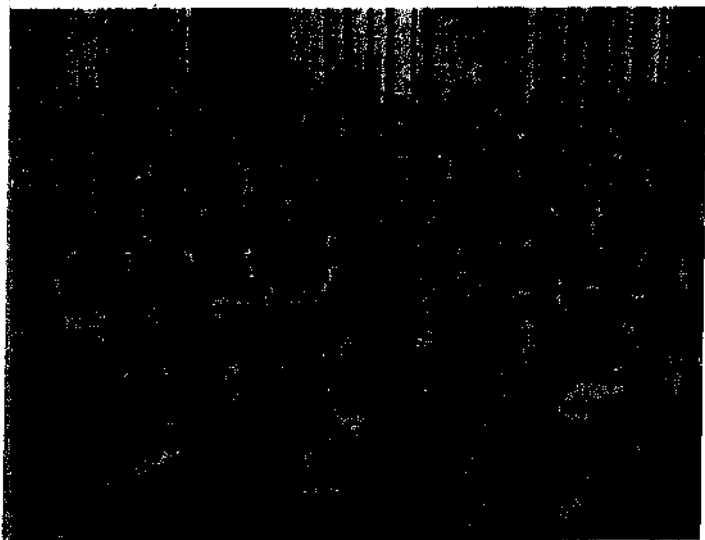
AMERICAN VISITOR AND LONDON POLICEMAN
Mr. Wendell Willkie, Republican opponent of Mr. Roosevelt, showing his identity card
during his visit to London in January, 1941.
(Photo by Topical Press)



MAKING THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

American President and British Prime Minister together at Sea in August, 1941.

(Photo by Topical Press)



THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSING CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON

Mr. Churchill speaking at the Special Joint Session in the Senate Chamber, Boxing Day, 1941.

(Photo by Topical Press)

the Washington Conference opened on November 12, 1921, the American Secretary of State, Charles Hughes, boldly proposed a " naval holiday " for ten years. He suggested a British-American-Japanese ratio of 5:5:3 for capital ships, and for France and Italy one-third of the American allotment. This was agreed, but the Conference failed to reach a similar agreement on cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and other auxiliary craft. The result was that, while the ratio for capital shipbuilding was observed during the next few years, there was, through the same period, a race in the building of auxiliary ships.

Some other important agreements were reached by the Washington Conference. The first was a treaty by which America, Great Britain, Japan, and France agreed to respect one another's rights in the Pacific, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which had been in force since 1902, was ended. The second, signed by all nine Conference Powers, guaranteed the territorial integrity of China. The third allowed China full control over her own tariff-system. The fourth was between China and Japan, and, by it, Japan agreed to hand over to China the former German rights in the Shantung Peninsula.

All this had the appearance of something epoch-marking in American diplomacy and seemed to hold a bright promise for the future peace of the world. But during the next few years this prospect faded. The race in the building of auxiliary ships continued unabated, and a further Conference of the same Powers at Geneva in 1927 achieved nothing new. In 1930 the naval Powers met again in London, and they agreed to extend the Washington naval holiday until 1936. But, when a further Conference was held in London in 1936, the whole project collapsed, for Japan refused to bind herself any longer to her quota.

Soon after his first election President Roosevelt

announced, in 1934, that his foreign policy would be that of the "good neighbour," which meant the end of any kind of armed intervention by the United States in the affairs of Latin America. The most marked effect of this intention was the reversal of the policy hitherto pursued by the United States in Cuba, and the agreement to withdraw from active participation in Cuban affairs. Similarly, negotiations were begun with Panama, whereby it was to cease to be a Protectorate of the United States and become an independent state. In the same way, America changed her policy in the Pacific, and instead of using the Philippine Islands as a stepping-stone to the enjoyment of "China's illimitable markets," as many American Imperialists advocated, she, as we have already described, granted the Islands a constitution in 1935, changing them from a colony to a Protectorate, with the promise of full independence in 1946, and thus relinquished her hold on the Philippines, at least as a means of pursuing an active foreign policy in the Far East.

But the year after the virtual independence of the Philippines had been granted, Japan joined Germany in the anti-Comintern Pact, aimed at Soviet Russia, while in 1937 Japan invaded China, and thus began the long-drawn-out "China Incident." America could not be unconcerned at these developments, which were bound to have serious repercussions on the Pacific side of her two-ocean interests. She had refused to recognise the Soviet regime in Russia for sixteen years from the time of its institution, and it was not until 1933 that she established diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. Now she realised that on her relations with Russia might well depend the maintenance of the balance of power in the Far East, while the sympathies of the American people were entirely with the Chinese as the victims of Japanese

aggression. Yet, such was the earnestness of America's desire for peace that she refrained from taking any part in the Sino-Japanese struggle, though, as that war came to be recognised as merely the Eastern aspect of the conflict which the Totalitarian Powers were forcing on the West, it seemed only a question of time before she would be forced to do so.

It is clear, therefore, that, in the years following the Great War, America had made noble efforts to contribute to the peace of the world, both in the West and in the East, futile though those efforts were to prove. She had tried to scale down the European War Debts, had at length admitted their association with German Reparation payments, and finally, though not cancelling the Debts, had ceased to press for their payment. She had attempted to bring sanity to the West and moderation to the Far East by the splendid initiative of the Washington Conference and by her deliberate "retreat from Imperialism" in the Pacific. She had given an earnest of her peaceful intentions in the American Continent by her policy of the "good neighbour," and a gesture to the world at large by her adherence to the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

Yet, in spite of it all, she was actually spending in 1936 four times as much on defence and armaments as she had spent in 1913. For, whatever happened, she could not rid herself of her two-ocean interests or be unconcerned in world affairs, as, in the later 1930's, the Fascist nations feverishly rearmed and prepared for a renewal of the conflict which had ceased in November, 1918.

America and Hitler's War

As a reopening of the European conflict seemed inevitably to approach, American opinion was deeply

divided as to the part America should play in it. The vast majority of the people were profoundly opposed to any policy which might again eventuate in what they regarded as the futile slaughter of "American boys" on the battlefields of Europe. On the other hand, there were those who believed that America ought to have much larger military and naval armaments, and a system of universal military service. Sections, at least, of both these bodies of opinion, for their several reasons, saw advantages in an enquiry, which began in April, 1934, by a small committee of the Senate into the manufacture and sale of munitions.

The enquiry continued for about three years, and produced voluminous reports and several "sensations," concerning methods of production employed by the munitions industry, military projects lying behind armament activity, and "the general economic background of policies pursued just previous to America's entrance into the World War." The results of the enquiry opened the eyes of most Americans to the startling facts that foreign policy was closely associated with economic interests at home, and that the methods pursued by armament manufacturers were very little different in America from those of arms manufacturers in Europe.

The interest aroused in America by this enquiry resulted in the passing by Congress of four Neutrality Acts in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938. In general, these Acts were based on the argument that the only way for America to escape participation in the war which she believed to be coming was to avoid all contact with the belligerents, and, as the Munitions Investigation had clearly shown that interest in armaments had influenced the entry of America into the last war, the Acts laid down definite conditions in peace and war for the manufacture,

sale, and shipment of arms. They required all persons engaged in munition manufacture to register with the Secretary of State, and permitted the export of arms only under licence. Under these Neutrality Acts, in the event of a state of war anywhere, it was unlawful to export arms, munitions, or implements of war to any belligerent state, or to any neutral state for transshipment to a belligerent state. Also it was declared unlawful " to purchase, sell or exchange bonds, securities or other obligations of a government at war, or to lend or extend credit to any such government." Furthermore, the transport of arms to belligerents in American ships was forbidden, and American citizens were warned that they would travel on belligerent vessels " at their own risk."

These Acts were passed before the war occurred, and only a condition of war could test the reality of the security to America which they envisaged. But such was the darkness of the prospect for European peace at the beginning of 1939, after the alarms and excursions culminating in the abortive Munich Agreement in 1938, that President Roosevelt warned the nation that the Neutrality Acts were unwittingly serving the interest of the aggressor nations and weakening their victims. He clearly wanted the Neutrality Acts so amended as to permit aid to the " democratic victims of aggression," whether in Europe or China, without involving America in war.

A large body of public opinion was against him then, but he gained strong support when, in March, 1939, in cynical breach of the Munich pledge six months before, Hitler invaded Czecho-Slovakia, and the President recalled the American Ambassador from Berlin. On April 15, Roosevelt sent a " peace plea/" to Hitler, and asked him for an assurance that he would not attack or

invade the territories of European and Near-Eastern states, which the President's note categorically named. At that moment the Germans were massing on the Polish frontier, and Hitler's reply, which he gave in a speech to the Reichstag, was so evasive and unconvincing as to be valueless as a pledge of his good intentions.

In these circumstances Congress began its long discussions and tortuous manoeuvres for the revision of the Neutrality Acts. The President attempted to give his predilections in the rising European conflict a generalised complexion by referring to it as a struggle, not between particular states, but between rival ideologies ; in short, between " Democracy and Totalitarianism." Popular sympathies were focused on the democratic side by the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to America in the June of 1939, and it was a remarkable tribute to the simple charm of their appeal that no American dreamed of describing that visit as a piece of propaganda.

Nevertheless, the President continued to encounter fierce opposition from Isolationists, who feared that his policy would lead inexorably to involvement in war. But when Hitler invaded Poland, and Britain and France declared that they were in a state of war with Germany, on September 3, 1939, such was the dread of Americans as to the effects of a *Blitzkrieg* on London and Paris that the opposition broke down. Thus, when the President met Congress in Special Session and appealed to them to lift the " Arms Embargo " in the Neutrality Acts, the Senate and House of Representatives passed the necessary measure by substantial majorities, and the President signed the Bill on November 4.

The new Act allowed arms to be sold to belligerents on a " cash and carry " basis. No credit could be extended to them, and American vessels were still prohibited from

carrying arms. It further barred the American mercantile marine from entering the combat zone. The general effect of the measure was to confine the sale of arms to Britain and France, since Germany had no means of purchasing arms in America for cash and carrying them home. In spite of Congress's apparent change of heart in favour of the Democracies, during the rest of the year 1939 opinion hardened against any further measures calculated to drag America into the conflict, and polls of popular opinion showed substantial majorities against intervention, whatever the outcome for Britain and France of the campaign in Europe.

The year 1940, thanks to the effects of the affairs of Europe, was one of extraordinary and unexpected developments in America. Franklin Roosevelt was elected for a third term, and compulsory universal military training was introduced for the first time in her history as a peacetime measure. Nevertheless, in the first part of the year Congress and the newspapers generally were against the President, despite his assurance that " American youth will not again be sent to fight on European battlefields." But, as the year went on, European events gradually changed the complexion of American opinion. In April the Germans invaded Norway. On May 10, Winston Churchill, almost as popular a figure in America as in Britain, partly because of the fact that his mother was American and partly because of his vigour and oratorical appeal, succeeded Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister. On the same day the Germans invaded the Low Countries ; by the end of the month France was on the verge of collapse; between May 29 and June 3 British troops were withdrawn from the Continent at Dunkirk ; on June 10 Italy declared war on France ; and on June 16 France decided to ask for an armistice.

These events were broadcast throughout America, with no lack of colour or despatch, by the various Broadcasting Companies, and thus almost hourly developments reached the 30 million homes, buildings, and motor-cars which had wireless sets. The President, in his fireside radio chats, kept in direct touch with the American people, and was able to sense the growth of solid opinion behind him. The Government proceeded with a vast armaments programme, including a two-ocean naval programme of 201 warships, to be completed in five years. In June the President, for the first time in the history of Democratic Administrations, brought two leading Republicans into his Cabinet, Henry L. Stimson, a New York lawyer, as Secretary of War, and Franklin Knox, the Chicago publisher, as Secretary of the Navy, thus, as he said, recognising the feeling in the country that the situation was one rising above partisan considerations. The collapse of France made the Americans conscious of the peril for Democracy, of which Britain was now the one remaining bulwark in Europe, and every effort was made to speed up "all aid for Britain short of war."

At this period the most remarkable development of all took place with the agreement of Britain to lease for 99 years to America naval bases in Newfoundland and in the British West Indies, in return for twenty destroyers. At the same time, the idea which afterwards came to be known as "Lease and Lend" began to germinate. This overcame the difficulty of Britain's growing inability to find the necessary means of purchasing arms on the original "cash and carry" basis, through the approaching exhaustion of her dollar resources in America. The idea was that the American Government should buy the munitions and then lease or lend them to Britain, on the understanding, which was, of course, purely contin-

gent, that they should be returned at the end of the war. This would both overcome the money difficulty and circumvent the restrictions imposed by the Act forbidding money loans to belligerents. Early in 1941 Congress passed the Lease and Lend Act, with the result that aid for Britain was speeded up, so that America became what the President called the "Arsenal of Democracy."

The events and developments of 1940 had secured Roosevelt's re-election for a third term, and such was the identity of views of both political parties on the issue of aid for Britain that, in the spring of 1941, Wendell Willkie, Roosevelt's Republican opponent in the Presidential Election, came to London bearing a message from the President, and during his stay out-Roosevelted Roosevelt in the ardour of his sympathy and support for Britain in her travail. As the year progressed, the President quietly continued his education of the American people towards the conviction that Britain's fight for the preservation of Democracy was also America's. In this purpose he had the great moral support afforded by the presence in Washington of Lord Halifax, whose appointment as British Ambassador to the United States, on the untimely death of Lord Lothian, had made a deep impression on American public opinion.

The President insisted that the Battle of the Atlantic was one on whose issue depended the fate of the Western no less than the Eastern Hemisphere. He pointed out the futility of Britain's taking from America the food and munitions vital to her preservation only to have them sent to the bottom of the sea *en route*, and ordered American warships to patrol the western Atlantic, in order to assist in the hunt for German submarines and surface raiders, although, at that time, he studiously avoided any reference to the convoying of British merchant vessels by

American warships. As a further defensive measure against possible German depredations, America at length undertook with Britain the joint occupation of Iceland. The unprovoked invasion of Russia by the Germans in June, 1941, caused American opinion to see more clearly the danger to themselves if the advance of the Axis Powers was not checked, and the bulk of the nation readily approved the President's action in joining Britain on a mission to Moscow to discuss with Stalin what aid could be given to the Russian people and the Soviet arms.

In August the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Britain held their historic meeting at sea, and on the 14th of that month issued the famous joint statement of Democracy's peace aims, which has become known as the Atlantic Charter. It contained eight points, which declared that the two countries sought no aggrandisement, desired to see no territorial changes which did not accord with the wishes of the peoples concerned, respected the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government, would do their utmost to secure the access on equal terms of all peoples to the trade and raw materials of the world, would aim at securing improved labour standards throughout the world, seek a peace, after the destruction of the Nazi tyranny, which should secure for all nations the hope of living in peace and security and for all men the right to traverse the seas without hindrance, and would do all in their power to achieve at last the abandonment of the use of force and the abolition of aggression as a means of settling international disputes,

America and the Second World War

In spite of the restrictions imposed on her merchant ships by the Neutrality Act, America found herself, towards the close of 1941, after more than two years of

Hitler's War, very near the position she had reached in 1917, after more than two years of the Great War and just before she entered that War on the side of the Allies. In the autumn of 1941 American merchant vessels, and even warships, though far from the war zone, were attacked, and even sunk, by German submarines, and in November Congress, though by small majorities in both the Senate and House of Representatives, revised the Neutrality Act so as to permit American merchantmen to be armed and to enter the combat zones.

Thus, to adapt the graphic language of a celebrated American broadcaster, America reached the point where, at any moment, she might pass from her moral support of the Democracies in the ideological war, and her material aid to them in the war of supplies, to active participation in the " shooting war." Such a position could be reached by America only through great provocation from without, and the utmost deliberation within on all the issues and consequences. For the vast expanses of the American Continent, the diversity of origins, interests, and opinions of the American people, the many-sidedness of their economic and social life, and the dual nature of their political organisation, make common action among them hard enough to achieve even on an issue of domestic policy, but still more so on a matter involving operations beyond their own shores.

But the final act of provocation from without was destined to come, before the fateful year 1941 reached its close, not, after all, from Europe but from Asia, and in such a way as to force the Americans to abandon any further deliberation and to precipitate them into the " shooting war," in spite of themselves. For some time diplomatic conversations had been going on in Washington between the State Department and the Japanese Amba-

sador in what to the Americans was an honest attempt to reconcile Japan's aggressive aims and America's peaceful purposes in the Pacific. Suddenly the Japanese exposed these talks as the hollow mockery they alone had known them all along to be, a mere temporising device for the secret preparation of an unannounced aggression. For, on December 7, while the conversations were proceeding and just after the President had sent a personal message of goodwill to the Emperor of Japan, the Japanese, without hint or formal declaration of war, attacked American bases in Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines,¹ and American and British ships in Pacific waters. Later in the day Japan announced that she was at war with Great Britain and the United States.

On the following day, Congress, in Joint Session, received the President's War Message, and, with only one dissident, resolved that a state of war with Japan be declared. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war against the United States, and on the same day Congress again met, and unanimously recognised the existence of a state of war with those two partners in Japan's perfidy. Meanwhile, Britain had, for her part, declared a state of war with Japan, and a similar declaration quickly followed from all the British Self-Governing Dominions. Thus the great English-speaking peoples all over the world were at last in line against the three Axis Powers, whose joint machinations for a world hegemony had brought about this tragic state of affairs.

In this way did Hitler's War become a second World War, in an even more absolute and universal sense than the first, that of 1914-1918, which was its precursor. It was, indeed, a total war, and as the American people found themselves at length sucked into its angry vortex,

¹ See map on page 208.

They hastily threw away the last remnants of their isolationism.

The American people, in the course of the chequered story of their unpretentious origin and their rise to greatness, redolent as it is of romance, of heroism, and of tragedy, have learned many lessons from the Old World which cradled them, and have now in their turn much to teach the Old World; so much so that the survival of all that we know as Western Civilisation is inconceivable without their whole-hearted co-operation, not only during the War, but in the days of reconstruction which follow. The peculiar achievement of the American people is that they have perceived how to obtain all the advantages of common action among almost half a hundred states without denying to them any of those rights and powers fully necessary to their political and social well-being. In short, they have shown the world how to achieve and maintain peace through political organisation. This they have done by the device of federalism, whereby each state agrees to surrender to a common authority the right to make war, and it may well be that the American Federal Union is the model by which the world of states is destined at long last to find the way to enduring amity.

So our story closes, only to continue, with the great English-speaking communities—the continental American Commonwealth and the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations—standing together as the twin bulwarks of liberty and peace against the deadly tyranny and aggression of a Nazi-Nippon "New Order" which knows neither. Symbolic of this new brotherhood in arms was the visit of Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, to Washington towards the end of December, 1941, when he gave an inspiring address to Congress in joint session. It is a far cry from the Old Island Kingdom to the New

Republic of the West. The two communities have each gone their several ways in the years between. Each has its own way of life and its own peculiar contribution to make to the progress of the world. But the ultimate political purpose of both is the same : to make the world at last safe for Democracy, without which the way of life of neither of them can endure and the contribution of each must be sterile.

APPENDIX I.—THE STATES OF THE AMERICAN UNION

No.	State	Date of Admission	Population, 1930	Capital
1	Delaware . .	Original Thirteen States	238,380	Dover
2	Pennsylvania . .		9,631,350	Harrisburg
3	New Jersey . .		4,041,334	Trenton
4	Georgia . .		2,908,506	Atlanta
5	Connecticut . .		1,606,903	Hartford
6	Massachusetts . .		4,249,614	Boston
7	Maryland, . .		1,631,526	Annapolis
8	South Carolina . .		1,738,765	Columbia
9	New Hampshire . .		465,283	Concord
10	Virginia . .		2,421,851	Richmond
11	New York . .		12,588,066	Albany
12	North Carolina . .		3,170,276	Raleigh
13	Rhode Island . .		687,497	Providence
14	Vermont . .	1791	359,611	Montpelier
15	Kentucky . .	1792	2,614,589	Frankfort
16	Tennessee . .	1796	2,616,556	Nashville
17	Ohio . .	1803	6,646,697	Columbus
18	Louisiana . .	1812	2,101,593	Baton Rouge
19	Indiana . .	1816	3,238,503	Indianapolis
20	Mississippi . .	1817	2,009,821	Jackson
21	Illinois . .	1818	7,630,654	Springfield
22	Alabama . .	1819	2,646,248	Montgomery
23	Maine . .	1820	797,423	Augusta
24	Missouri . .	1821	3,629,367	Jefferson City
25	Arkansas . .	1836	1,854,482	Little Rock
26	Michigan . .	1837	4,842,325	Lansing
27	Florida . .	1845	1,468,211	Tallahassee
28	Texas . .	1845	5,842,715	Austin
29	Iowa . .	1846	2,470,939	Des Moines
30	Wisconsin . .	1848	2,939,006	Madison.
31	California . .	1850	5,677,251	Sacramento
32	Minnesota . .	1858	2,563,953	St. Paul
33	Oregon . .	1859	953,786	Salem
34	Kansas . .	1861	1,880,999	Topeka
35	West Virginia . .	1863	1,729,205	Charleston
36	Nevada . .	1864	91,058	Carson City
37	Nebraska . .	1867	1,377,963	Lincoln
38	Colorado . .	1876	1,035,791	Denver
39	North Dakota . .	1889	680,845	Bismarck
40	South Dakota . .	1889	692,849	Pierre
41	Montana . .	1889	537,606	Helena
42	Washington . .	1889	1,563,396	Olympia
43	Idaho . .	1890	445,032	Boise
44	Wyoming . .	1890	225,565	Cheyenne
45	Utah . .	1896	507,847	Salt Lake City
46	Oklahoma . .	1907	2,396,040	Oklahoma City
47	New Mexico . .	1912	423,317	Santa Fe*
48	Arizona . .	1912	435,573	Phoenix

APPENDIX II.—PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

No.	President	Period	State	Party
1	George Washington	1789-1797	Virginia	—
2	John Adams	1797-1801^v	Massachusetts	Federalist
3	Thomas Jefferson	1801-1809	Virginia	} Republican
4	James Madison	1809-1817	Virginia	
5	James Monroe	1817-1825	Virginia	
6	J. Q. Adams	1825-1829	Massachusetts	} Democrat- Republican
7	Andrew Jackson	1829-1837	Tennessee	
8	M. Van Buren	1837-1841	New York	} Whig
9	W. H. Harrison¹	1841	Ohio	
10	John Tyler	1841-1845	Virginia	} Democrat
11	J. K. Polk	1845-1849	Tennessee	
12	Zachary Taylor¹	1849-1850	Louisiana	} Whig
13	M. Fillmore¹	1850-1853	New York	
14	Franklin Pierce	1853-1857	New Hampshire	} Democrat
15	James Buchanan	1857-1861	Pennsylvania	
16	Abraham Lincoln[*]	1861-1865	Illinois	} Republican (New Republican Party)
17	Andrew Johnson	1865-1869	Tennessee	
18	U. S. Grant	1869-1877	Illinois	
19	R. B. Hayes	1877-1881	Ohio	} Democrat
20	J. A. Garfield¹	1881	Ohio	
21	C. A. Arthur	1881-1885	New York	} Republican
22	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	New York	
23	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	Indiana	} Democrat
24	Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	New York	
35	William McKinley[*]	1897-1901	Ohio	} Republican
26	Theodore Roosevelt	1901-1909	New York	
27	W. H. Taft	1909-1913	Ohio	} Democrat
28	Woodrow Wilson	1913-1921	New Jersey	
29	Warren G. Harding¹	1921-1923	Ohio	} Republican
30	Calvin Coolidge	1923-1929	Massachusetts	
31	Herbert C. Hoover	1929-1933	California	} Democrat
32	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933-	New York	

¹ Died in office.

² Taylor's Vice-President, automatically completed his term.

³ Assassinated after election for second term.

⁴ Assassinated during first year in office.

APPENDIX III

BOOK LISTS FOR FURTHER READING

THE bibliography of American history is so vast that any selection from it must be highly arbitrary. The following lists are not by any means given as an indication of all the books consulted by the Author in the preparation of this book, though they are, of course, among the much larger mass that he has used. The lists are, rather, designed to assist those who may wish to read further, in books available in Britain and generally procurable from public libraries, on various aspects of the subject. They are intended to help and guide various types of approach and to cater for differing tastes and interests, and are therefore arranged under the following heads : History; Biography; Constitution, Government, and Politics ; Current Affairs and Contemporary Life; Fiction.

HISTORY

Arranged alphabetically under names of Authors, with the date of publication or of the most recent edition, and a brief explanatory note to each title.

ADAMS, J. T.: *The Epic of America* (1940).

The best introduction to American history.

ADAMS, J. T.: *History of the American People*. 2 volumes (1933)*

Full and interesting. Illustrated.

ADAMS, J. T.: *America's Tragedy* (1934).

Approach, course, and aftermath of the Civil War.

ALINGTON, G.: *The Growth of America* (1940),

From beginning to Civil War.

BBARD, C. A. and M.: *The Rise of American Civilisation* (1939)«

Study of development of American nation.

BEARD, C. A. and M.: *America in Mid-Passage* (1939).

Background and achievements of New Deal.

BEMIS, S. F.: *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (1937)»

Comprehensive history of foreign relations.

BRIGHAM, A. P.: *The United States of America* (1928).

Gives account of educational system.

BUTLER, N. M.: *Building the American Nation* (1923)-

Brilliant essay of interpretation.

CHANNING, E.: *The United States of America (1765-1865)* (1905).

An able survey by a well-known American historian.

294 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

CHESTERTON, CECIL : *History of the United States* (Everyman's Library, 1940).

Edited and revised with notes by D. W. Brogan.

FARIS, J. T.: *On the Trail of the Pioneers* (1920).

A story of the " Successive Wests."

FAULKNER, H. U.: *A Short History of the American People* (1938).

Political, social, and economic. Brilliant.

FAULKNER, H. U.: *Economic History of the United States* (1940).

Short account of economic development.

GREENE, L.: *America Goes to Press* (1936).

The news of yesterday ; from old newspapers.

HUBBRMAN, L.: *We the People* (1940).

Social and economic history.

HUDSON, W. H., and GUERNSEY, I. S.: *The United States* (1922).

Sound and well illustrated.

LEACOCK, S.: *Lincoln Frees the Slaves* (1935).

Naturally, a very readable story.

LINDLEV, E. K.: *The Roosevelt Revolution. First Phase* (1934).

Account of beginning of New Deal.

MORRISON, S. E., and COMMAGER, H. S.: *The Growth of the American Republic* (1763-1936), 2 volumes (1937).

A standard American history.

MOWAT, R. B.: *The United States* (1938).

A stimulating study, in the " Modern States Series."

MOWAT, R. B.: *The American Entente* (1939)-

Anglo-American relations from 1783 to to-day.

MUZZBY, D. S. : *An American History* (1934).

Thoroughly sound. Illustrated.

PAXSON, F. L. : *The American Civil War* (Home University Library, 1911).

Brief account by an American.

PAXSON, F. L. : *History of the American Frontier* (1924).

Frontier and its influence.

PEASE, T. C : *The United States* (1927).

A good general American survey.

REUTER, E. B.: *The American Race Problem* (1938).

A study of the negro.

SIEGFRIED, ANDRÉ : *America Comes of Age* (1927).

French analysis.

SMITH, W. C.: *Americans in the Making* (1939).

History of assimilation.

TURNER, F. J. : *The Frontier in American History* (1921).

Brilliant essays on this vital topic.

WARD, A. C.: *American Literature (1880-1930)* (1932).

Interesting outline, with reading list.

WHITTON, F. E.: *The American War of Independence* (1931).

The military history of the war.

WILSON, WOODROW: *A History of the American People*. 10 volumes (X917-X918).

Detailed, documented, rare pictures.

WOODWARD, W. E.: *A New American History* (1938).

"American history as a continuous social process."

Literary and Historical Atlas of America (Everyman's Library, 1930).

Poems of American History (1492-1908). Edited by Burton Egbert Stevenson (1908).

BIOGRAPHY

GENERAL STUDIES (in alphabetical order of names of Authors):

ADAMS, J. T.: *The Adams Family* (1930).

Studies of the Presidents John and J. Q. Adams.

AGAR, H.: *The American Presidents* (1933).

Studies of all Presidents from Washington to Harding.

BOWERS, C. G.: *Jefferson and Hamilton, the Struggle for Democracy in America* (1925).

BOWERS, C. G.: *Jefferson in Power, the Death Struggle of the Federalists* (1936).

Popular historical studies with a biographical background.

BRYANT, A.: *The American Ideal* (1936).

Impressions of Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and others.

INDIVIDUAL LIVES, MEMOIRS, AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES (in alphabetical order of Subjects):

ADAMS, HENRY: *The Education of Henry Adams. An Autobiography* (1918).

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS: *Memoirs* (1925).

FORD, HENRY: *My Life and Work* (1922).

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN: *Autobiography* (Everyman's Library, 1937)-
Life of Alexander Hamilton, by F. S. Oliver (1931)-

JEFFERSON, THOMAS: *Life and Letters*, by F. W. Hirst (1926).

Robert E. Lee, the Soldier, by F. Maurice (1930).

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM: *Speeches and Letters* (Everyman's Library, 1926).

Life of Lincoln, by Lord Charnwood (1916).

Lincoln, by Emil Ludwig (1930).

Lincoln, the Man, by Edgar Lee Masters (1931).

A hostile study.

Life of John Marshall, by A. J. Beveridge. 4 volumes (1916).

The Making of William Penn, by Mabel R. Brailsford (1930).

296 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

God's Gold. The Story of Rockefeller and his Times, by J. T. Flynn (1933).

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D.: *Looking Forward* (1933).

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D.: *On Our Way* (1934).

Franklin Roosevelt, by Emil Ludwig (1938).

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE: *Autobiography* (1920).

Theodore Roosevelt, by Lord Chamwood (1924).

George Washington, by Rupert Hughes. 3 volumes (193°).

George Washington, by L. M. Sears (1932).

Life of Woodrow Wilson, by Roy Stannard Baker (1928).

CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND POLITICS

AMOS, M. S.: *Lectures on the American Constitution* (1938).

Thorough, but somewhat technical.

BROGAN, D. W.: *The American Political System* (1933)-

The modern standard work.

BROGAN, D. W.: *Politics and Law in the United States* (Current Problems, 1941).

Very useful for English readers.

BRUCE, JAMES: *The American Commonwealth*. 2 volumes (Revised Edition) (1922).

A classic by a great English scholar and statesman.

CORWIN, E. S.: *The President: Office and Powers* (1940).

Detailed historical account.

DARVALL, F.: *The American Political Scene* (Discussion Books, 1941).

Excellent brief survey and guide.

LASKI, H. J.: *The American Presidency* (1940).

An interpretation of its working.

MARTIN, C. E.: *An Introduction to the Study of the American Constitution* (1926),

A thorough outline.

MUNRO, W. B.: *The Constitution of the United States* (1939).

A straightforward analysis.

STRONG, C. F.: *Modern Political Constitutions* (New and Revised Edition, 1939)«

Treats American Constitution comparatively with British and others.

CURRENT AFFAIRS AND CONTEMPORARY LIFE

ADAMS, J. T.: *A Searchlight on America* (1930).

BROGAN, D. W.: *American Foreign Policy* (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, 1941).

BROGAN, D. W.: *U.S.A., an Outline of the Country, its People and Institutions* (The World To-day Series, 1941).

- FBNWICK, C. G. : *American Neutrality : Trial and Failure* (1940).
 GREENWALL, H. J.: *American Scene* (1937).
 HITCH, C. J.: *American Economic Strength* (World To-day Series, 1941).
 JACKS, L. P.: *My American Friends* (1933).
 KIRK, G. : *The Monroe Doctrine To-day* (1941).
 LIPPMAN, WALTER: *Interpretations (1933-1935)* (1936).
 NEVINS, A.: *America in World Affairs* (World To-day Series, 1941).
 SCUDDER, EVARTS S.: *The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace* (Discussion Books, 1939).
 SHERIDAN, CLARE : *Redskin Interlude* (1938).
 STEARNS, H. C. (Edited): *Civilisation in the United States* (1922).
 A review by thirty Americans.
 STREIT, C. K.: *Union Now* (1939).
 STREIT, C. K.: *Union Now with Britain* (1941).
 WAITHMAN, R.: *Report on America* (1940).
 WHITE, W. A. (Edited) : *Defence for America* (1940).
 Views of various prominent Americans.
 WHITNEY, W. D.: *Who Are the Americans ?* (1941).
 Illuminating survey.

FICTION

A very limited selection, but all sound, good reading, and truly illustrative of the various periods. Arranged in alphabetical order of Authors within the different epochs or under special topics, with date of original publication.

I. COLONIAL TIMES (TO 1763) :

- CARLISLE, HELEN GRACE : *We Begin* (1932).
 GARNETT, DAVID : *Pocahontas* (1933)-
 HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL : *The Scarlet Letter* (1850).
 HERGESHEIMER, JOSEPH : *Java Head* (1919)-
 HUGHES, RUPERT : *Stately Timber* (1939)«
 JOHNSTON, MARY : *By Order of the Company* (1900).
 JOHNSTON, MARY : *The Old Dominion* (1898).
 JOHNSTON, MARY : *The Great Valley* (1926).
 ROBERTS, KENNETH : *Northwest Passage* (1937)-

II. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC (1770-1823) :

- BOYD, JAMES : *Drums* (1925).
 CHURCHILL, WINSTON : *Richard Carvel* (1899).
 DAVIS, W. STEARNS : *Gilman of Redford* (1927).
 GRAVES, ROBERT : *Sergeant Lamb of the Ninth* (1939).
 GRAVES, ROBERT : *Proceed Sergeant Lamb* (1940)-

298 THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

HOUGH, EMERSON : *The Magnificent Adventure* (19x6).

HUGHES, RUPERT : *The Golden Ladder* (1924)-

JENNINGS, JOHN : *Call the New World* (194¹)-

JOHNSTON, MARY : *Lewis Rand* (1908).

ROBERTS, KENNETH : *Arundel* (1930)-

ROBERTS, KENNETH : *Rabble in Arms* (1933)-

ROBERTS, KENNETH : *The Lively Lady* (193*)•

ROBERTS, KENNETH : *Captain Cantior* (1934)*

III. THE CIVIL WAR (Approach, Course, and Aftermath, 1840-1870) :

ALLEN, HERVEY : *Anthony Adverse* (1932).

ALLEN, HERVEY : *Action at Aquila* (1938).

BENET, STEPHEN VINCENT : *John Brown's Body* (1928).

Epic poem.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON : *The Crisis* (1901)-

CRANE, STEPHEN : *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895).

EHRlich, LEONARD : *God's Angry Man* (1933).

FAIRBANK, JANET A. : *The Courtlands of Washington Square* (1925)-

FAIRBANK, JANET A. : *The Smiths* (1925).

Sequel to above.

HOUGH, EMERSON : *The Purchase Price* (1910).

JOHNSTON, MARY : *The Long Roll* (1911).

JOHNSTON, MARY : *Cease Firing* (1912).

MITCHELL, MARGARET : *Gone with the Wind* (1936).

SCOTT, EVELYN : *The Wave* (1929).

STRACHEY, ROY : *Marching On* (1923).

STRIBLING, T. S. : *The Forge* (1921).

STRIBLING, T. S. : *The Store* (1932).

STRIBLING, T. S. : *Unfinished Cathedral* (1934).

IV. EXPANSION AND THE FRONTIER (Beginnings to 1890):

CATHER, WILLA : *O, Pioneers I* (1913).

CATHER, WILLA : *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927).

CHURCHILL, WINSTON : *The Crossing* (1904).

DAVIS, H. L. : *Honey in the Horn* (1935).

ERTZ, SUSAN : *The Proselyte* (1933).

FERBER, EDNA : *Cimarron* (1930).

FBRBBR, EDNA : *Show Boat* (1926).

FICHBR, VARDIS : *Children of God* (1939).

FICHER, VARDIS : *The City of Illusion* (1941).

GARLAND, HAMLIN : *Trail-Makers of the Middle Border* (1926).

GARLAND, HAMLIN : *A Son of the Middle Border* (1914).

HOUGH, EMERSON : *The Covered Waggon* (1922).

OVERTON, GWENDOLIN : *The Heritage of Unrest* (1901).

- ROBERTS, ELIZABETH M.: *The Great Meadow* (1950).
 WHITE, S. E.: *Daniel Boone* (1922).
 WHITE, S. E.: *The Grey Dawn* (1915).
 WHITE, S. E.: *Gold* (1913).

V. THE NEW IMPERIALISM AND THE GREAT WAR AND POST-WAR YEARS (1890-1930):

- BUCK, C. N.: *The Code of the Mountains* (1920).
 Dos PASSOS, JOHN : *Three Soldiers* (1921).
 EDMONDS, W. D.: *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1936).
 FITZGERALD, SCOTT : *The Great Gatsby* (1925).
 HEMINGWAY, ERNEST : *A Farewell to Arms* (1929).
 HERGESHEIMER, JOSEPH : *The Three Black Pennys* (1917).
 SINCLAIR, UPTON : *The Jungle* (1906).
 SINCLAIR, UPTON : *Oil* (1927).
 SINCLAIR, UPTON : *Boston* (1928).

VI. SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF TO-DAY:

(a) *Fiction*

- Dos PASSOS, JOHN : *U.S.A.* (1938).
 A trilogy containing *42nd Parallel*; *igiy*; *The Big Money*.
 FERBER, EDNA : *Come and Get It* (1935).
 LEWIS, SINCLAIR : *Main Street* (1920),
 LEWIS, SINCLAIR : *Babbitt* (1922).
 LEWIS, SINCLAIR : *It Can't Happen Here* (1940).
 RICHTER, CONRAD : *The Sea of Grass* (1938).
 STEINBECK, JOHN : *In Dubious Battle* (1936).
 STEINBECK, JOHN : *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

(b) *Poetry*

- HANDY, W. C.: *Blues; An Anthology* (1926).
 MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD : *The Land of the Free, U.S.A.* (193B).
 Photographs with free verse commentary.
***Oxford Book of American Verse* (1927).**
 WARD, A. C. (Edited): *A Book of American Verse (World's Classics, 1935)*

INDEX

- Abolitionists, 134-5, 148
 Adams, John, 49, 54-5, 86-8, 90-1, 113, 216
 Adams, J. Q., 113, 117-20
 Adams, J. T., quoted, 57, 81, 140, 147, 201
 Adams, Samuel, 50, 53
 Agar, Herbert, quoted, 57-8, **118-19, 212**
 Agriculture, 3, 13, 17-18, 79-97 **124**, 171-86, 235-9, 245, 253-4
 Alabama, 12, 107, 111, 132, 155, 161
Alabama Arbitration, 194-5
 Alaska, 8, 108, 112, 140, 194
 Amendments, Constitutional, 71-7, 88, 132-5, 165-70, 226-7, 246, 267-8
 American Federation of Labour, 190, 225
 American Revolution, 3, 28, 39-63, 64-9, 75-8, 135, 163
 Appalachian Mountains, 9, 13, 32, 61, 79, 101, 104-5, 110, 115, 120, 177, 218
 Arizona, 14, 140, 147, 180, 184, **215**
 Arkansas, 13, 93 (footnote), 159
 Arms Enquiry, 280
 Articles of Confederation, 64-9, **xo6**
 Atlantic, 2, 9, 12, 20-1, 28, 103-6, 141-4, 173-4. 177» 218-19, 257, 285, 286
 Atlantic Charter, 286
 Barbados, 26, 41
 Beard, C. and M., quoted, 243
 Boone, Daniel, 106
 Boston, 46-9, 50-8, 79
 Britain, 1-5, 9-16, 19, 20-30, 63-76, 106-14, 129, 131, 139, 153, 160, 177, 188, 192-6, 206-7, 217-21, 242-3, 249-62, 268-76, 283-90
 Broadcasting, *see* Wireless.
 Brogan, D. W., quoted, 75-6, 258, 270
 Bryan, W. J., 192-3, 212-13
 Buchanan, James, 148, 150, 153, 157
 Butler, N. M., quoted, 188
 Cabinet, 71-4, 80-7, 137, 227-8, 238, 271, 284
 Calhoun, J., 96, 104, 119, 142
 California, 10, 11, 14, 108, 139-47. 173-7
 Canada, 3, 8, 30-8, 51-2, 59. 62, 97-8, 139, 189, 194. 251, 257
 Canning, George, 112-14
 Carpet Baggers, 168, 171
 Cash and Carry, 282-3
 Central America, 6, 19-22, 109-14, 129, 206-10, 278
 Charleston, 61, 79, 157
 Chicago, 13, 173, 181-2, 192
 Chinese, 16, 30, 173, 196, 218, 251-3. 276-9
 Churchill, Winston, 283, 286, 289
 Cinema, 1-2, 4, 258
 Civil War, *see* Wars.
 Clark, George Rogers, 106
 Clay, Henry, 97, 98, 104, n8-19, 122, 143
 Cleveland, Grover, 189-92, 196, 216
 Colombia, 207
 Colorado, 14, 93 (footnote), 175, 179, 184-5, 191
 Columbia, Federal District of, *see* Washington, D.C.
 Columbus, 2, 6, 15, 19-20
 Commerce, 17, 43-7, 50-1, 76, 80, 92-7, 189-90, 196-7. 203-4, 219, 235, 273
 Compromise of 1850, **141-4**, 159
 Confederate States of America, 155-62

- IN
- Congress, 11, 55, 71-7, 84-97, 102-6, 113-22, 131-45, 148, 153-4, 165-70, 172-3, 190-9, 203-7, 213-30, 236-47, 251, 258, 268-72, 275, 280-8
- Connecticut, 12, 25, 94, 99
- Constitution (Federal), 3, 24, 64-78, 80, 84-93, 106, 116-17, 121, 131-7, 153-5, 165-70, 188, 200-3, 267-8
- Constitution (of individual states), 66-7, 124
- Constitutional Convention, 68-70
- Continental Congress, 52-69
- Coolidge, Calvin, 227-9
- Cotton, 3, 93-4, 110-11, 145-6, 153-6
- Cowboys, 3, 180-4
- Cuba, 37-8, 153, 197-200, 278
- Davis, Jefferson, 142, 153-5, 159, 164
- Dawes Act, 186
- Declaration of Independence, 52-6, 64, 69, 77, 128
- Delaware, 12, 15, 26, 69, 94, 159
- Democracy, 4, 24-5, 39, 66-80, 86-97, 101-2, 108, 119-26, 136, 163-4, 172, 205, 216, 221, 233, 271-2, 282-7, 290
- Democratic Party, 120, 144, 148-50, 154, 157, 166, 172-6, 189-93, 210-15, 220, 227-35, 270
- Depression, 229-30, 234-5, 274
- Diplomacy, 89-96, 111-15, 194-6, 209-10, 217, 219-20, 273-83, 284-8
- Douglas, Stephen, 143, 147, 150, 152-4, 157
- Drama, 265-6
- Dred Scott Case, 151-2
- Dutch, 16, 20, 27-8, 60-1, 82, 129
- Education, 259-63
- England, *see* Britain.
- Europe, 2-4, 7, 19-20, 33-5, 58, 62-3, 89-95, 100-14, 160, 181-3, 188-9, 196, 217-23, 247, 249-54, 273-6, 279-89
- Exports, 94, 181
- Far East, 3, 4, 19-20, 30, 196-200, 276-9, 287-9
- Far West, 3, 12-16, 176-87, 190
- Faulkner, H. U., *quoted*, 48, 49, 56, 166, 182
- Federal Government, 10, 14, 68-77, 82-6, 93, 101, 115-17, 125-6, 165, 176, 203, 243-5, 248, 268-70
- Federalism, 71-81, 289
- Federalists, 68, 81-93, 99, 115-16
- Films, *see* Cinema.
- Finance, 12, 42, 81-4, 115-16, 122-5, 172-6, 189-94, 203, 235-7, 238-9
- Florida, 12, 20, 21, 22, 28, 34, 37, 92, 94, 97, 108-11, 117, 141, 155, 197
- France, 3, 16, 28, 30-8, 42-3, 57-61, 75, 82-99, 105, 135, 160, 177, 194, 207, 221-3, 275-7, 282-3
- Franklin, Benjamin, 39, 49, 68, 69
- French Revolution, 3, 75, 89-90
- Frontier, 3, 96-7, 101-8, 115, 120, 125, 171-89, 250
- Gadsden Purchase, 147
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 134
- George III, 47, 51, 52, 54
- Georgia, 12, 27, 52, 65, 79, *no*, 155, 162
- Germany, 8, 16, 26, 105-8, 196, 218-21, 242, 249, 257, 274-89
- Gettysburg, 161, 163-4
- Gold, 14, 173-80, 186, 191-2
- Gould, Jay, 175
- Grant, Ulysses S., 161-3, 168-9
- Great Lakes, 8, 30-1, 36, 52, 59, 106, 136, 173
- Hamilton, Alexander, 67-8, 80-8, 90, 93, 116, 171, 269
- Harding, W. G., 76, 223, 227-8, 271, 276
- Harrison, W. H., 96, 101, 125, 126
- Hawaii, 196-7
- Henry, Patrick, 44
- Hitler, Adolf, 89, 231-2, 280-2, 288-9
- Hollywood, 2, 258
- Homestead Act, 182-3
- Hoover, H. C., 227-9, 234, 237
- House of Representatives, 73, 96, 104, 115, 118-19, 131-2, 141, 151-2, 172, 176, 230, 246, 271, 287

- Houston, Sam, 137
 Hudson, River, 27, 28, 39
 Hughes, Charles E., 220, 277
- Idaho, 14, 179, 184, 191
 Illinois, 13, 107, 136, 147, 151-3, 178
 Immigration, 3, 16V17, 103, 108, 146, 175, 183, 188*, 218, 248-54, 258
 Independence, War of, *see* Wars.
 Indiana, 13, 96, 107, 136
 Indians, 3, 15-16, 23-4, 29-30, 33-8, 42, 90, 96-9, 103-9. 147, 174-89, 253
 Industrial Revolution, 80, 103, 188-9, 250
 Industry, 12, 13, 17, 79, 83-6, 102, 103, 124, 172, 184, 188-9, 204, 224-5, 235, 239-40* 245, 250, 253-4
 Inventions, 4, no, 124, 184, 255-8
 Iowa, 13, 93 (footnote), 145
 Irish, 26, 106, 108, 173, 199
 Irrigation, 10, 206
 Isolationism, 218, 220, 223, 273, 280-9
 Italy, 250, 276-7, 283
- Jackson, Andrew, 86, 98-9, 101, 105, 109-10, 117-26, 136, 193, 211, 216
 Jamaica, 41, 60
 Japanese, 16, 196, 210, 251-3, 276-9, 287-9
 Jazz, 266-7
 Jefferson, Thomas, 39, 5s, 69, 80-8, 91-9, 107, 126, 128-31, 172, 193, 216, 233, 269
 Johnson, Andrew, 166-8
- Kansas, 13, 22, 93 (footnote), 139, 147-8, 150-1, 175-9, 182-4, 191
 Kellogg Pact, 275-6, 279
 Kentucky, 12, 79, 91, 106, 107, 118, 132, 151, 154, 159
 Ku Klux Klan, 168
- Labour, 174-5, 190, 193, 238, 240-1
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 60-1
- La Follette, 214
 Landon, Alfred E., 246
 Latin America, *see* Central America and South America.
 League of Nations, 222-3, 273, 276
 Lease and Lend, 284-5
 Lee, Richard Henry, 55
 Lee, Robert E., 151, 159, 161-4
 Lewis, Meriwether, 107
 Liberty Party, 135
 Lincoln, Abraham, 126-8, 135, 151-67, 171, 193, 216, 234
 Literature, 264-5
 Louisiana, n. 13, 31, 90-3, 107, 132, 141, 155
 Louisiana Purchase, 90-3, 107-10, 141
 Lusitania, *The*/220
- McKinley, William, 192-3, 198-9, 202
 Madison, James, 68, 69, 96-7, 116
 Maine, 12, 25, 115, 139, 246
 Marshall, John, 85, 116-17
 Maryland, 12, 14, 25-6, 65, 106, 117, 120, 159, 161
 Mason and Dixon Line, 26, 159
 Massachusetts, 12, 24-5, 45-6, 50-3, 66
 Mayflower, *The*, 24
 Meade, General, 161, 163
 Mercantilism, 40-1, 43, 47
 Mexican Cession, 140-1, 144
 Mexico, 20, 22, 136-41, 147, 189, 194-5, 217, 251
 Michigan, 13, 107
 Minnesota, 13, 93 (and footnote), 145, 177, 185
 Mississippi, River, 9, 13, 31, 37, 61-2, 91-2, 108-10, 136, 147, 161, 177, 218
 Mississippi (State), 12, 98, 107, 111, 132, 154-5
 Missouri Compromise, 132-7, 142-8
 Missouri, River, 107, 142
 Missouri (State), 13, 93 (footnote), 104, 132, 137, 150, 159, 178
 Monroe Doctrine, 100, 111-15, 195-6, 209-10, 219
 Monroe, James, 109, 111-15, 117-18

- Montana, 14, 93 (and footnote),
 179, 184
 Morgan, J. P., 191-21, 304
 Mormons, 178-9
 Muzsey, D. S., quoted, 119
- Napoleon, 3, 34, 38, 89-99, 109-12
 National Bank, 82-4, 115-17,
 122-5
 National Debt, 82-3, 122, 228
 Naturalisation, 94
 Nebraska, 13, 93 (footnote), 147-8,
 173, 176, 177, 184, 192, 226
Negroes, 3, 16, 23, 27, 28, 79,
 127-35, 144-53. 159-60, 167-72,
 252-3
 Neutrality, 90, 219
 Nevada, 14, 140, 179, 191
 New Deal, 230, 231, 235-47, 272
 New England, 12, 19, 23-8, 79,
 95-9, 104-5, 130
 Newfoundland, 21, 34, 37, 62, 284
 New Hampshire, 12, 25, 117, 210
 New Jersey, 12, 28, 59
 New Mexico, 14, 22, 140, 147-8,
 177-80, 184, 215
 " New Nationalism/" 210
 New Order, 4, 231, 289
 New Orleans, 31, 37, 92, 99, 109,
 117, 161
 Newspapers, 266
 New York, 9, 12, 25-7, 45, 51,
 59, 61, 63, 70, 79, 80, 86, 105,
 173, 192, 203, 229, 232, 234
 Nobel Prize, 210, 265
 North, The, 11, 12, 16, 27, 28,
 126-7, w-s, 141-73
 North Carolina, 12, 26, 34, 83,
 196, 110, 159, 162
 North Dakota, 13, 93 (and foot-
 note), 175, 184
 North, Lord, 46-7, 50-2, 59
 North-West Territory, 106-7, 136
- Ohio, River, 35, 52, 57, 106, 136
 Ohio (State), 13, 107, 178
 Oil, 3, 14, 173, 175, 204
 Oklahoma, 13, 15, 22, 93 (foot-
 note), 184, 186
 Oregon, 14, 107, 108, 112, 137-42,
 176-7
- Pacific, 3, 9, 10, 14, 16, 21, 31,
 108, 136-9, 141-7, 173-7, 196-
 200, a 18, 276-9
 Panama, 6, 143, 207, 278
 Panama Canal, 3, 9, 205-9, 216-17
 Party Conventions, 125, 154, 192,
 214, 220, 229
 Penn, William, 26
 Pennsylvania, 12, 26, 35, 83, 105,
 134
 Perkins, Frances, 238
 Permanent Court of International
 Justice, 273, 275
 Philadelphia, 12, 14, 51, 52, 54,
 59, 61, 68, 79
 Philippines, 37, 38, 199, 201, 248/
 278
 Pilgrim Fathers, 24 ^
 Pitt, W. (Elder), 36, 39, 42, 45, 47
 Plymouth Colony, 24-5
 Population, 2, 12-17, 28-32, 79,
 93, 101-8, 115, 130-2, 136-7,
 143-6, 153, 159-60, 163, 175-9,
 186-7, 215, 218, 248, 254, 267
 Populist Party, 190-3 v/
 Potomac, River, 14, 28, 57, 130,
 162
 Prairie States, 13
 Presidency, 71-4, 120-1, 125-6,
 203, 216, 271
 Progressive Party, 210, 214
 Prohibition, 225-6, 229-30, 235,
 237, 267, 272
 Puritans, 12, 24-5, 28
- Quakers, 26
 Quebec, 30-1, 34, 36-7, 53
 Quebec Act, 51, 52
 Quincy, Josiah, 49, 104, 115
- Radio, see Wireless.
 Railways, 3, 10, 124, 147-8, 173-4,
 181, 183
 " Reconstruction," 165-70
 Religion, 21, 25, 31, 52, 107,
 178-9, 263-4
 Reparations, 273-5, 279
 Republicans (new), 135, 148-54,
 166, 170-2, 189, 192-3, 204,
 212-14, 220, 223, 227-35, 270,
 284, 285
 Republicans (old), 86-9, 97, 115-
 17

- Revere, Paul.** 53
Rhode Island, 12
Rio Grande, 22, 136, 140
Rocky Mountains, 9, 10, 13, 17, 107, 108, 139
 Roosevelt, F. D., 4, 229-40, 243, 247-8, 269, 277-8, 281-8
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 199-216, 220, 232-4
 Russia (*see also* U.S.S.R.), 75, **xo8**, **112**, **140**, 194, 210, 250

 St. Lawrence, River, 30, 34, 36
 Samoa, 196
 San Francisco, 9, 173
 Scandinavians, 242, 249
 Scots, 79, 198
 Secession, 127-9, 144-7, 155-9
 Senate, 73, 74, 104, 115-19, 122, 132, 141, 147-9, 152-4, 168, 197, 223, 230, 246, 271-6, 280, 287
 Sherman, W. J., 162, 163
 Sierra Nevada, 11, 13, 14
 Silver, 173, 175, 100-3
 Slavery, 3, 16, 23, 27-8, 107, 127-56, 163-72
 Smith, Joseph, 178
 Social Security, 238, 241-2
 Sons of Liberty, 45
 South, The, 11, 12, 16, 27-8, 84, 110., 119, 126-73
 South America, 6-7, 15, 19-22, 109-14, 129, 195-6, 209, 251, 278
 South Carolina, 12, 26, 34, **no**, 121, 130, 144, 155, 162
 South Dakota, 13, 93 (and footnote), 175, 184
 Southern Confederacy, 120
 Spain, 15-22, 28, 34-8, 60-2, 82, 90-7, 108-14, 129, 136, 197-202
 Spoils System, 124
 Stamp Act, 44-5, 49
 Standardisation, 254-5
 Stephens, Alexander, 155
 Submarine Warfare, 220, 285-6
 Supreme Court, 74-5, 85, 116-17, 150, 169, 213, 244-7, 268

 Taft, W. H., 213-14
 Tariff, 82-4, 119-22, 172, 176, 189-90

Taxation, 44-51, 176, 239
 Taylor, Zachary, 139, 143
 Tennessee, 12, 79, 91, 106-7, 132, 136.159, 162
 Texas, 11, 13, 136-41, 144, 155, 177, 181
 Thirteen Colonies, 2, **n**, .28, 29, 33, 64-7, 106, 141
 Trade, *see* Commerce.
 Transport, 3, 10, 102-3, 124, 147-8, 173-4, 181-3, 209, 255-7
 Trusts, 175, 180-90, 193, 203-5, 213
 Tyler, John, 137

 Unemployment, 236, 241
 U.S.S.R. (*see also* Russia), 8, 278, 286
 Utah, 14, 140, 148, 173, 177-9, 184

 Van Buren, Martin, 125
 Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 175
 Venezuela, 195-6
 Vermont, 12, 25, 115, 246
 Versailles, Treaty of (1783), 62, 109, 223, 273, 276; (1919), 223
 Virginia, 12, 14, 22-3, 26, 44, 52, 55, 57-61, 70, 83, 103-6, 129, 159-62

 War Debts, 273-5, 279
 Wars:
 Civil, 3, 11, 16, 101, 123, 127-9, 132, 146, 157-65, 173-85, 194-5
 Great, 4, 163, 217-23, 233, 252, 257, 273-6
 Of 1812, 94-100, 111
 Of Independence, 3, 39, 52-64, 106, 177
 Second World, 247, 279-90
 Spanish-American, 197-201
 Washington, Booker, 253
 Washington Conference, 276-9
 Washington (D.C.), 14, 55, 79, 98-9, **no**, 120, 137, 144, 151-2, 165-7, 215, 236
 Washington, George, 35, 39, 54-**90**, 101, 163
 Washington (State), 14, 176, 184
 Webster, Daniel, 84, 119, 121, 134, 137, 139.143
 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 139

- West, The, 13, 16, 57, 65, 100-8,
115-23, 132-48, 170-87. 190-3,
214, 219
West Indies, 6, 41, 53, *So.* 109,
129, 284
West Virginia, 12, 160
Whig Party, 125, 144, 148, 154
Whitney, Eli, no
Whitney, W. D., quoted, 11, 17
Wild West, *see* Far West.
Willkie, Wendell, 285
- Wilson, Woodrow, 210-24, 227,
~~233-4~~, ~~271~~
Wireless, 4, 234, 257-8, 284
Wisconsin, 13, 107, 145, 214
Wolfe, James, 36-7
Woman Suffrage, 225-7
Wyoming, 14, 93 (footnote), 179,
184
Young, Brigham, 178-9
Yukon, 194

TIME CHART OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Epoch.	American Evnrra.	Date.	World Events.
Discovery and Early Settlements	Colombo* discovers America.	1492	Oceanic Revolution and Age of Discovery.
	Cabot discover! Newfoundland,	1497	
	Drake at New Albion (Piflic).	1577-1580	
	Foundation of Virginia.	1607	
	Champlain founds Quebec.	1608	
	First Negroes in Virginia.	1619	Drake circumnavigates the globe. Stuart Dynasty in England.
	Pilgrim Fathers found Plymouth.	2630	
	Foundation of Massachusetts.	1630	
	Remaining Colonies founded.	1630-1732	
	Conquest of New York from Dutch,	1664	
Anglo-French Rivalry	French found Louisiana,	1683	Charles II in England.
	King William's War.	1689-1697	Age of Louis XIV at this time.
	Queen Anne's War.	1701-1713	The " Bloodless Revolution " in England.
	King George's War.	1744-1748	War of the Spanish Succession.
	French and Indian War (from 1754).	1756-1763	War of the Austrian Succession.
	French Government expelled.	1763	Seven Years' War.
	Stamp Act imposed and repeated.	1765-1766	Peace of Paris.
	The " Townshend Acts."	1767	Reign of George III.
	The " Boston Massacre."	1770	Lord North Prime Minister.
	The " Boston Tea Party."	1773	Rousseau's <i>Social Contract</i> (published 1762) spreading through this period.
The American Revolution	Quebec Act: " Intolerable Acts."	1774	Publication of Adam Smith's, <i>Wealth of Nations</i> , and Tom Paine's <i>Common Sense</i> .
	American War of Independence begins.	1773	
	Declaration of Independence.	1776	
	British surrender at Saratoga.	1777	
	Franco-American alliance.	1778	
	British surrender at Yorktown.	1781	Britain at war with France, Spain, and Holland.
	Articles of Confederation adopted.		Treaty of Versailles. Younger Pitt Prime Minister.
	Independence of United States.	1783	
	Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia.	1787	
	The North-West Ordinance.		
Federalists versus Republicans	American Constitution adopted: Washington first President	1789	Outbreak of French Revolution.
	Hamilton's Financial Measures.	1790-1791	
	First Ten Constitutional Amendments.	1791	New French Constitution.
	Washington re-elected.	1793	French Revolutionary War in Europe.
	His declaration of neutrality.		
	Eli Whitney's invention of the Cotton Gin.		
	Washington re-tries: John Adams elected.	1797	Rise of Napoleon.
	Jefferson President	1801	Napoleon First Consul.
	John Marshall Chief Justice.		
	Louisiana Purchase.	1803	
Expansion and Democracy	Anglo-American conflicts at sea.	1805-1812	Napoleon's " Continental System " : British Orders in Council.
	Importation of slaves prohibited.	1808	Overthrow of Napoleon.
	Anglo-American War (the War of 1813).	1812-1814	Holy Alliance in Europe.
	Conquest and cession of Florida.	1818-1819	
	The Missouri Compromise.	1820	
	U.S.A. recognises independence of Spanish American Colonies.	1823	George Canning at British Foreign Office.
	Monroe Doctrine enunciated.	1823	
	Andrew Jackson President	1828-1837	
	First American railway (Baltimore and Ohio).	1830	July Revolution in France.
	First Number of <i>The Liberator</i> .	1831	
The Civil War and After	First National Convention for Presidential Elections.	1832	Reform Act in Britain.
	Invention of the reaper.	1834	Slavery abolished in British Empire.
	Anthracite discovered in Pennsylvania.	1836	
	Revolt of Texas from Mexico.		
	Invention of screw propeller.	1839	
	Webster-Ashburton Treaty (Maine-New Brunswick boundary).	1843	
	Annexation of Texas by U.S.A.	1845	
	Oregon Treaty (49th parallel).	1846	Repeal of the Corn Laws in Britain.
	War with Mexico.		
	Mexican Cession. Gold discovered in California.	1848	Revolutions in Europe.
	Henry Clay's Omnibus Bill	1850	Louis Napoleon President of Second Republic in France.
	Kansas-Nebraska Bill	1854	Crimean War.
	Dred Scott Case.	1857	Indian Mutiny.
	John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry.	1839	Austro-Italian War.

