Your Key to American History 25¢

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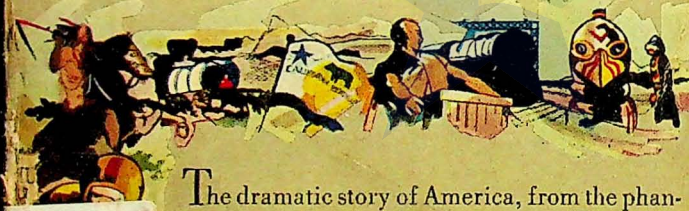
A Brief History of the United States



FRANKLIN ESCHER, JR.



The dramatic story of America, from the phantom days when the Norsemen cruised its shores to the Eisenhower era with its crucial world problems. A unique, concise summary of the important trends and events in American history, this is a fascinating chronicle of the thoughts, actions, and development of a country which emerged from the wilderness to become a leader among nations.

A SIGNET KEY BOOK
Published by The New American Library

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Preface

THIS BOOK IS DESIGNED to help those who have half forgotten American history and those who know little or nothing about the subject. The main emphasis is on the great forces and issues that have shaped the country. These have taken physical, moral and economic forms, and they have given the great American melting pot its own distinct individuality.

Consider for a moment why settlers came to the North American wilderness in the first place. It was to get away from the institutions and laws of the Old World and to start a new society of their own. Freedom was precious to the pioneers; so much so that they could hardly stand the yoke of their own authority, and group after group moved west to establish new laws and ways of life. This spirit of "Leave me alone to do what I want" made it difficult for the colonies to unite when their collective freedom was threatened by the English motherland, but eventually the process of co-operating democratically was learned, and the nation won its independence and surged forward under the Constitution.

There are many threads to follow in the pattern of American history, among them slavery, the rise of industrial capitalism or "big business," the spirit of reform and protest that followed in its wake, and the growth of the nation to a position of world leadership. All these threads are dramatic and colorful in their own right: taken together, they tell the American story in a way that no mere chronicle of events could do.

The author hopes that he has made the pattern clear and that the reader will enjoy and profit from journeying through these pages.

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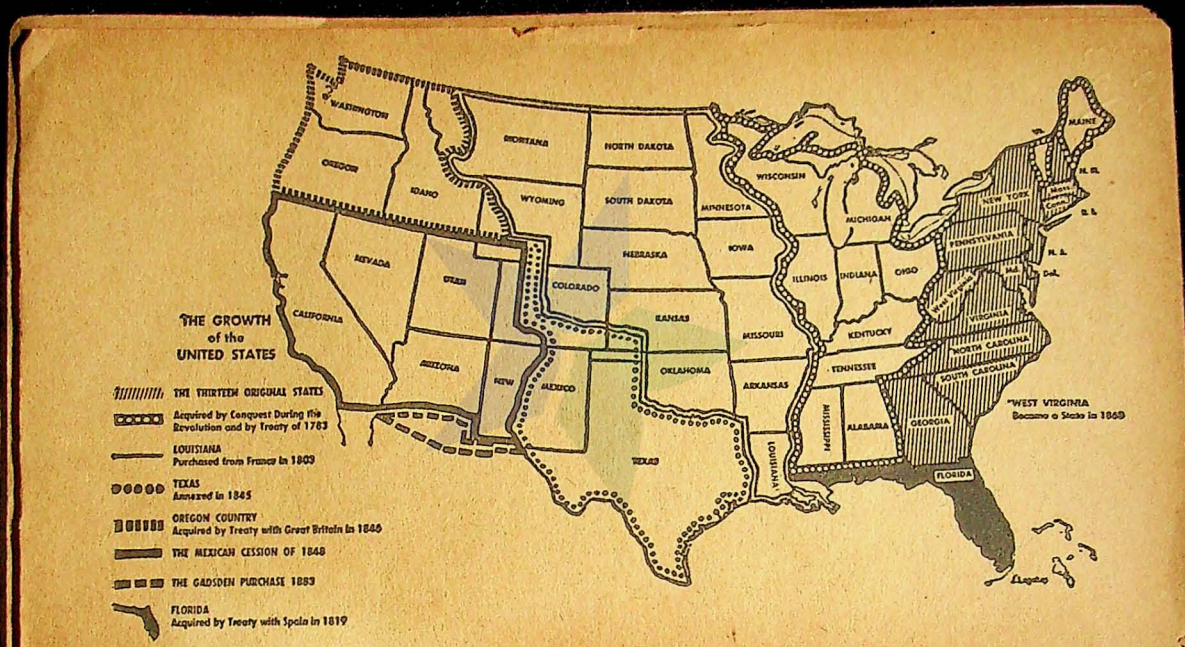
E PLURIBUS UNUM!

Here, in a single, inexpensive volume, is the whole panorama of American history—the greatest adventure ever chronicled. This is an unusual, concise and eminently readable biography of a nation, its fight for freedom and its unmatched, incredible development.

Franklin Escher, Jr., author and scholar, has set down the milestones of American history, providing the background for a sounder understanding of the crucial conflicts of our own times. Tightly-knit and thoughtfully designed, this little book is a stimulating, important course in the breath-taking history of the United States.

FRANKLIN ESCHER, JR., *was born in New York City in 1915, educated in public schools and Yale University where he was on the editorial staff of the* Yale Record. *He worked as a newspaperman for several years, as reporter and editor. In 1942, he entered the Army, saw service in the South Pacific. With war's end, he became an executive editor of* Young America *magazine, a publication for teen-agers. He is now an editor on the staff of a leading textbook publishing firm.*


THE GROWTH of the UNITED STATES
THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES
Acquired by Conquest During the Revolution and by Treaty of 1783
LOUISIANA
Purchased from France in 1803
TEXAS
Annexed in 1845
OREGON COUNTRY
Acquired by Treaty with Great Britain in 1846
THE MEXICAN CESSION OF 1848
THE GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
FLORIDA
Acquired by Treaty with Spain in 1819
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
COLORADO
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
UTAH
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

FRANKLIN ESCHER, JR.



A SIGNET KEY BOOK

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CHAPTER I

Discovery and Early Settlement

MYSTERY SURROUNDS the early history of the North American continent. The original settlers, the Indians, are believed to have migrated from northern Asia to Alaska, and from there down into warmer climates. The physical appearance of the American Indians, with their black hair, copper tint and high cheekbones, suggests their Oriental origin. More credence is lent this theory by scientists' estimates that some 20,000 years ago, during the most recent glacial period, North America and Asia were linked at the Bering Strait.

Probably the first white men to see American shores were the indomitable Norsemen of Scandinavia who, in their round, one-masted trading ships, braved Arctic seas to make their way to Greenland in about the year 985 A.D. From this vast island their ships ranged still farther westward, and there is some evidence that, about the year 1000, Leif Ericsson and others actually landed in what is now the United States.

Whatever the Norsemen accomplished, they were unable to keep a foothold in the New World or to hand down fully documented and authoritative accounts of their travels. Therefore to Christopher Columbus, who came, saw, described and helped to colonize the West Indies in the 1490's, goes credit for actually discovering and opening up America. Columbus was an Italian sailing in the service of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain.

The discovery of America was a pure accident, and the country instrumental in causing it was Turkey. This vast, fast growing Empire of the 15th century was blocking Western Europe's overland trade with Asia, a trade that had started back in the days of Marco Polo. Intimidated

by the Turkish power, the Western European countries, waking from the Dark Ages, determined to get to Asia another way. If the world was really round, as most geographers agreed, why wouldn't it be possible to sail west from Spain and keep going until land was hit. Surely this land would be Asia. Neither Columbus nor any of his contemporaries knew that North and South America stood in the way of reaching Asia by sailing westward.

So Columbus and the daring explorers who followed him crossed the Atlantic, bumped into the Bahamas, Panama and South America, and thought they had reached their goal. Columbus himself did not live to know that he had reached only the West, not the East Indies. The error was not discovered until 1519-22 when an expedition under Ferdinand Magellan of Spain sailed clear around the tip of South America and on across the seemingly endless Pacific Ocean to Asia. Magellan was killed by natives in the Philippines, but his men carried on. They sailed down around Africa and back to Spain, proving not only that the earth was round but also that there was more of it than the geographers had supposed.

America gets its name from Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian who explored the coast of Brazil in 1501. On his return to Europe he wrote so extensively of his travels that his reputation became more famous than Columbus'. Mapmakers, seeking a name for the New World, thus chose to honor Vespucci, an irony of history, considering how much greater were the achievements of Columbus.

Spain took a big lead over other nations in the early years of conquest. Hernando Cortez led an armed expedition against Mexico which toppled the highly civilized Aztecs in 1521 and made their nation a Spanish colony. Francisco Pizarro crushed the Inca Empire of Peru in 1533, opening up a vast treasure-house of gold and silver for the enrichment of the Spanish crown.

As the Spaniards probed and pushed into the lush green jungles of tropical America, some of them turned their footsteps north and wandered into what is now the United States. Ponce de Leon landed in Florida in search of an eternal fountain of youth described by the Indians, and tried unsuccessfully to set up a colony at Tampa in 1521. Cabeza de Vaca was shipwrecked in the Gulf of Mexico

and wandered across Texas all the way to California, accompanied by admiring Indians who considered him a god. Colorful cavaliers indeed were these Spaniards, in their rich capes and armor, tramping through the wilderness with their guns, their horses (never seen before in the New World) and their livestock.

The great Mississippi River, which runs through the heart of North America, was discovered by Hernando De Soto in 1541. DeSoto died of a fever on the expedition, and his body was secretly dumped into the Mississippi to keep the news from unfriendly Indians. The adventurer Coronado searched for gold in what is now Kansas.

The first permanent settlement in the future United States was made at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565. The Spanish built a massive fort to protect the village from marauding Indians and the depredations of foreign powers.

For France, England, Holland, Sweden and Portugal were becoming more and more interested in the New World. Their ships, too, roamed the savage coasts, entering harbors, slipping up rivers, charting the strange lands they stumbled upon. John Cabot, an Italian in command of an English ship, crossed the Atlantic far to the north and probed carefully along Labrador and Newfoundland in 1497. His voyage became the basis for England's claim to the North American continent. Verrazano, under the French flag, explored the North Atlantic Coast from the Carolinas to Newfoundland in 1524, and Jacques Cartier, also for France, made his way up the St. Lawrence River to what is now Montreal, Canada, in 1535.

Meanwhile, events were transpiring in Europe that were to help determine the division of empire in the New World. England eyed the Spanish galleons, returning gold-laden from the Caribbean, with mounting disfavor. Compounded with jealousy was a hatred for everything Spanish, for England had turned Protestant in the Reformation and Spain was a leading champion of Catholicism.

During the latter half of the 16th century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, English "sea-dogs" began to prey on Spanish shipping. Such doughty sailors as Hawkins, Cavendish and the incomparable Sir Francis Drake roved the seas looking for Spanish merchantmen in order to capture Spanish gold. Pirates and plunderers that they were, the

"sea-dogs" nonetheless had the blessing of Queen Elizabeth in their swashbuckling ventures.

In his turn, King Philip of Spain became enraged at these attacks, which cut deeply into his flow of commerce, and in 1588 he resolved to end them once and for all by invading England with a huge Armada. Sailing into the English Channel, Philip's fleet was cut to pieces by the fast-sailing and hard-hitting English. An ensuing storm destroyed the Armada entirely. The sea power of Spain was broken by the defeat; thenceforth she was unable to contest the English for control of the North American seacoast, where a new phase in the settlement of the New World was getting under way.

England opened her bid for a colonial empire in 1578, when Queen Elizabeth granted the veteran soldier, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a patent to "inhabit and possess all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince." Gilbert led an expedition to Newfoundland, which failed because of the cold weather. He was lost at sea on the return voyage.

Six years later Elizabeth designated the coastal strip between the St. Lawrence River on the north, and Florida on the south, for English settlement, and called it Virginia. This was almost the entire North Atlantic seaboard of the New World. She placed her favorite courtier, Sir Walter Raleigh, in charge of effecting a settlement somewhere in the area.

Several expeditions were dispatched to Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, between 1585 and 1587. The first turned back, finding the hostility of the Indians, and living conditions in general, unbearable. Even worse, needed supplies failed to arrive. The last expedition ended in mystery, presumably tragedy. The settlers, including the first child born of English parents in America, Virginia Dare, simply disappeared and were never heard of again.

Such setbacks failed to dishearten the English people, who were enjoying a vast outburst of energy, touched off by the leadership of Queen Elizabeth and boosted by victory over the great Armada. This new energy was reflected in the changing patterns of the nation; in the many new Protestant and Puritan religious sects, where individuals dared to disagree with the established state religion and

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Departemen Kebudajaan Indonesia

even to set up their own ways of worship; it was reflected, too, in the rise of the middle-class businessman, who made enough money to strike out for himself and had a little left over to invest overseas.

English businessmen now organized companies to promote settlement in America. They had little trouble rounding up people willing to emigrate, for the country was going through some sharp economic adjustments, and the number of idle workers ran high. Many farmers had been thrown out of their jobs as a result of the breakdown of the old feudal system, and the New World beckoned as a place of opportunity to start anew and build their own homes. Others, who were at odds with the established Church, eyed the North American wilderness as a haven for freedom of worship.

In 1606, King James I granted charters to the London and Plymouth Companies to colonize certain specifically defined territories and to trade with them for profit. By agreement, the London Company was to settle on the Atlantic Coast between the 34th and 41st parallels, an area ranging from present-day New York City south to Cape Fear, North Carolina; while the Plymouth Company was given the region between the 38th and 45th parallels, running from upper New England and New York State south to the Potomac River. The overlapping region between the 38th and 41st parallels was open to settlement by both companies, provided no colonies there should be placed within one hundred miles of each other. This was done to prevent territorial disputes from arising.

Brushing aside the objections of the Spanish, who claimed all of North America despite the voyages of Cabot, the London Company dispatched three small ships, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport, to Chesapeake Bay, Virginia, in 1607. Sailing up the James River, some hundred and twenty colonists disembarked on a small peninsula which they named Jamestown, in honor of the King, with appropriate religious ceremonies. History was made on that day in May; this was the first permanent English settlement in the United States.

Trouble beset the tiny outpost from the start. Indians and the dreaded malaria from the surrounding swamps soon took a heavy toll in death. Moreover, the settlers were

at first more concerned with hunting gold and searching up rivers for the fabled passage to Asia than in buckling down to planting corn and building homes. About three-fourths died in the first six months.

The almost superhuman efforts of Captain John Smith, soldier-of-fortune, geographer and writer, held the colony together. Smith cajoled the Indians into supplying corn to the starving colonists, and his wise advice encouraged the weak and faint-hearted to make greater efforts to survive. Credit, too, belongs to John Rolfe, who discovered the commercial possibilities of tobacco—a product that found almost instant popularity in the home country and finally helped to put the colony on its feet financially. Rolfe's marriage to Pocahontas, daughter of the great Indian chief, Powhatan, brought peace with the natives for many years and is accounted one of the great romances of all times. The Indian princess returned to London with him, became the toast of the Royal Court, and died in the English capital, far from her native home.

As Jamestown struggled to build its huts and forts—and to hold on—a need arose for more manpower and labor. In 1619, a cargo of Negro slaves was brought into the colony, and thus began an institution that was destined to divide America in civil war centuries later, and indeed to become a problem whose issues in various forms the American people are still wrestling with today.

Democratic government took root in the Jamestown colony the same year the slaves arrived. An order from King James empowered the settlers to elect two burgesses (representatives) from each town or plantation to meet with the Governor at the little church in Jamestown. After passing various laws at the first session, the twenty-seven-member legislature adjourned on August 4, 1619, "by reason of extreme heat both past and likely to ensue." King James later regretted giving the people a voice in their affairs, and tried to suppress the House of Burgesses; but he died before he could undo his fine deed, and the spark of liberty burned on.

By 1625 over 1,000 settlers were living in Virginia. Supplies and more colonists poured in to found new towns. A last bid to wipe out the interlopers in a surprise attack was made by the Indians in 1622, but one of their own mem-

bers, Chanco, a convert to Christianity, warned the English of the plan in time. Total disaster was averted, and from then on the settlers had the ascendancy over the neighboring tribes.

Meanwhile, a number of important events were taking place in the territory to the north. The Plymouth Company planted a colony in Maine, which failed. Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing in the service of the Dutch, discovered the Hudson River and claimed it for Holland. Ships of many nations roved off the New England coast, some engaged in fishing, others in fur-trading or exploring. The area around Massachusetts became well known.

To these Massachusetts shores in 1620, on the little ship *Mayflower*, came a hundred men and women known since to history simply as the "Pilgrims." The story of these colonists has captured the imaginations of people everywhere, and the American national holiday, Thanksgiving, commemorates the feast of thanks they held in the wilderness at the end of their first year of trial and toil.

The Pilgrims arrived at Massachusetts apparently by accident; their original intention was to settle near Jamestown, but storms, or possibly a change in their own plans, took them far north of their course and landed them at Cape Cod in an icy November. Without permission of any kind to go ashore—their instructions specified a landing farther South—the dauntless band drew up its own document of self-government, the Mayflower Compact, and staked out a small village at Plymouth, on the mainland. Despite all the troubles they had already been through, their real suffering was only just beginning.

This was a mixed group of people. On the one hand, some were religious Separatists, who had been driven out of England to Holland twelve years before for protesting against the many vestiges of Catholicism still extant in the state-run English Protestant Episcopal Church. Among the Separatists were several scholars and people of fairly high birth, including William Brewster, who had studied at Cambridge, and William Bradford.

Desiring to emigrate from Holland to the New World, the Separatists succeeded in persuading a group of merchants in England to finance the venture. In return, they promised the investors a large share of the exports that the colonists

would send back to England. Then they filled out the complement of passengers by enlisting plain people from the streets of London and other cities who welcomed a chance to sail to the New World for a greater opportunity in life. Typical of these was John Alden, a cooper by trade, who bound himself out as an indentured servant for a few years to pay his passage across the ocean.

How these diverse elements and personalities who were bound by a common destiny managed to get along with each other is a lesson in democracy and the American ideal. Class distinctions and differences in education had to be forgotten. The worth, not birth, of a man counted in a wilderness where Indians menaced the settlement; where food was desperately scarce; and where death, the greatest leveler of all, stalked among the rude cabins claiming victim after victim.

In that first freezing winter over half the settlers died of fever, but when spring came, friendly Indians showed the survivors how to plant corn and make their way against nature. A warmer sun shone, giving new heart to the Pilgrims; their greatest crisis was past.

This slim toehold on the Massachusetts coast was firmly strengthened in the years that followed. Religious disturbances racked England anew; the Puritans, like the Separatists, objected to the Established Church with its overemphasis on "Popery," and they were warned by the government to support the national religion—or leave the country. Angry Archbishop Laud harried the dissenters out of the land.

So they poured across the sea in increasing numbers, obtaining charters from the Crown to settle in various regions of the North Atlantic coast. Thus, King Charles I authorized the Massachusetts Bay Company to send a group of Puritans to the area around Boston, where they could govern themselves within the limits of English law. In 1628 John Endicott led the advance party, and John Winthrop, who became Governor, followed two years later with the main force of nearly two thousand.

Farther down the Coast, the influx was equally marked. English Catholics, harassed and uncomfortable in Protestant surroundings, colonized Maryland under Lord Baltimore in 1634. Quakers led by William Penn moved into

Pennsylvania in 1682. From all these new colonies, settlers pushed out into the adjacent territory, so that a fairly well-knit group of Englishmen inhabited the Atlantic Coast from Massachusetts to the Carolinas by 1700.

Meanwhile the Dutch followed up on the claims of Henry Hudson and built a thriving colony in New Amsterdam, now New York. Swedish settlers colonized parts of New Jersey and Delaware. But the methodical English eventually drove them into surrender and set up the thirteen colonies in a solid block.

France, too, was busy in the New World. Champlain founded the city of Quebec, in Canada, in 1608, and from there, zealous missionaries journeyed down the Mississippi into the heart of the Midwest, with prayers and beads for the Indians and claims of huge territory for the French King. The French, however, were trappers and traders rather than colonists, they were few in number, and the structure of empire they erected in Canada and down through the Mississippi Valley was based more on trade relations and influence among the Indian tribes than on substantial white settlements.

The Spanish in the early 17th century maintained a firm grip in Central and South America, but their holdings in the present area of the United States were small—missionary outposts in Florida, Texas, and New Mexico, and along the coast of California. Still in the race, the Spaniards nevertheless lagged behind the main rivals, Britain and France.

What did the present United States look like in the 17th century? It was a beautiful land, so heavily forested east of the Mississippi that squirrels could jump from tree to tree for thousands of miles without touching the ground. A narrow plain bordered the Atlantic Coast, rising gradually to the foot of the Appalachian Mountains. Between them and the Rockies, more than a thousand miles to the west, lay the forests and prairies of the Mississippi Valley, rich in soil, a perfect place for men to settle. And across the sweep of the Rockies, on the Pacific Coast, was another strip of wonderland, with fine harbors and magnificent forests, a paradise for human beings and beloved by the Indians who hunted and fished there.

The stage was set for the struggle to determine who would gain possession of this magnificent continent.

CHAPTER 2

Colonial Times

LIFE IN THE EARLY YEARS of the English colonies was necessarily rude and harsh, and it placed its stamp on the people. This was particularly true in New England, where the rocky soil and cold climate made it difficult to eke out a living on farms. Struggling against the elements, the settlers themselves became stern, coldblooded and resourceful. The grim Puritan character that still wields an influence in American life today was being formed.

In coming to America, the Massachusetts Puritans were removing themselves from religious persecution so that they could worship God in their own way. Far from believing in freedom of religion, however, their leaders insisted on strict adherence to Puritan doctrines, and in 1631 the General Court ruled that only church members in good standing could have a vote in the government. Thus the victims of tyranny in the Old World for a time became the persecutors and witch-hunters of the New.

Not all the Massachusetts colonists believed in this church-controlled government or theocracy, under which dissenters were punished and tortured to death. Since the country's earliest days, there have always been outspoken men and women prepared to challenge any over-extension of established authority. First among them was Roger Williams, well born, gentle, a clergyman and graduate of Cambridge, who believed in religious toleration and the separation of church and state.

Williams, who also pointed out that the Indians should be better treated because the soil of America actually belonged to them and not to the King of England, fell into

disfavor in 1635. Thrown into prison, he escaped and led a group of loyal followers to Providence, Rhode Island, where they bought land from the Indians instead of seizing it. The new colony permitted absolute freedom of worship, welcoming heretics, Quakers and homeless Jews from Europe to settle down and participate in its democratic government. Williams died in Rhode Island in his eighties, grudgingly admired even by those who disagreed with his liberal views.

Others who left Massachusetts over religious differences were Anne Hutchinson and the Reverend Thomas Hooker. Mrs. Hutchinson was a remarkable woman for any time or age. Mother of fourteen childrn, all born in England, she migrated to America while in her forties and became a leading intellectual and religious leader. But her searching mind led her to question the role of the clergy in its relationship between the individual worshipper and God—and in 1635 this finally roused the ire of the churchmen. Some of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers went to New Hampshire to found a new colony. She and part of her family moved to Pelham, New York, where they were massacred by the Indians in 1643.

Thomas Hooker took a band of pioneers down the Connecticut River Valley in 1636 to found Hartford, Connecticut, and several other towns. The colonists moved in wagons and on foot, taking their livestock with them, in the same manner that their descendants were to push clear across the continent to the Pacific two hundred years later. Hooker and his followers adopted the "Fundamental Orders" of government, permitting non-church members to vote and acknowledging the right of the people to govern themselves. Not a single reference to the King's authority was made in that document.

In the other colonies religious struggles were less severe. Maryland went through a brief crisis when the Catholic founders became outnumbered by an influx of Protestants from neighboring regions, and persecution of Catholics seemed imminent. But wise heads prevailed in the Assembly and the Toleration Act of 1649 was passed, granting freedom of worship to all Christians.

Actually, the colonies needed men to build and farm, and eventually what these people believed in came to mean

less than what they could do with their hands. Was a Catholic or a Lutheran wanted in Episcopal Virginia? Yes, if he could improve conditions with his skills. So throughout the length and breadth of the new land, from Maine on down to the Carolinas and the colony of Georgia, religious barriers slowly but inexorably softened. Matters of this world, in many people's judgment, equaled in importance the matters of the next.

Thus, in spite of continued persecutions here and there, America gained a reputation in the Old World as a place of refuge. Perhaps never before in its history had Europe been in such a turmoil, with wars raging continually. Few able-bodied men could escape from being taken into the ranks for the Thirty Years' War, the War of Devolution or the War of the Palatinate, which convulsed the continent between 1618 and 1697. Catholic countries fought their Protestant neighbors, and the Protestants fought among themselves.

Such events help to explain the arrival in America during the first century of settlement of many thousands of people of all nationalities and religions. If the New World was a difficult place to live in, then what indeed about the Old! The heartfelt longing of Europeans to escape their troubles and settle in the Land of Opportunity has always been evident, and is indeed strongly marked today.

New York was a colorful little Dutch town at the foot of Manhattan Island in 1664. Numbering about fifteen hundred inhabitants, it resembled a Dutch village with its peaked roofs, windmills and storehouses. Dutch trading posts extended a hundred and fifty miles up the Hudson River to Albany, and also into a large part of New Jersey. It was a tragic day for the Dutch when an English fleet arrived off New York to demand immediate surrender of all their New World claims. Helpless against such armed might, the Dutch had to capitulate, and the mid-coastal region of America, linking New England and the South, became part of the English colonial empire.

Presiding over the constantly growing melting pot in the English colonies were several successions of English rulers. First were the Stuart Protestant kings, James I and Charles I; then the Puritan dictator, Oliver Cromwell, who seized power in a fierce civil war in 1653. Two years after

his death in 1658, the Stuarts returned, but were finally overthrown once and for all in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. William and Mary of Orange were then invited to take over the reins, after agreeing to grant more representative government to the English people.

All these British rulers were aware of the growing importance of America. They tried to keep a firm hand on colonial affairs; but the turbulence of the times and the great distances involved limited the extent of their control.

Certain fairly strong measures were taken, however. The colonies had originally been administered by businessmen and favorites of the Court who had obtained charters from the King. By and large, the charters granted a good deal of self-rule, and the proprietors allowed the settlers to run their affairs virtually as they wanted, as long as they produced profits, obeyed English law and remained loyal to the King. But as time went on, most of the company charters were revoked and the colonies placed under direct royal control. This meant a serious threat to self-rule and much heavier regulation from the throne of England.

Matters became intolerable for the colonists when King James II, last of the Stuarts, arbitrarily united New England, New York and New Jersey into one royal province in 1686. As Governor, the King sent over Sir Edmund Andros, a strict disciplinarian, to extract whatever wealth he could for the royal coffers. Andros dismissed the colonial courts, acted as a judge himself, censored the press, levied high taxes and in general ruled without any consideration for the will of the people.

It was a happy day in the colonies, and a bad one for Andros, when news reached America that James had been overthrown. In swift retaliation, the men of Massachusetts seized their tormentor, imprisoned him and shipped him back to England for judgment by the new King. In New York, liberty-loving citizens expelled Andros' deputy, Francis Nicolson, and lived for two years under one of their own leaders, Jacob Leisler, a German.

Virginia, too, went through a stormy period under its royal governor, Sir William Berkeley. More interested in fur trading with the Indians than in the welfare of the colony, Berkeley refused, in 1675, to send a force of militia against the Susquehannock tribe, who were harassing a

number of the border settlements. When a young planter named Nataniel Bacon raised a group of volunteers and crushed the marauders, Berkeley proclaimed him a "rebel" and put a price on his head. In the civil war that followed, Bacon's men routed the Governor, but at his moment of triumph, Bacon died suddenly of a fever and his leaderless supporters were in turn crushed by Berkeley. So much bloodshed ensued that Berkeley was recalled to England in disgrace.

But another century was to pass before the colonists were to break into open revolt against the mother country. The great majority still felt loyal to England, and those who could afford it sent their sons to Oxford or Cambridge and made visits to the homeland themselves.

A growing amount of wealth was piling up in America. Agriculture was the basic economy, and rich yields of tobacco and rice made Southern planters prosperous only a generation or two after they had cleared the land. The wide sweeping terrain in the South, and to a certain extent in the Middle colonies, was favorable to the establishment of huge estates and plantations. In New England the picture was different; there, narrow valleys and poor soil on the hills discouraged large-scale farming.

But if crops failed to make many of them rich, the shrewd New Englanders soon found other ways to attain wealth—through trade. Timber was all around them, waiting to be made into ships or cut down for export as a raw material. Fish teemed in the waters off the coast. Inland, the red man could be persuaded to trade valuable furs for a cheap trinket or bottle of rum.

The colonies were rich in resources—that was apparent almost from the first, and that is why the English government brought them under direct royal control, to be better able to profit from them.

In new and undeveloped colonies, the settlers naturally looked to the home country for manufactured goods, which they paid for by sending raw materials—tobacco, lumber and hides, for example—in return. This trade, known as the Mercantile System, was generally profitable to the home country, and was in fact the chief purpose of investing in the planting of colonies. The colonials had to take what prices they could get for their produce, and pay what the

home merchants demanded for finished goods. The laws were made with a view to keeping the colonial power in a monopoly position, by forbidding the colonials to trade with other countries or to manufacture for themselves.

But when the English colonies started to prosper and stand on their own feet, up-and-coming businessmen of the New World fretted at the restrictions placed on them. The Navigation Acts of 1660-63, clamped down by Charles II, were particularly galling to New England, which wanted to start up its own industries and trade in competition with the mother country. Luckily for the colonies, the Acts were not strictly enforced, and an illicit trade with the French and Spanish Indies flourished.

By the middle of the 18th century the population of the colonies had risen to nearly one and a half million. The English stock continued to predominate, though there were many Dutch in New York and New Jersey, French Huguenots (Protestants) scattered at various points, and Germans in Pennsylvania. The hardy Scotch-Irish also arrived in considerable numbers, pushing from Pennsylvania southward through the Shenandoah Valley into frontier outposts of Virginia and the Carolinas.

To these freemen were added the Negro slaves from Africa. The forbears of these unfortunates had been rounded up in their native villages and brought across the sea packed together like livestock in the dark, evil-smelling holds of slave ships. A few were sold in New England as servants, quite a number went to the Middle colonies, but the vast majority were sent to the South to work on the plantations. By 1750 there were about a quarter of a million slaves all told.

The other inhabitants of America, the Indians, were slowly falling back to the west; their total population when the white man first came to America is estimated to have been about 800,000. Badly treated and cheated by the colonists for the most part, the Indians occasionally rose in wrath against their oppressors and staged fearful massacres; but the colonists replied in kind, giving back even worse than they received. One of the most frightful reprisals in the history of warfare took place in the Pequot War of 1637, when a force of New Englanders under Captain John Mason surprised an Indian town surrounded by

a stockade. After sealing all exits, the Puritans applied a torch to the town, and five hundred Indian men, women and children were burned to death.

The Massachusetts Puritans had a character that distinguished them from their fellow settlers in other regions. It was of a dual nature, both admirable and frightening. On the one hand, the Puritans believed strongly in education: Harvard College was established in 1636 "before the nightly howl of the wolf had ceased from the outskirts of the villages," and public school instruction was made compulsory before 1650. But on the other hand, the New Englanders were religious fanatics. At its height, this fanaticism led to the horror and tragedy of the witchcraft trials and executions in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692.

Life in New England small towns was centered around the church, the school and the village green. Clustering together, the people had a greater feeling of interdependence than their neighbors farther down the coast, and the art of democracy—thrashing out problems of local government by talk and compromise—was practiced in the town meeting. Thus hand in hand in long-ago New England walked strange companions—prejudice and equality.

South of the Potomac River, where the Virginia and Carolina planters were spread out far apart, the functioning of democratic self-government was not so much in evidence. It was difficult to round up the neighbors from many miles around for frequent meetings, simply because of the time involved in gathering at a central point and getting home again. The same held true for running public schools —sheer distance prevented it. As a result, each plantation became a sort of self-governing unit, like the feudal estates of old.

Developing along these lines, the South showed more of a difference between rich and poor. At one extreme among the free Southerners were the wealthy aristocrats, who employed slave labor to toil in their fields, and on the other were the individual farmers, sometimes abjectly poor, who struggled to cultivate their own land. Unlike New England, there was not much of a middle class, except in the towns. The contrast can be seen in the architecture of the two regions. In the north, tidy, white wooden houses were owned by the majority of the people. In the rural South, stately

mansions were owned by a few planters, mainly on the richest land; while on the hill farms primitive cabins were about the best the majority of the white farmers could afford. As for the Negroes, housing was often no more than what George Washington called "cover for so many slaves."

Although religion was not lightly taken in the South, it was not characterized by the sternness of New England. Life on the plantations was pleasant and profitable, people were carefree, and although some of the slaves were mistreated and unhappy, even they, for the most part, fitted into an easy, secure scheme of living. Among the wealthy, such gay pursuits as dancing, drinking, hunting, dueling and horse racing were followed—pleasures on which the austere New Englanders frowned with righteous horror.

In the Middle colonies, there were large estates, but many middle-sized and smaller farms, too. Under the benevolent guidance of the Quaker William Penn, Pennsylvania became a colony of happy, home-owning farmers, living peacefully with their Indian neighbors. Laws were just, education was available, and freedom of worship tolerated in the Quaker province. Philadelphia, the "city of brotherly love," blossomed into America's leading city in the 18th century, helped in its progress by the great printer and statesman, Benjamin Franklin.

New York City early became a center of trade and commerce, an embryo of the great commercial metropolis it is today. The cosmopolitanism and business acumen for which New York has always been famous dates back to Dutch days. This city was favored from the first by its magnificent harbor and its situation on the Hudson River, which linked it with the nation's interior.

How these diverse sections of the country eventually came to unite as brothers in a common cause for freedom is the central theme of American colonial history. First, they had to get to know each other. But travel before the Revolution, and indeed for many years after, was arduous; roads were few and poor, and an overland coach trip of a few hundred miles took several weeks. The only practical way to get from the North to South Carolina or Georgia was to sail by ship down the Atlantic coast.

Yet, isolated as they were from one another, the colonies

felt a growing bond. Mail communications were set up and printing presses imported. Gradually, ideas began to circulate as letters, newspapers and pamphlets found their way among the people.

Moreover, the settlers stretched out along a thousand miles of coast had a great deal in common to start with. The majority were English, living under English traditions of self-government, with trial by jury and other privileges accorded to free Englishmen. Their colonial assemblies controlled the appropriation of public money, and on more than one occasion withheld the royal governor's salary as punishment for balking the Assembly in its law-making. Only free-born Englishmen would have dared to act thus.

In due course, the colonies began to deal with each other and to act in unison on matters of common interest. The first such move was made in 1643, when Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven joined in the New England Confederation in a "firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare." The New England Confederation held council meetings for many years. Ultimately, Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth were united into one colony, and Connecticut and New Haven in another.

Another mutual benefit society was promoted by agents of Virginia, Massachusetts and New York for the purpose of increasing trade. While little was actually accomplished, a precedent for future co-operation and solidarity among the colonies was established.

The force that did most to unite British America closely, however, was a death struggle among the great international powers for possession of the continent. The English settlers paid little attention to the growing French and Spanish Empires in the New World before 1690. But as those nations began to vie in earnest with England for land, the English colonies found themselves part of the prize. Hit-and-run raids across their borders; attacks by Indians in the employ of the French and Spanish; and finally, their whole position on the seaboard threatened by would-be conquerors—these ominous events awakened the people

to their common danger and finally made them work together.

In 1689 the French Empire in the New World embraced large parts of Canada, the Mississippi River Valley and the whole central part of what is now the United States—the present Midwest. It ran from the Allegheny Mountains to the Rockies and from Canada south to the Gulf of Mexico, an area many times larger than the English possessions huddled along the coast in a narrow strip east of the Alleghenies.

France's claims to this territory were based on a series of explorations by intrepid missionaries and nobles, of whom perhaps the greatest was René Robert Cavelier, the Sieur de la Salle. In 1682, La Salle set out from the Great Lakes, found the Mississippi River, and proceeded down its entire length to the Mexican Gulf, thus traversing the whole country from north to south. Planting the lily banner of France at the Mississippi's mouth, La Salle claimed the land through which he had come for his King, Louis XIV, and named it "Louisiana" in his honor.

Huge as the French Empire in the New World was, it contained only about 18,000 colonists, as against some 200,000 English to the east. But this was offset by the ability of the French settlers to make allies of the Indians. The French treated the red men as brothers, married into their tribes and enlisted them in their cause. Englishmen were not so readily adaptable to New World conditions.

A struggle for the American continent that was to last on and off for three-quarters of a century began in 1689 when "King William's" war broke out between Catholic France and Protestant England. The flames spread quickly to America, and the English colonists soon found themselves involved in a war for survival.

Stretching out to the west through a gap in the Alleghenies was the colony of New York, which extended to the Great Lakes and north to the Canadian border. If this colony could be wrested from England, the French figured, Britain's land in America would be cut in two. From New York, the banners of France would march north and south along the Atlantic coast until England's grip on the New World was crushed and broken forever.

Accordingly, Count Frontenac, the French governor of

Canada, ordered heavy attacks below the Canadian border on New York and its New England neighbors. Frenchmen and their Indian allies slashed heavily at Schenectady, New York, and Dover, New Hampshire, wiping out those towns in skillful, murderous raids.

But King William's war ended indecisively in 1697. It was followed in 1701 by the War of the Spanish Succession, so-called because Louis XIV laid claim to the vacant Spanish throne and placed his grandson on it. In so doing, Louis hoped to unite Catholic France and Spain against Protestant England in a winning alliance.

In this war, however, England was more than ready, and the French were soundly beaten on European battlefields by the Duke of Marlborough. The struggle spilled onto American soil with successful Indian raids against both the Carolinas and New England, but under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, France was forced to cede Newfoundland and other important territory to the victorious British.

Again in King George's War, 1744-48, America felt the effects of the international storm. In this melee, the colonial troops played an important part.

In the previous wars, the English had occasionally levied colonial troops and supported them in minor operations with their fleet. Results had not been very successful, however, through lack of co-operation. But in King George's War, the strong fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island guarding the mouth of the St. Lawrence River was captured by Colonel William Pepperell of Maine and four thousand soldiers. This army had been raised by the New England legislatures, and was supported by a British naval force under Commodore Warren. Laying successful siege to the French battlements, the Americans showed splendid courage and determination, reflecting credit on themselves and imbuing their friends and relatives in New England with a deep sense of pride.

Gloom and anger settled on the colonies when the war ended, however. Louisbourg was given back to France in the peace settlement, and the sacrifices of the colonials seemed to have been made in vain. In a sincere but fruitless effort to placate the colonials, England reimbursed them for the cost of the expedition.

The final, epic struggle between France and England for

the New World was now at hand, the Seven Years', or "French and Indian" War (1756-63).

This monumental clash was fought not only in North America, but all around the world. It involved the imperial aspirations of both countries in such far-flung places as the Caribbean Sea and India, where the rivals were jostling each other for new markets, new riches and new colonies.

England knew that the coming showdown would drain her resources heavily and that every bit of support she could commandeer from the Empire would help tip the scales. So in 1754 the American colonies were authorized to pool all available strength, and a convention was called at Albany, New York.

Some of the greatest minds in America were present, among them Benjamin Franklin, representing Pennsylvania, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island and Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts. Highly intelligent and unprejudiced thinkers, they met to ponder ways of turning back the French and Indian war threat. They were soon led into thinking of the whole future course of the English colonial system in America.

An interesting plan for union was advanced by Franklin. There would be a general council of forty-eight members chosen by the colonial assemblies. Each colony's representation on the council was to be based on its wealth and population. The council's duties were to consist of maintaining a colonial army, levying taxes and handling public affairs. At its head would be a president-general appointed by the King, empowered to pass judgment on legislation and to appoint military commanders with the council's consent.

Practical as it sounded, Franklin's plan was turned down. Colonial governors and legislatures rejected it because it called for too much centralization of authority and surrender of local government. The English feared it because it gave the colonies as a whole more of a voice in their own affairs than seemed safe under the circumstances. Even though the Albany Plan failed, its importance in American history is great; for it gave the colonists the idea of union that was to develop later into the Continental Congress that governed America during its first years of independence.

Thus it was left up to the individual colonies to co-operate with England, or to drag their feet, in the French and Indian War. The conflict was already unofficially under way in the Ohio Valley, just west of the Alleghenies.

Possession of this region had become a matter of prime importance to both Britain and France. If England held it, her growing colonies could some day spill across the Alleghenies and expand on the continent. If France controlled it, she could keep the English penned up along the coast until such time as she could muster enough strength to deal them a death blow in the New World.

When the Fench started erecting a chain of forts along the Ohio River and its tributaries, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a twenty-one year old major in his militia, George Washington, to warn them away from territory "so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Britain." Thus the name of Washington enters our story. Failing to persuade the French to leave, Washington built and garrisoned Fort Necessity, to assert British claims. But he lacked sufficient men to hold this outpost, and when the French attacked in great force he had to surrender.

Angered by the defeat, the British sent over in 1755 two crack regiments under General Braddock to oust the French from strategic Fort Duquesne. Against Washington's advice, Braddock attacked in European style, with his men massed in close ranks. The French and Indians fought from concealed positions behind trees, and their sharpshooters found the British Redcoats an easy target. Despite Washington's heroic efforts to save the day—his uniform was pierced with bullets and two horses were shot out from under him—Braddock was utterly routed and fell with nearly a thousand of his men.

More French victories followed, caused in no small part by a lack of co-operation between the English and the colonials. Most of the colonial legislatures furnished at least some troops, but insisted on dictating where they should go and who should lead them. Moreover, the British generals looked down on the colonial soldiers as inferior, and treated them with disdain.

In the dark year of 1757, England found one of her greatest war ministers of all time in William Pitt. Skillful, determined and enthusiastic, Pitt breathed new life into

the British and colonial armies, and sent them rampaging northward to the shores of the Great Lakes and the Canadian border. Many French strongholds were captured, including Fort Duquesne, which was renamed Pittsburgh in honor of the great British leader.

Finally came the assault on Canada, or New France, itself. The decisive engagement was fought in 1759 at Quebec, where General Wolfe surprised the French commander, Marquis Montcalm, in a startling pre-dawn attack. This stunning victory was followed by mopping-up operations in Canada for the next four years.

All around the world, British arms prevailed over the French. When Spain came to France's aid, Britain seized Spain's possessions in the West Indies and captured Havana, Cuba, and Manila in the Philippines. A complete triumph over the French in India was also achieved.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France ceded to England all of Canada and the vast region east of the Mississippi River, except for New Orleans, which was given to Spain. The French also yielded to Spain their claims west of the Mississippi. They were allowed to keep two small unfortified islands off the coast of Newfoundland for their fishing fleets, which they hold to this day.

The Seven Years' War spelled the doom of France in the New World and left Spain as England's only rival. But the Spanish had little real hold in the present United States; they were mainly concerned with developing their empire in Mexico and South America.

To the American colonists, the victory over France was important in many ways. By participating in the struggle, they had learned a great deal about intercolonial co-operation through the raising of troops and supplies for a common cause. Unity among the thirteen separately governed colonies was still some years off, but a big forward step had been taken.

Another effect of the war was a growing realization on the part of the colonies of their own strength. Let the British military men sneer all they wanted to at the awkward American troops; the fact remained that the colonials had served ably beside the trained British regulars in battle after battle, and that George Washington was a better soldier than anyone that the British had sent to America.

Finally, the war opened up the prospect for westward expansion beyond the Alleghenies and into the interior of the continent. New land and new opportunity lay there for hundreds of miles on end—a vast area in which to extend the American dream of liberty and equal chance for all.

CHAPTER 3

The American Revolution

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about the causes of the American Revolution—how King George III and Parliament deprived the colonies of their liberties, taxed them without giving them representation in the government, quartered troops in their homes and finally drove them to revolt. These were only the outward manifestations underneath which lay certain basic causes: the chief of these was perhaps the conflicting theories as to the nature of the British Empire and the relationship of the colonies to it.

In the Americans' view, the thirteen colonies were self-governing units within the British Empire, dominions loyal to the Crown such as Canada and Australia are today. The people living in the colonies were Englishmen, entitled to all the rights of equality for which the English had struggled since the days of Magna Charta. The Americans were willing to accept the presence of the royal governors sent to preside over their assemblies, as long as those officials stayed in line and followed the assemblies' wishes. Such was usually the case because the governors depended on the colonies for their salaries. They could not count on support from the distant and busy King in local disputes; thus they were usually pliable.

Since the first days of Jamestown, the British government had held a somewhat different viewpoint about the position of the colonies. They were *not* entitled to full self-government, and their people were *not* equal to loyal

Englishmen living in the British Isles. Their role was primarily to serve England's interests by providing new markets for goods and supplying raw materials for English industry. To rule them firmly and extract their wealth had been too difficult a job to accomplish during the endless wars and troubles that beset the nation for a hundred and fifty years. But now, in 1763, with France and Spain pushed aside, the moment had come for the royal government to roll up its regal sleeves and assert authority.

It was time to put teeth into the Navigation Laws, subjugating America's commercial interests to the mother country's; time, too, to raise taxes to replenish the English Treasury, drained by war.

Who was "right" and who "wrong" in the struggle between England and America? There can be no answer. America felt that the Empire should consist of a *federation* of loyal, independent colonies, while England believed in *unity* under a strong central government. Both factions acted in their own interests, and both had deep misgivings over the consequences that followed. As is always the case, hotheads on both sides precipitated the final clash.

Since the Americans won their independence, the British have adopted the idea that the Americans had advocated. The British Commonwealth of independent Dominions has many of the elements that Benjamin Franklin unsuccessfully tried to persuade the British government to adopt when he was in London as representative of the dissatisfied colonials in the 1760's.

How England thought of the empire as a whole, subordinate to the Crown, rather than individual self-governing parts, is illustrated by the Sugar and Molasses Act, which restricted American commerce. New England, in particular, had been engaged in a prosperous trade with the French West Indies, importing molasses, making it into rum and selling the rum. In this trade the New Englanders had neglected the English Indies, which could not pay as high prices for their goods. On the complaint of British West Indian planters that their commerce was suffering, Parliament coerced New England into trading with them instead, to "keep the business in the family," as it were. This was done by placing a prohibitive tariff on American imports from the French Indies.

With the acquisition of the Western territory, the British were faced with another problem which forced them to clamp tighter reins on America and caused increasing friction. The new lands were peopled by the defeated French and their Indian allies, who felt no love for their conquerors. Incited by the French, who told them they would soon be driven from their homes, the Indians rose in rebellion under their able leader, Chief Pontiac, and captured a number of British forts.

Obviously, under these conditions, self-government, could not be applied in the west as it had been in the east. What was needed were troops, garrisons and a strict control over the hostile population beyond the Alleghenies.

Accordingly, George III and his ministers took over the administration of the west and closed it to settlement by the colonies. Settlers who had already moved across the Alleghenies into the new lands were ordered to return east. The King further announced that all future sale of western land by the Indians would be made directly to the Crown, and he appointed agents to run the valuable fur trade for the British government. A roar of indignation went up from the disappointed Americans.

Viewed impartially, these actions of the King seemed dictated by at least a certain amount of logic and necessity. If he had let the colonists move pell mell into the west to exploit the land and the natives, chaos would have resulted. On the other hand, it can be argued that King George and his ministers were over-arbitrary in excluding the Americans altogether; their troops had helped to defeat the French and they felt entitled to share the fruits of victory.

Thus these riches now belonged to the English Crown and not to the American colonies. Worse yet for the Americans, an army of several thousand Redcoats was sent over to protect the gains made in the New World, and the colonies had to pay part of the cost of maintaining it. Nor did the colonists' woes end there; England ordered them to help house and feed the soldiers, under the terms of the Quartering Act.

The public furor that now followed each British attempt to regulate the colonies should have served as a warning to the King and Parliament to proceed with caution. On the

other hand, the Americans were so sensitive to and insistent on their rights as free men that even the mildest controls were greeted with howls of rage; the slightest pinprick was considered a sword's thrust.

George Grenville, the British Prime Minister in 1764, knew little about America, and disliked what little he had heard. Having tightened the Navigation Acts by sending customs officers and naval patrols to America, he proposed a stamp tax on newspapers, pamphlets and legal documents. This was to help pay for the maintenance of British troops.

When the Stamp Act was passed in Parliament, no one on either side of the ocean could foresee the tumultuous reaction that would follow. Benjamin Franklin, for example, advised two of his friends to apply for jobs as stamp distributors, anticipating no trouble from the measure.

But in the colonies resistance was immediate in all parts of the country. Patrick Henry of Virginia jumped to his feet in the House of Burgesses to declare that only the Virginia legislature had the right to tax Virginians; Henry then hotly forced through a resolution that "every attempt to vest such power in any such other person or persons . . . is illegal, unconstitutional and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty."

The cry against the Stamp Act was taken up in Massachusetts, where James Otis and Samuel Adams poured oil on the flaming fire. Adams, inclined to demagoguery, had already made a name for himself through his denunciation of the British Mercantile System. Charging with fury at the British lion, he asserted that taxation without legal representation is a means of reducing people to slavery.

Rioting broke out in New England, as well as in New York and Pennsylvania. Stamp distributors quit their jobs under public pressure. Radical groups like the "Sons of Liberty" were formed everywhere to foment more violence. A Stamp Act Congress, in which nine colonies were represented, framed a protest similar to Virginia's, asserting that only their own legislatures could tax the colonies.

To the average Englishman overseas, all this hubbub in the colonies was quite incredible and absurd. Parliament was the empire's governing body and served the in-

terests of everyone in it. Many parts of England, indeed, elected no representatives to Parliament, but the fact that all the influential classes of people—commercial, agricultural and professional—had a voice in the House of Commons was sufficient guarantee that the democratic rights of every citizen were being respected.

The idea of allowing all adult citizens to vote had still to be developed by a long series of controversies lasting from the 18th century down into the 20th century. One step in this development was the American insistence that no region should be taxed by a government unless it was directly represented in that government by delegates. This constituted an underlying difference in the political philosophies of England and America that finally had to be settled on the field of battle.

The Stamp Act was repealed after being in force only one year. The repeal was greeted with hysterical rejoicing, but it was soon followed by new laws equally obnoxious to the Americans. The Townshend Acts not only levied new taxes on glass, lead, paint, paper and tea imported into the colonies—they also provided that the revenue should be used to pay the salaries of the royal governors. Thus the colonial assemblies lost their grip on these officials, and Parliament demonstrated its intention of exercising more and more control over American affairs.

Again there was a hue and cry throughout America, and Samuel Adams circulated a letter to the colonies calling for initial action against the Townshend Acts and against the Navigation Acts, which were hurting American commerce. A growing movement to boycott British goods took effective hold and now Britain was stung with anger. The Massachusetts legislature was dissolved and two regiments of British troops sent to Boston.

On the very day in March, 1770, that England again relented and repealed all duties except a small one on tea, British soldiers and American citizens clashed in what the patriots called the "Boston Massacre." The trouble started when a group of young men threw snowballs at a sentry, who in turn called out the guard. Weapons employed in the ensuing fight changed from snow to fists, and finally to a volley of lead from the confused Redcoats. Five citizens were killed in the "massacre," which resulted in the with-

drawal of British troops from the city under the demand of Samuel Adams.

From the way England alternately stiffened toward the colonies, and then backed down during the decade before the Revolution, it can be seen that her policy-makers were not always in agreement as to what course to follow in America. Leaders like William Pitt and Lord North advocated conciliation, and worked to repeal or modify the taxes levied under the influence of more hostile ministers like Grenville or Townshend. Among the English merchant class, represented in the Whig political party, there was a good deal of pro-American sentiment; the merchants wanted to trade with a happy, prosperous America, not an angry nation of rebels determined to boycott their products.

On the American side, there was a good deal of pro-British sentiment, especially in the moneyed classes. They disapproved of riots and boycotts instigated by radicals, since disorder was bad for business.

The feeling of the majority of Americans toward England prior to the Revolution was one of exasperation when tax laws were passed, and relief and gratitude when they were repealed. The average colonial did not actively seek final independence from England; what he wanted mainly was to be left alone on his farm or in his shop to earn his daily bread in peace. The course of history, it would seem, is often determined by extremists, who, perceiving a fundamental difference among peaceful people, toil away at widening the breach until only a violent solution to the problem can be found.

One of the most successful exploits of the American hotheads was the famous "tea party" at Boston in 1773. The tea was supplied by the East India Company, which had gotten into financial trouble and had been brought under Parliament's wing. King George and his henchmen in Parliament decided to get rid of a vast surplus of the Company's tea by selling it in America at a reduced rate. Even though a duty of threepence a pound had to be paid on the tea, it was still offered at a lower price than the Americans could find anywhere else.

But it was the principle of the thing—having to pay a tax—and not the attractive bargain rate, that caught the attention of American patriots. Uttering cries of "mo-

nopoly!" and "no taxation by Parliament!" they refused to accept the tea when it arrived. At Boston, after a series of public meetings, a group of citizens dressed themselves up as Indians, boarded the tea ships and dumped their cargoes into the harbor.

This violent action provoked King George beyond all endurance. Never sympathetic to the colonies, he now determined to punish Massachusetts and especially Boston, scene of the "crime." When Parliament next met in 1774, it heeded the King's demands by passing the "Intolerable Acts," closing Boston to trade by sea until the tea was paid for, and subjecting town meetings to the governor's control. Massachusetts became virtually a British garrison, with General Gage at its head.

Shocked in turn by the swift course of events, her sister colonies rallied around Massachusetts, sending her expressions of sympathy and, more urgently needed, cargoes of food. As agitation mounted, the Virginia House of Burgesses suggested a meeting at Philadelphia of delegates from all the colonies. This, the first Continental Congress, convened in September, 1774, with such leading figures as John and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, George Washington and Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and John Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina, present.

Caution and moderation prevailed in the Congress which had gathered "to consult on the present state of the colonies . . . and to deliberate 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 good men." A Declaration of Rights was prepared and sent to England; in it, the colonials protested against encroachments on their liberties by Parliament, and announced a boycott of British goods, to be carried out by committees of safety in every town and county. Violators of the boycott were to be reported by the committees, so that Congress could tell who was friend or foe to the American cause, an ingenious device for intimidating those who lacked interest in the wrongs of the colonies. Finally, another meeting was called for May, 1775, unless all troubles had cleared up.

The troubles did not clear up. Massachusetts was bristling with hostility, and her militia or "minute men" (ready to fight at a minute's notice) built up a cache of ammunition at Concord. On April 19, 1775, General Gage sent British troops from Boston to capture the stores, and also to seize the "traitors," John Hancock and Samuel Adams.

Warned in advance by the patriots Paul Revere and William Dawes who galloped on horseback through the night ahead of the British columns, the minute men gathered a small force to block the way. An order to "disperse" by the British was not obeyed and firing broke out, "the shot heard round the world," and the first of the Revolution. Eight Americans were killed in this engagement.

The British pushed on to Concord against slight opposition, but on their return to Boston they suffered far heavier casualties than the minute men had in the first encounter. From behind apple trees and stone fences along the road, the "embattled farmers" sniped at the marching Redcoats, taking a heavy toll. Finally struggling back to safety within the city, the British found themselves besieged by 16,000 colonial militia.

News of the opening battle reached the other colonies quickly and was received with mingled feelings. Some people rejoiced that war had come, while others condemned the rashness of the minute men; the majority hoped that some sort of peaceful settlement could still be affected.

On May 10 the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in an uncertain frame of mind. Along with a declaration of war on England the delegates petitioned King George to restore peace. To be on the safe side, however, they pushed ahead plans for an army and named George Washington commander-in-chief. The appointment of a Virginian to lead the war which had broken out in Massachusetts showed that the colonies were moving toward co-operation and unity.

On their part, the British authorities ignored the colonies' half-hearted pleas for peace and prepared to put down the insurrection by force of arms. King George supplemented his regular army by hiring 20,000 German troops from the princes of Hesse, Anhalt and Brunswick.

Meanwhile, American forces were in action in various parts of the country. At Boston they occupied Bunker Hill, overlooking the city, and held it successfully against the most determined British charges until their ammunition ran out. Later in the year, an expedition sent to invade Canada was finally defeated after capturing Montreal. This failure was balanced by British setbacks at the other end of the line at Norfolk, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina.

The American colonists did not rush towards independence; rather, they drifted into it reluctantly. During the fighting of 1775, their aim was to preserve their rights as Englishmen, not Americans; and even when General Washington took command of the army at Boston, he declared that the idea of independence was "abhorrent" to him.

At no stage was the Revolution a "total" war involving everyone capable of bearing arms. Out of a population of three million, Washington never had as many as 25,000 men in the ranks at one time, and in the darkest hours he had less than 3,000. American farmers drifted in and out of the service, joining the colors when the enemy threatened their homes and quitting when the danger had passed.

On the other hand, many Americans threw in their lot with the British, giving the Revolution the character of a civil war also. Tory recruits came mostly from the upper classes, who were more afraid of the prospects of democratic and possibly mob rule in America than of anything King George and his irascible ministers could do to them.

Driving the American war effort in the years 1775-81 was a hard core of patriots of the Sam Adams–Patrick Henry type, visionaries, who foresaw an independent America free to work out its own destiny. Truly, they were dreamers, hardly conscious of the obstacles that lay in the way, but determined to keep the faith. These patriots and agitators, who were well organized in revolutionary committees all over the country, goaded the legislatures into militant action, ruthlessly suppressed loyalist sentiment, and urged the often reluctant people forward to fight for their liberty.

One of the greatest of the revolutionaries was an Englishman named Thomas Paine, who emigrated to Philadelphia

in 1774 and soon identified himself as a violent advocate of total independence from Great Britain. Paine was an eloquent writer with an "aversion to monarchy" that amounted to a phobia. In his pamphlet, *Common Sense,* published in January, 1776, Paine pointed out to Americans the complete inconsistency of their position—fighting the King's armies on one hand and pleading for reconciliation on the other. "England to Europe, America to herself!" Paine urged. "The last cord now is broken."

Common Sense had a phenomenal sale and inflamed the people to action. As sentiment rose and as the tempo of war increased, cutting off prospects for peace, Congress grew bolder in its attitude toward separation. In June it appointed a committee of five members, including Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, to draw up a declaration of independence.

Jefferson wrote the first draft, which underwent some changes at the hands of the other members. It was then reviewed and further modified by the Congress and finally adopted on July 4, 1776, the birth date of American independence.

In firm, clear language, the Declaration of Independence informed the world why the colonies were separating from the motherland, and outlined a statement of American political beliefs: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Governments are instituted, the document continued, to secure these rights, and they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. When the government abuses these ends, "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it" in favor of one that will better secure their interests.

The Declaration of Independence embodied the seeds of democratic thought which had been sprouting in Europe since the Dark Ages. In asserting that governments should be servants, not masters of the people, it struck a blow at autocracy that is still ringing in the ears of the world today, and will continue to do so as long as freedom is prized by men.

Having cut the tie with England and established the United States of America, the new nation was faced with

a desperate struggle for survival. Even the skill, gallantry and unparalleled leadership of George Washington seemed hardly enough to turn the tide.

Washington managed to drive General Howe and 11,000 troops out of Boston, but when Howe reappeared at New York to face Washington's army again for possession of that strategic city, the tables were turned. The heavily reinforced British and German forces smashed the Americans repeatedly and sent them reeling southward through New Jersey.

The Continental Congress gave poor support to its forces in the field. The thirteen new states were still far from united, and the delegates were afraid to levy taxes for fear the people would rise against them as they had against the British. Therefore, supplies of food and ammunition ran low, morale fell correspondingly, and desertions soared.

Driven across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania, his situation growing blacker by the hour, Washington displayed his outstanding military ability by rallying his men to a counterattack on Christmas night, 1776. Recrossing the ice-filled Delaware in rowboats, the General and his troops fell upon a force of wine-filled Hessian hirelings at Trenton, surprising them in their Christmas celebration and throwing them into panic and rout. This bold stroke was followed by another victory at Princeton, and New Jersey was temporarily re-won for the Americans.

The year 1777 saw heavy, crucial fighting. General Howe's troops leap-frogged by sea from New York to Philadelphia and captured the American capital. Washington and his men fell back to Valley Forge, outside the city, where they suffered through a freezing winter without adequate supplies or housing. By pressing the attack, the British might have crushed their adversary once and for all, but Howe was not energetic and there is reason to suppose that his political sympathies were pro-American.

While Washington was being battered in the Middle States, however, what proved to be the decisive battle of the war was fought hundreds of miles to the north at Saratoga, New York. Hampered by inefficient commanders and a three-thousand-mile-long supply line, the British bogged down at a crucial moment and lost a whole army.

Britain had conceived a plan of crushing all resistance

in New York state, thereby cutting America in two, in much the same way that France had tried earlier in the century. New York was to be invaded from three directions, the forces to converge at Albany, a hundred and fifty miles north of New York City in the Hudson River valley. General Burgoyne was to move down from Canada, General Howe was to send troops north from New York City, and General St. Leger was to march east from Lake Ontario across the state.

The plan failed dismally. St. Leger was stopped in the western wilderness at Oriskany, and Howe's force never arrived. At Saratoga, Burgoyne's army of 6,000 was surrounded by 20,000 American farmers and militiamen, and mauled into surrender in October, 1777.

It was not so much the loss of troops at Saratoga that hurt England; what was far worse was the loss of prestige she suffered. Her ancient enemies, France and Spain, now became receptive to American pleas for help.

Dealing with foreign countries at the diplomatic level was a new experience for the Americans, who had previously had their affairs handled for them by Britain. In Benjamin Franklin, however, the new nation produced an adroit statesman, shrewd, witty and quick to take advantage of opportunities.

For some time Europe had secretly been helping America with a small trickle of supplies. Also, a number of European military officers like the Marquis de Lafayette of France, Baron Von Steuben and Baron Von Kalb of Germany, and Count Pulaski of Poland had volunteered their services to the American army and provided it with much-needed training and discipline. The European governments were reluctant about offering full-scale aid, however, for fear of getting involved in another losing war with England.

After Saratoga, though, Benjamin Franklin was able to convince the King of France that England could be beaten by a Franco-American coalition. Getting wind of the negotiations, England attempted to make peace with her former colonies on any terms they wanted, as long as they would remain within the empire. Two years before, the proposal would have been gladly accepted, but now it was refused. France and the United States entered an alliance in February, 1778, each nation pledging to continue the

war until the other was ready to make peace. Later, Spain and Holland contributed naval support to the American cause, hoping thereby to regain some of the possessions they had lost to England.

Credit loans, supplies and men were soon forthcoming from France, but perhaps the biggest contribution was the powerful French fleet, second in size only to England's. Anxious about a French blockade of Philadelphia, the British withdrew from the capital. At the same time, the French opened their ports and turned over a number of vessels to the Americans, who performed some dashing exploits in the English Channel. Captain John Paul Jones actually raided the English coast and went ashore commando-style to wreak havoc in Whitehaven, a town where he had once lived for many years. In his ship *Bonhomme Richard,* Jones won a famous victory over H.M.S *Serapis,* the engagement taking place so close to the Yorkshire coast that hundreds of spectators watched from shore.

One American who proved himself *not* to be a hero was General Benedict Arnold, who became disgruntled over failure to get a promotion in rank. Arnold, in command of a strategic fort at West Point on the Hudson River (site of the present U. S. Military Academy) connived with the British to turn it over to them; but his written plans were discovered just in time. Escaping to the British lines, Arnold became a brigadier general in their ranks and served against his former countrymen in the Virginia campaign.

As the year 1778 drew to a close, the theater of war shifted away from the north. Washington's army remained near New York, to contain British forces occupying that city and keep them from moving inland. The action dwindled to a stalemate, however, and attention now focused on the south and along the western frontier.

When Britain closed the western frontier to settlement by the American colonies, the order was not fully obeyed. From Pennsylvania on down to the Carolinas, groups of hardy pioneers pushed slowly across the Alleghenies, Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountains, which together form the Appalachian chain, and staked out their claims in the rich country beyond. Daniel Poone, the most famous Indian fighter of them all, penetrated into Kentucky in 1769, and Tennessee was settled a few years later .

The American frontiersmen were intensely patriotic and offered their services to their fellow-countrymen "back east" when the Revolution began. Soon it was apparent that they could perform a mission of tremendous value by attacking the British strongholds on the frontier, so that when independence was finally won, America could claim the West as its own territory.

Accordingly, a young Virginian named George Rogers Clark, who had moved to the Kentucky settlements, was given command of an expedition of two hundred men to push north and west to the Mississippi River, beyond which lay empty lands claimed by Spain. Two hundred sounds like a small figure for an army to conquer a territory the size of New England, New York and Pennsylvania combined, but it was all that could be spared and it proved adequate to the task.

The "Washington of the West," as Clark is sometimes called, was able to persuade the French and Indians in the Illinois country to change their allegiance from Britain to America; and thus relieved of trouble from that quarter, he went on to overcome British forts on the Mississippi and Wabash Rivers. England's hold on the area was broken, and Clark had carried the Stars and Stripes to a point nearly halfway across the continent.

In the South, meanwhile, the stage was being set for the last act of the Revolution. Perceiving that there was a good deal of loyalist sentiment in the Carolinas and Georgia, the British dispatched an expedition under Generals Clinton and Cornwallis to disaffect these states from the American cause. Some two thousand American Tories flocked to the Union Jack, and the big ports of Savannah and Charleston were taken.

Moving inland, the British at first gained more success than they had had in the north, winning a big victory at Camden over the American General Gates, "the hero of Saratoga." Gates' heroism was severely questioned when he was found a hundred and eighty miles away from Camden battlefield, still conducting a one-man retreat on horseback after the rout.

Eventually, American guerrilla tactics under such able leaders as Francis Marion, "the Swampfox," began to sap British strength, and at King's Mountain a group of rough

and ready frontiersmen routed Cornwallis' regulars. Soon after, Washington sent one of his ablest commanders, Nathanael Greene, to the Carolinas, and more heavy losses were inflicted. The British were obliged to retreat northward in 1781.

The final fighting of the Revolution occurred at Yorktown, Virginia, on the tidewater peninsula just a few miles from Jamestown where the first English settlement in America had been made. There Cornwallis and Benedict Arnold, with seven thousand men, retired to await reinforcements by sea from New York.

Three French-American forces now acted swiftly and in perfect co-ordination to deliver the death-blow to Cornwallis. First, an American army of thirty-five hundred men was already in Virginia under young Lafayette, whose devotion to Washington and the American cause has endeared him to Americans for all time. Secondly, Washington had an army composed of five thousand Frenchmen and two thousand Americans, which he rushed four hundred miles overland in forced marches to join Lafayette. And third, a strong French fleet under Admiral de Grasse arrived off Yorktown after intercepting and scattering British naval units which were bringing Cornwallis his reinforcements.

While Washington and Lafayette marched down the Peninsula to cut off the only British escape-route by land, De Grasse set up a blockade by sea and also landed three thousand more French troops to aid in the siege. Hopelessly trapped and outnumbered on all sides, Cornwallis launched a series of brave but futile attacks; then finally surrendered on October 19, 1781.

"My God! it is all over," exclaimed the British Prime Minister, Lord North, when he heard the news of Yorktown. The blow was a hard one, and the British people, sick of the struggle, expressed a desire for peace—everyone, that is, except King George, who fumed over losing what he called his "American farms." A new cabinet took over in England, and Benjamin Franklin was informed at Paris that the British were ready to start negotiations.

All the diplomatic skill of Franklin, John Adams and John Jay was needed to straighten out the tangle of conflicting interests that barred the way to a final peace settle-

ment. Under the provisions of the French-American alliance, neither country was to come to terms with England without the other's consent. Yet England and America were ready to bargain for peace on America's terms, while France and her ally Spain continued to battle England on the high seas and also on land in a futile effort to capture Gibraltar.

In 1782 it became apparent that the French government was thinking not so much of American interests as it was of its own and Spain's. The French minister, Vergennes, proposed that the boundaries of the new American republic be shoved back once more to the Appalachians and that control of the Western territory, which Clark had won for America, revert largely to foreign control, particularly to that of Spain.

Diplomacy makes strange bedfellows. Neither England nor the United States wanted to see a new French-Spanish Empire in America rising from the ashes of the old. In this ticklish atmosphere, English and American diplomatic agents entered secret negotiations, agreeing that the boundaries of the new republic should run roughly from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes to Florida.

Vergennes was angry when he heard of the negotiations, but the tact of Benjamin Franklin, coupled with news of more English sea victories, finally persuaded him to yield. The Treaty of Paris ending the war was signed on September 3, 1783.

For America, the Treaty was a generous one. Having been squeezed between the interests of England and France, she had managed to play off one against the other and in the process to gain everything she desired. Along with the land she had asked for, she was also granted rights to navigate the Mississippi River and to fish off the coast of Canada.

In turn, the American Congress agreed to do what it could to relieve Britain's sincere concern for the tens of thousands of loyalists who had supported her in the struggle. These people had suffered great hardships under American authority, losing their lands, homes and money. The English government felt that the loyalists' rights and property should be restored to them to the fullest extent

possible, and Congress agreed to recommend to the various states that such action be taken. This recommendation, however, was of small use to the dispossessed loyalists.

In point of fact, even in victory the "United" States were still disunited. Towards the end of the war they had bound themselves together loosely under an agreement called the Articles of Confederation, but they still remained essentially self-governing units acting in their own interests. The Congress which represented them was bankrupt and had been so for many years. The Army was unpaid and disgruntled, and would have rebelled had not its hero, General Washington, made an eloquent plea to the soldiers to disband and return home quietly.

Victory and independence had come, but also a state of domestic disorder. It was now up to the Americans to remedy this condition and march forward united toward their common destiny.

CHAPTER 4

The Launching of the Republic

ALMOST TWO CENTURIES after the American Revolution ended in success for the colonists, it seems logical to ask why every patriotic American citizen of the time did not favor the immediate establishment of a strong central government able to preserve law and order, to issue sound money and to foster a prosperous commerce and industry. The answer lies in the fact that the states still thought of themselves as individual countries; they were as suspicious of joining together in one nation indivisible as the nations of Western Europe today are of forming themselves into one indivisible Federal Union.

Under the pressure of war with England, the American colonies managed to present some sort of common front against the enemy. The Continental Congress which represented them asked for and received funds to carry on the

struggle, and it concluded treaties with other nations. There was, however, no written law of the land or constitution empowering the Congress to act for the people as a whole.

The Articles of Confederation attempted to remedy this defect by blueprinting certain specific aims and objectives for a central government. They were first proposed in 1777, but not ratified by Congress until March, 1781. A far-sighted action on the part of Maryland was one principal cause of the delay. Noting that several states claimed parts of the Western territory by virtue of exploration and old land grants, while several others had no such claims, Maryland refused to sign the Articles until the whole territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi should be turned over to the United States as national domain. This meant that the new land was to be administered by the national government, rather than by a few state governments, and that Congress could raise badly needed revenue from it by selling acreage to settlers. By insisting on this condition, Maryland did much to strengthen national power at a critical period.

The Articles of Confederation were in themselves weak and clumsy. Each state, regardless of size or population, had one vote in Congress, and a majority of nine votes out of thirteen was required to pass a law. To amend the Articles, all thirteen votes were necessary.

Congress could declare war or peace, borrow money, send and receive ambassadors, and handle foreign and Indian affairs. These were duties broad in scope, affecting the destinies of the people as a whole. But the Nation had no executive branch to carry out the legislation passed by Congress.

When it came to regulating the lives of individual American citizens, Congress was completely blocked by the states. It could not force a citizen to pay taxes, or to try him in court if he failed to do so. Nor did it have the authority to draft an able-bodied man into the army, no matter how critically he was needed. Under the Articles the states were recognized as independent, sovereign powers, and what they cared to contribute for the national welfare was a matter for their legislatures to decide.

The situation became more and more exasperating to those who longed for some semblance of national authority.

Congress could not prevent the states from issuing tons of worthless paper money and laying tariffs on each other's goods in bitter trade wars. People of means suffered the most from these conditions, for government bond-holders saw their securities sink to ten cents on the dollar in value, manufacturers were forced out of business because there was no national tariff to protect them from foreign competition, and landowners on the frontier were unable to deal in property because the army was too weak to protect it from the Indians.

One solid achievement was recorded during this troublesome period. After the Western territory became national domain, Congress organized the land between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes into the Northwest Territory, placing it under the jurisdiction of a governor and three judges. Settlers in the Territory were offered political and religious liberty, and free public education, while slavery was completely excluded. As the population grew, it was to form itself into states on an equal footing with the original members of the union. Thus was set the pattern for future expansion and one that showed the government's determination to give its citizens everywhere their full rights as Americans.

In Massachusetts, meanwhile, an explosive event had taken place, one that accelerated the growing demand for an overhauling of the national government. Led by a former captain in the Revolution, Daniel Shays, a mob of debt-ridden citizens rose in protest against the state's fiscal policies and attacked the United States arsenal at Springfield. "Shays's Rebellion" was finally put down by the state militia, but the lawlessness and violence of the revolt alarmed the country.

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Men of influence, among them George Washington, had for some time been warning of the dangers of a weak central government. In a circular letter to the governors of the states, Washington wrote: "There should be lodged somewhere a supreme power to regulate the general concerns of the Confederated Republic, without which this Union cannot be of long duration." The General's prophecy came true when Congress ruefully admitted its own inability

to conduct the affairs of the nation; attendance at its sessions had fallen off so badly that there were not enough members present to make up a quorum. For a time then there was absolutely no United States government.

A dispute between Maryland and Virginia over control of commerce on the Potomac River offered an opportunity for discussion of interstate co-operation that the advocates of stronger government used to advantage. Commissioners from the two states were invited to Washington's home at Mount Vernon, overlooking the Potomac, for informal talks. It soon became evident that the interests of other states were also involved, and it was ultimately decided to invite all of the states to send representatives to a meeting at Annapolis the following year to talk over their joint commercial problems. Lack of authority to regulate interstate commerce had been one of the great weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.

Only five states accepted the invitation to Annapolis in 1786, but what the delegates lacked in numbers they made up for in ability and determination. The prime mover was Alexander Hamilton of New York, a West Indian by birth, who had served brilliantly on Washington's staff throughout the Revolution, and was a close friend of the General. Hamilton believed devoutly in strong government and, sensing that his fellow conferees were ready to go beyond discussing commerce to actually revising the Articles of Confederation, proposed that still another convention be held in Philadelphia in 1787 to examine the whole governmental structure. Hamilton's proposal was then approved by Congress, and again invitations were sent out to the thirteen states.

The response this time was more enthusiastic, all except Rhode Island sending representatives. The gathering was a distinguished and essentially conservative one, of professional men, merchants and planters. Conspicuously absent were the old firebrands of the Revolution, who were suspicious of any or all central authority. John Hancock and Samuel Adams had not been chosen from Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry, though elected from Virginia, refused to serve, saying he "smelt a rat."

Meeting in the same room in which the Declaration of Independence had been voted by Congress eleven years

before, the Constitutional Convention elected George Washington as its chairman and settled down to hear the opinions of such prominent men as Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Dickinson and Gouverneur Morris. At the outset, the intentions of the majority of delegates were evident—they had come not merely to "amend" the ailing Articles, but to scrap them altogether in favor of a new system of government. To those who objected, or urged extreme caution, Washington declared: "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God." Inspired by Washington's words, the delegates brought forth their proposals for a firmer union.

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Two main plans were suggested, one by Virginia, representing the larger states, and the other by New Jersey, standing for the smaller. Virginia offered a truly national form of government consisting of three branches, executive, legislative and judicial. The legislature was to consist of a Congress of two houses, with each state's representation in the upper house, or Senate, to be based on its size and wealth. Members of the lower house, the House of Representatives, were to be elected by the people of each state.

The startling feature of the Virginia plan was the blow dealt to the state legislatures. No longer could the states act entirely in their own interests, blocking federal legislation they did not approve. Under the plan, the citizens of a state were to be directly represented in, and governed by the United States Congress. If, for example, Connecticut opposed a tariff measure, but a majority in Congress favored it and passed it, Connecticut would have to bow to the will of her sister states and submit to the law.

The New Jersey plan was far more cautious. Under a system of direct representation of the people, such as Virginia proposed, the small states feared being swallowed up. The federal government would outweigh them on issue after issue, the large states forcing through legislation at

their expense by sheer weight of numbers. New Jersey therefore proposed a one-chamber Congress with equal representation from each state, as the Articles of Confederation had provided, but granting Congress stronger powers to coerce the states through taxation and regulation of commerce. The New Jersey plan continued to emphasize the sovereignty of the state governments, giving them, rather than the individuals living within them, power to direct the policies of the national government.

Far apart as the Virginia and New Jersey plans were in scope and meaning, the delegates at Philadelphia, through a series of compromises, were able to reach an agreement after several weeks of debate. Congress was to consist of two houses, as Virginia had proposed; but all the states were to have equal representation in the upper house, where two senators from each were to be chosen by the state legislatures. In the lower House, the number of Congressmen sent by each state was to be based on its population, with representatives to be elected directly by the people, as the Virginia plan had called for.

This was the biggest hurdle the delegates had to face, and it was not easily overcome. The South, for example, demanded that its large numbers of Negro slaves, even though they could not vote, be counted as part of their populations, so that their states would be entitled to a larger number of representatives. It was finally agreed to count three-fifths of the slaves along with the free citizens.

In unmistakable language, the Constitution took away the sovereign power of the states and conferred it on the people as a whole, working through their national government for some purposes and the state governments for others. Federal law was declared the supreme law of the land, and "the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Henceforth, the states were forbidden to make treaties or alliances, go to war, coin money, or tax each other's goods. In return for this shift of authority, the Constitution declared that the "United States shall guarantee to every State in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion."

The change by no means relegated the states to being

mere servants of the national government, however. First, they were represented in Congress and could use their influence there to secure or oppose legislation. And second, within their own borders, they retained control of most of the matters relating to people's personal welfare, the things that touched them most closely. Thus, the legislatures continued to protect their citizens' lives and property, to charter and regulate businesses and state banks, to administer marriage and divorce laws, to provide public education, to build roads and highways, and to handle many hundreds of other affairs on the local level.

Under the Federal Constitution, the national government was divided into three branches, legislative, executive and judicial, each having certain controls or brakes over the others, to keep any one branch from becoming too strong or dictatorial. This thoughtfully contrived safeguard of democratic rights was called the system of *checks and balances.*

Congress, the legislative body, was given power to enact laws in many fields relating to the national welfare and to foreign affairs. Some of its most important specific duties were to levy taxes, borrow money, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, provide for a uniform system of currency, raise and maintain armed forces, govern United States territories, and admit new states to the union. More generally—and this gave Congress a really strong hand—it could appropriate money for "the general welfare of the United States" and "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the specific powers granted it. The right to propose legislation for raising revenue was vested in the House of Representatives, giving the lower house the initiative in controlling public expenditures.

Certain powers were forbidden to Congress, as they had been to the states, in the interest of guarding individual liberties. Congress could not suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus (requiring the police to obtain court approval for holding a suspect under arrest) except in cases of rebellion or invasion when the public safety demanded it. No bill of attainder (punishment without trial) or ex post facto law (punishment for actions committed before they were expressly forbidden by law) could be passed.

Congress could show no preference to the ports of one state over another in matters of commerce and revenue, and it could grant no titles of nobility.

The salaries of all Congressmen were to be paid by the federal government, not by their respective states—another move to strengthen central authority. Senators were to serve six-year terms and members of the House of Representatives two. In the Senate, one-third of the members were to come up for election every two years, thus maintaining a certain amount of stability in the membership.

The laws passed by Congress were to be administered by the executive branch of the government. The executive was to collect the taxes that Congress voted, to run the armed forces it raised, to coin and bank money it authorized—in short, to provide machinery to carry out all Congressional legislation. Heading the executive branch was the President of the United States, charged with full responsibility to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." He was to hold office for a term of four years. Serving with him were to be the Vice President, who was to preside over the Senate, and such other administrative officers as Congress might see fit to authorize. From this provision has arisen the President's Cabinet, consisting of the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Interior, War, and other department heads, who aid and take orders from the Chief Executive.

The President was not to be a mere tool of Congress, however. It was provided that every bill passed would have to be sent to him for approval and signature to become law, and if he disapproved, he could veto a measure and send it back for reconsideration. If Congress then re-passed the bill by a two-thirds majority, it would become law without the President's signature. The veto was to be a potent instrument, part of the system of checks and balances that kept the powers of the three branches of government evenly distributed.

The President was also to be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and he could make treaties with foreign powers, provided two-thirds of the Senate agreed. Likewise, he could appoint ambassadors, Supreme Court judges and other federal officials with the Senate's consent.

If necessary he could call Congress into special session, and he was expected to recommend various courses of action to Congress in his annual State of the Union message. On the other hand, and here the checks and balances come in again, Congress could impeach or remove the President from office for bribery, treason or "other high crimes or misdemeanors."

The framers of the Constitution were well aware that in prescribing the President's duties they were creating more than a mere symbol to head the government. The President was to stand out as the chief representative of the people and to unite them by his leadership.

A special system for electing the Chief Executive was instituted. Each state was to choose, in whatever manner its legislature directed, a group of electors equal in number to its total representation in both houses of Congress. The electors were then to ballot for President; and if any candidate received a clear majority he was elected, the runner-up being made Vice President. In the event of ties or lack of a majority, the President was to be chosen by the House of Representatives, each state having only one vote.

In setting up the electoral "college" or system, the Constitution-drafters planned not to have the President elected by Congress or the legislatures, thus making him dependent on them, but rather to have him chosen by a separate body of men representing the most influential people within the various states. At first the electors were expected to exercise their own will in selecting the candidate, but almost from the beginning they found themselves taking orders from politicians and party leaders, who made the choices themselves. Ultimately the electors of the winning party in each state were to vote automatically for the candidates of their party, nominated in advance of the election. The political parties chose the candidates, the voters in each state went to the polls to express their preferences, and months later the electors met to ratify the election result.

The third branch of the government was to be the judiciary, or legal department, consisting of the Supreme Court and such lesser tribunals as Congress might designate. The Supreme Court was to rule on disputes of national or interstate character, and its decisions were to be final and

irrevocable. Once again, however, the checks and balances system was invoked; the members, consisting of a chief justice and eight associate justices, were to be appointed by the President with the Senate's consent, and they, as well as judges in the lower courts, could be impeached.

The federal courts sliced across state boundaries and served to remind every citizen of his rights and obligations under the national government. If a person violated a federal law, he was tried in a federal court and, if found guilty, could be sentenced to a jail term in a federal prison. But on the other hand, the citizen, if he could show just cause for having the decision reviewed, could appeal his case all the way up to the Supreme Court. As it has worked out, a citizen accused of a federal offense can challenge the validity of the law under the Constitution. If he wins on this point, the federal law under which he was tried is declared unconstitutional and wiped off the statute books. This shows how highly the government values the rights of the people, whom it serves; an individual, through due process of law, can attack an act passed by the United States Congress, and approved by the President, and move the Supreme Court to declare it null and void.

The federal court system was given wide jurisdiction over cases affecting national and international issues. It was authorized to rule on foreign treaties made by the United States, and on cases involving ambassadors and ministers. It also was to arbitrate controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, and between citizns of different states. Nevertheless, a great deal of room remained in the legal field for the state and local courts, which continued to handle the bulk of cases involving average citizens throughout the land.

Towards the end of the Constitution, provision was made for adding amendments or additions to the document whenever changing times and conditions made such action necessary. Congress, by a two-thirds vote in both houses, could propose an amendment, or if two-thirds of the state legislatures made application, a convention would be called to make the proposal. In either case, agreement by three-fourths of the state legislatures would put the amendment into effect and make it part of the Constitution. Time was to show that few amendments would be necessary, since

the Constitution was written in an elastic manner and its provisions could be broadly interpreted by Congress and the courts.

Through the hot summer the work of hammering out a practical Consitution to provide "a roof over the nation's head" continued. Finally, having forged a strong, well-balanced instrument for governing the United States, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention concluded their labors on September 17, 1787. An air of solemnity hung over the room as the members signed their names to the document, and not a few felt a little uncertain. Had they gone too far in depriving the states of their sovereign powers? Would the American people accept their work? As the delegates took leave of each other, Benjamin Franklin, elder statesman of America, world scientist and philosopher, gazed at an image of the sun painted on the back of the chair in which George Washington was sitting, and remarked: "I have often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting, sun."

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The delegates had done a tremendous job. In clear-cut language and in a minimum of words, they had put together the guiding principles for a democratic government, principles that remain as valid today, in a far different age, as they were when they were written. Though many men helped frame this enduring document, James Madison of Virginia is commonly called "the father of the Constitution," and is given the most credit for his contributions.

* * *

When the task was completed, the document was sent to Congress, which in turn submitted it to the states for ratification by specially called conventions. The approval of nine states was needed to put the Constitution into effect, and a hard battle to secure adoption lay ahead.

Now began a bitter struggle to harness the Constitution on the plunging, bucking states. The delegates had been wise in prescribing ratification by state conventions instead

of by the legislatures—the latter would never have agreed. Constitution sympathizers or Federalists, as they were called, could use weight and influence. Such was the case in Pennsylvania, where the Constitution men hurriedly called a convention, rushed through a resolution of adoption and announced ratification before the opposition had time to organize. Rioting and general violence broke out as a result of the maneuver.

In Massachusetts, the anti-Federalists outnumbered the Federalists, but again strategy was brought into play. The president of the Massachusetts convention was John Hancock, who was enticed over to the side of the Constitution with a vague promise that he would be elected Vice President of the new republic. By a narrow margin, Massachusetts finally voted for ratification, and on condition that various amendments be added.

Sharp practices alone were not enough to secure adoption of the Constitution, its proponents realized. In speeches and debates, and in the public press, replies had to be made to those who were clamoring against ratification. Critics argued that the Constitution was a "plot" to set up a despotism run by the rich at the expense of the poor. It was said that the government would tax the plain people mercilessly, force them to pay their debts in sound money they did not possess, and conscript them into armies for wars they didn't want to fight. Worst of all, the critics pointed out, there were no provisions in the Constitution for a Bill of Rights guaranteeing such fundamental individual liberties as freedom of speech, freedom of worship and freedom of the press.

In a remarkable set of essays called "The Federalist Papers," which received wide circulation, the advantages offered by the Constitution were described at length by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay. While freely admitting the dangers inherent in too strong a central government, the "Federalist" authors showed how the Articles of Confederation had led the nation into a condition of chaos and pointed to the benefits to be derived from a democratic system of law and order. Tyranny was no more to be feared in the new government, it was argued, than it had been in the state governments, where powerful factions had been able to gain control of the legislatures

and run them as they pleased. The reasonableness of the arguments in "The Federalist Papers" made a strong impression on the American people and brought many doubters over to the Federalist side.

Meanwhile, Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia had ratified the Constitution early and unanimously, and other states swung over early in 1788. When New Hampshire ratified in June, the Constitution had the nine votes necessary for adoption, but two big states, Virginia and New York, were still fiercely debating the issue, and their support of the new government was vitally needed.

In Virginia, Patrick Henry led the anti-Federalist movement against the Constitution, declaring that the preamble was offensive because it read "We, the people of the United States," instead of "We, the states." The great influence of George Washington and James Madison was thrown against him in the battle. Finally a coalition of wealthy planters in the eastern part of the state and frontiersmen in the west managed to secure ratification by a very small majority. The planters naturally favored strong government and sound money, while the backwoodsmen were Federalists because they sought stronger protection along the border and the development of interstate trade.

The contest in New York was equally strenuous, and only the tireless efforts of Alexander Hamilton finally brought victory to the Federalists. At one point New York City threatened to secede from the state and enter the union on its own. The final vote in the convention at Poughkeepsie was 30-27 in favor of adoption.

With eleven of the thirteen states now under the federal banner, and a government already elected and in office, the remaining two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, finally came to terms. Rhode Island had taken no part in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, nor had she called a ratifying convention afterwards. But when her sister states threatened to treat her as a foreign nation and lay tariffs on her goods, Rhode Island finally yielded, and the union was complete. The thirteen original states were: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia.

However reluctant the states had been to join together,

the occasion of the final ratification of the Constitution set off a nation-wide demonstration of joy. Dinners, speeches and parades were held in towns from Massachusetts to South Carolina, and newspapers everywhere rhapsodized over the great event. The old Congress of the Articles of Confederation, still barely breathing, gave one last sigh and died contentedly, passing on the reins of government to the new order.

For the Federalists, the victory was sweeping and complete. It is true that Hamilton and a few others had wanted an even stronger government, with the President and senators appointed for life and the states stripped of all their powers; but the Constitution, as finally adopted, was eminently satisfactory to them. Also, the Federalists had to yield on the issue of a Bill of Rights, which they promised to add to the Constitution as amendments. As it in no way interfered with the main body of the document, the Hamilton faction made no particular objection to this demand of the anti-Federalists.

Quickly the states chose their presidential electors and balloted for the Chief Executive. No one doubted the outcome—the unanimous choice was George Washington, "father of his country" and the nation's hero, in whom were combined the outstanding virtues of dignity and humility. Washington had not sought the presidency and would have preferred to continue his life as a Virginia planter. The choice for Vice President was John Adams of Massachusetts, and the capital, for the first few years, was to be New York City.

Leaving his beautiful home at Mount Vernon, Washington made his way north, to be greeted by parades and ovations in every town he passed through. Flowers were strewn at his feet, cannon thundered salutes, and the men who had fought under him a few years before stood by misty-eyed as he spoke his thanks for their demonstrations of love and affection. Arriving in New York, the General was received in a brilliant ceremony, and his inauguration as first President of the United States took place at Federal Hall, on Wall Street, on April 30, 1789.

CHAPTER 5

From Washington to Polk

IT WOULD BE PLEASANT to report that George Washington continued to receive the unqualified admiration of all his fellow countrymen during the two terms he served as President. But under the American political system, few Chief Executives have been overwhelmingly popular with the people. A minority usually manages to find fault with the administration, and as a rule, anywhere from one-fourth to one-half the voters automatically oppose the President, popular as he may be with the rest.

Washington did his best to stay above politics; but by his actions he showed himself to be a Federalist, and that touched off cries of "Dictator!" and "Tyrant!" from those who opposed his position. The anti-Federalist group that had opposed adoption of the Constitution soon grew into a definite opposition, calling itself the Republican Party. However confusing it may be, this party was *not* the ancestor of the modern Republican Party, but rather of the present-day Democrats. The modern Republicans are regarded as more nearly descended from the Federalists.

The political issue over which the Federalists and Republicans fought concerned the manner in which the Constitution should be interpreted. According to the Federalists, the provisions should be construed loosely, to allow the national government a maximum of power to pass and administer laws. The Republicans, on the other hand, believed in strict adherence to the terms of the Constitution, permitting the government to exercise only those powers specifically granted to it.

In his first cabinet, which consisted of four department heads, President Washington named the two outstanding leaders of the opposing groups to serve under him. Alex-

ander Hamilton, Federalist, was named Secretary of the Treasury. Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and Ambassador to France during the Constitutional Convention, became Secretary of State. Jefferson was an anti-Federalist, wealthy and cultured, yet thoroughly democratic in thought and manner.

Hamilton and Jefferson opposed each other at every turn as the administration got under way. In spite of a good deal of identity in their thinking, they differed violently on many basic issues. Hamilton wanted a strong federal government run by a select group of aristocrats in the interests of people of property, and Jefferson advocated a minimum of central government, with the plain people, whom he trusted, expressing their will through their local and state governments.

One of the biggest problems facing the new administration was how to raise revenue and establish credit. The old Congress had borrowed money both from abroad and from American citizens to pay for the Revolutionary War. The states, too, were in debt.

Within two years, the dynamic, thirty-two-year old Hamilton had wiped out the deficits, using methods applauded by the Federalists but deplored by their Republican opponents. The foreign debts were paid, which caused no disapproval, but when the domestic notes were redeemed in full, a howl of protest arose. Originally, patriotic citizens had bought the notes, only to see them become almost worthless, and quite a few victims had sold them to money speculators for whatever they could get. As a result, when the government paid off its pledges on the notes to whoever held them at the time, many speculators profited at the expense of the original buyers. In taking the action, Hamilton declared that he was concerned more with establishing the credit of the national government than he was with the fortunes or misfortunes of individual citizens. Hard-headed as the measure was, it accomplished its aim: government bonds henceforth were sound, and new loans were obtained easily from the public.

Again, Hamilton strengthened the national government by persuading Congress to take over the state debts and pay them. Some states owed more than others, but Hamilton's policy of "assumption" forced them all to share

equally in paying off the obligations. Virginia, whose debt was small, objected to paying taxes to help Massachusetts settle *her* debt, which was large. Virginia was finally placated by Hamilton's shrewd promise to locate the permanent federal capital in the South, on the banks of the Potomac River. With the assumption of the state debts, the national government showed Americans, and indeed the whole world, that it was supreme over the states in the handling of money matters.

The establishment of a Bank of the United States was still another Hamilton scheme to concentrate power in the federal administration by enlisting the support of business interests throughout the country. Similar to the Bank of England, it was financed jointly by the government and private investors, each contributing to its funds and sharing in its profits. The Bank received all government deposits from taxes and the sale of land, and issued a uniform paper currency which replaced that of the states. Nowhere in the Constitution had such a bank been specifically authorized, but the Federalists argued that the power was "implied." Congress could levy taxes, borrow money and pay debts—so why should it not have a National Bank in which to carry out these transactions?

To raise money for the national Treasury, the Federalist Congress authorized a tariff on foreign imports and an excise tax on whiskey. Adequate revenue came in from these measures, but there was also a good deal of dissension. In protest over the whiskey tax, the farmers of western Pennsylvania, who distilled the liquor, rioted against federal authority in the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion," which was put down in a display of force by an army of 15,000 United States soldiers.

On the tariff, there was a mixed reaction. It was all very well to tax shoes, clothing and machinery coming in from Europe, as far as the northern states were concerned; for by now, in the 1790's, the Northerners were starting up their own factories and wanted protection against foreign competition. But the South remained agricultural; under a profitable arrangement, the planters shipped cotton and other raw materials abroad to be turned into manufactured goods, which they bought back at reasonable prices. To have high taxes placed on these finished articles was to cut

down the planters' profits from foreign trade. From the first, the tariff issue created friction among various sections of the country, and it was to be a major cause of the Civil War between the North and South seventy years later.

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Divided as they were on domestic issues, the Federalists and Republicans clashed with equal fury over the nation's foreign policy. For a new holocaust took hold of Europe in the same year Washington was inaugurated, and it seemed almost inevitable that the United States would be drawn into it and perhaps destroyed while still in its infancy.

This explosion was the French Revolution, which saw the Bourbon monarchy overthrown and Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette put to death under the guillotine. As bloodshed and violence increased, other European rulers, fearful for their own heads, attempted to intervene. Soon war was raging on the continent and France was again locked in mortal struggle with her old enemy, England.

France and America were still allies, and the French expected help from the new nation inasmuch as they had aided it in gaining independence. A large number of Americans, mostly Republicans, sympathized with the Revolutionists and clamored for action against the British.

The more conservative Federalists did not share this view. They were as shocked over developments in France as were the conservative ruling classes of Europe. It also seemed highly dangerous to become embroiled in a European war and risk the threat of invasion from Canada or the West. Accordingly, in 1793 President Washington proclaimed a state of neutrality on the ground that the Treaty with France had been made with her former government, and not with the Revolutionists.

Meanwhile, the French had sent an envoy, "Citizen" Edmond Genêt, to the United States to arrange for active American participation in the war. He insisted that United States ports should be used as bases for naval attacks on British commerce, and that an expedition must be sent to the West to attack Spanish possessions, for Spain now sided with England. With proper tact and diplomacy, Genêt might have gained support, but he was arrogant in his demands and openly connived with the pro-French element in America to violate the neutrality proclamation. Public

sentiment turned strongly against Genêt, and he was finally dismissed from his post.

While relations with France were poor, those with England were hardly less so. Britain still held a few forts in the upper Northwest Territory, which she had refused to give up after the Revolution until debts owed by American merchants to her citizens from colonial times were paid. From these outposts, England now stirred up Indian outbreaks against American settlements, in the hope of regaining some of the western land she had lost. Meanwhile, the British Navy began boarding American ships on the high seas and "impressing" or taking off sailors on the ground that they were British deserters. Many of the men thus taken actually were deserters, but many others were American citizens.

During his second term, President Washington reaffirmed his policy of neutrality towards Europe by sending John Jay to London in 1794 to negotiate Anglo-American differences. The British agreed to vacate the western forts, but only after Jay made humiliating concessions as to commerce, shipping and maritime rights which enraged a large number of Americans. President Washington also concluded a successful treaty with Spain, defining the boundary of Florida and giving the United States navigation rights on the Mississippi River and the right of deposit at the port of New Orleans.

Thus, when Washington left office in 1796 and retired to Mount Vernon for the last three years of his life, he had launched Constitutional government successfully and kept the nation out of war. In his Farewell Address, he cautioned his countrymen to work together harmoniously and to avoid "permanent alliances with any part of the foreign world." His successor in the Presidency was the austere Federalist, John Adams, and under the peculiar balloting system in the Electoral College at that time, Thomas Jefferson, of the opposition party, received the second highest vote and was elected Vice President.

New and more serious trouble arose with France, now thoroughly angry over America's reconciliation with England. When President Adams sent commissioners to Paris to try to smooth out differences, French agents known only as "X, Y and Z" demanded loans and personal gifts before

they would even talk to the envoys. The "X, Y, Z Affair" inflamed America. An undeclared but hard-shooting naval war developed, and only the patience of President Adams averted full-scale hostilities.

In the midst of the war threat, the Federalists passed two laws aimed at silencing their opponents and strengthening internal security, which proved to be the complete and final undoing of the Federalist party. First, the Alien Act gave the President power to deport any alien whose conduct he felt to be "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." Second, the Sedition Act imposed heavy punishment for anyone found guilty of writing anything "false, scandalous, or malicious" against the United States Government. The Alien Act was not enforced, but several editors of Republican newspapers, who continued to criticize the Administration with exceptional bitterness, were found guilty under the Sedition Act, and fined or imprisoned.

Angrily, the Republicans attacked the Alien and Sedition laws as violating the First Amendment of the Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of speech and the press. The Kentucky and Virginia state legislatures, prompted by Jefferson and Madison respectively, passed resolutions calling for repeal of the Acts, and Kentucky struck a blow at federal authority by asserting the right of a state to nullify or reject any "unconstitutional" act passed by Congress. That the people of the United States had become alarmed over Federalist "strong-arm" rule was evident in the election of 1800; Thomas Jefferson was chosen President, though by a narrow margin.

The new Administration took over the reins of government in a new location, the muddy little village of Washington, and the promise to establish the capital in the upper South was fulfilled. To the stately, bewigged representatives from New England, the change from cosmopolitan Philadelphia to this raw, unsettled hamlet was distinctly unpleasant; to Thomas Jefferson, lover of the plain and informal, it was the perfect setting in which to launch his policies.

Actually, Jefferson was to surprise himself and everyone else by his actions as President. In cutting the cost of government, repealing the tax on whiskey, and releasing pris-

oners under the Sedition Act, he was acting in the character expected of him. Not quite so typical was his dispatching of a naval fleet to the Mediterranean Sea to chastise the Barbary pirates, who were preying on American and European commercial shipping. But the biggest surprise of all came when Jefferson, the strict interpreter of the Constitution, began to read meanings into the document that even the Federalists would have missed; this sudden change in the President's nature caused first public amazement, then admiration, for his actions proved to be guided by good sense. The trends of the time had forced him to make a wary peace with the Federalist program.

Jefferson's greatest step, taken without either Constitutional authority or the consent of Congress, was the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. This huge area, running west from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, had been ceded by France to Spain in 1763; but now, in 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte of France forced the Spanish King to yield it back to him. Napoleon, victorious in Europe, dreamed of a great New World empire.

Once again in control of Louisiana, the French revoked America's rights to use the Mississippi River and the port of New Orleans, so important to the growth and commerce of the new settlements in the Ohio Valley. Furthermore, instead of the feeble Spanish, an aggressive, first-class power now menaced the whole American frontier and hemmed it in. Jefferson resolved to act firmly: to re-obtain rights on the Mississippi at the very least or, failing that, to side with England in the war against France and take his chances.

Fortunately for the United States, during 1802 Napoleon suffered severe military reverses in trying to subdue the West Indies, and his plans for an American Empire suddenly changed. When Jefferson's envoys reached Paris and offered two million dollars for New Orleans and West Florida, the French blandly asked how much they would pay for the whole Louisiana Territory. After some bargaining, a price of fifteen million dollars was accepted.

Thus, for what proved to be a ridiculously low price, Jefferson more than doubled the size of the United States. From the new land were to be carved such rich farming states as Minnesota, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Montana, the Dakotas and Louisiana itself. The Mississippi became an

American river from source to mouth, and the threat of foreign domination on the western frontier was eliminated.

Swiftly following up his opportunity, Jefferson dispatched an exploring party led by his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, to survey the new area and push beyond to the Pacific. A group of hard-bitten soldiers accompanied the expedition, which crossed the northern wilderness to Oregon and laid claim to that region in 1805. It was the first overland journey from the eastern United States to the West Coast, forerunner of many to come.

Jefferson's bold strategy in buying the Louisiana Territory and opening up the far West was hailed by the people, but he himself was troubled over having "stretched the Constitution till it cracked." Nowhere did the document authorize the purchase of more land, although it did empower the President to make treaties with the consent of the Senate. On this loose interpretation the Louisiana Purchase was sustained.

Another great crisis, during his second term in office, led Jefferson to a similar use of broad federal power. France and England intensified their war; each tried to strangle the other with a naval blockade and warned neutral ships away from each other's coasts. The blockades dealt a heavy blow to America, whose trade with Europe had grown increasingly large and important to her whole economic welfare. Yankee ships by the hundreds, carrying food and raw materials to foreign ports, were seized by one belligerent or the other. England, in desperate need of manpower, continued to impress sailors from American ships.

Hoping to avert war, Jefferson persuaded Congress to stop foreign trade altogether and to order American ships to stay in their home ports. This drastic measure, the Embargo Act of 1807, was not specifically sanctioned by the Constitution, which provides that Congress may "regulate" commerce; whether or not this implied that it could be completely eliminated was open to question.

No one was satisfied with the Embargo Act, which hurt merchants and farmers alike. It was repealed two years later for a new law, rather clever in its intent. If either Britain or France would agree to respect American shipping

rights, this law announced, the United States would reopen trade with that nation and continue to boycott the other. France jumped at the chance and the United States resumed trade with her.

Jefferson bowed out of office in 1809 and James Madison was elected President. The first three Executives had all managed, by almost superhuman efforts, to keep out of a major war. It was not to be Madison's lot to continue the tradition.

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England had done much to provoke the United States, and in addition there were a number of Americans who wanted to start a war with the English for their own reasons. The robust, growing West longed to clean out the last remaining British influence in that region and to march up into Canada and annex it. Southerners eyed Spanish Florida hungrily. The leaders of this bellicose group, called the "Warhawks," were Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. In 1812 they and their followers in Congress succeeded in getting a declaration of war.

The War of 1812 was largely unnecessary, ill-supported and indecisive. New England was bitterly opposed to it, mainly because a Republican administration was in power. The country was shocked by the actions of the New England Federalists. Going counter to all their early ideals of a strong, firmly united America, the New England Federalists threatened to secede from the union and might have done so had not the war ended sooner than expected.

The campaigns took place at widely scattered points. Poorly equipped American armies pushed north of Lake Erie into Canada and were thrown back. Only brilliant naval victories on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain prevented a dangerous counter-invasion of American soil. Farther south, the British landed a force near Washington in 1814, captured it easily from frightened militiamen, and burned the White House, the Capitol and other public buildings as a reprisal for American damage in Canada. Turning on nearby Baltimore, the British were stopped by a vigorous defense. The unsuccessful bombardment of Fort McHenry which guarded that city inspired Francis Scott Key to write the American national anthem, *The Star-Spangled Banner.*

The greatest American victory of the war was won after peace terms were signed, but before the news had crossed the Atlantic from Ghent, where the commissioners had met. Napoleon had finally been defeated in Europe and the British had sent a crack force of veterans to capture New Orleans. They were met by an army of frontiersmen from the Mississippi Valley under Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Jackson's sturdy sharpshooters were well entrenched, and they inflicted a stunning defeat on the invaders, who charged time after time gallantly but futilely in close ranks. The successful generalship displayed by Jackson won him the nickname "Old Hickory" and the adulation of the American people.

The Treaty of Ghent merely put an end to the war and said nothing about impressment of sailors, one of the chief causes of hostilities. But with the return of peace to Europe, impressment was discontinued and American trading ships in vast numbers sailed unmolested around the world.

At the end of the War of 1812, America was more clearly united than it had ever been, or would be again, until present times. The tide of history had forced the Republicans to adopt the same strong measures of government that the Federalists had formerly used. The troubles with England and France, the Louisiana Purchase, the War itself—all had called for the firm exercise of national authority. Even the National Bank was revived, after having been allowed to expire some years before.

The decisions handed down by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, added further weight to federal power. A Federalist in politics, Marshall had been appointed by John Adams in 1801, and for the next thirty-four years he met challenge after challenge to Constitutional authority and turned them back. Was the Supreme Court entitled to nullify unconstitutional laws passed by Congress? Yes, ruled Marshall in the famous Marbury vs. Madison case. Could the Court set aside state laws conflicting with the Federal Constitution? Yes, came the answer in the case of Cohens vs. Virginia. John Marshall is credited with giving the Supreme Court the eminence and authority it holds in the government today.

A revolution in methods of transportation also served to bring the country together. The invention of the steamboat

in the early part of the century led to a rapid growth of commerce on American rivers, especially on the Mississippi and its branches. The development of railroads, starting in the 1830's, was another large factor in building up interstate and intersectional trade. With these improvements in transportation came new cities, new industries and a rapid immigration from Europe.

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The period 1816-24 in America is known as the "era of good feeling." Economic progress was rapid, the Federalist Party was dead, and the Republicans had not yet split into contending factions. This era also saw America, under President James Monroe, act firmly in matters of foreign policy.

Spain's Empire in the New World was crumbling. Exhausted from the Napoleonic Wars, the Spanish government could not muster strength to crush the growing movement for independence among her colonies from Mexico on down to the tip of South America. Disorder prevailed in Florida, where the Seminole Indians staged frequent border raids against United States citizens.

To discipline the unruly Seminoles, President Monroe sent the fiery Andrew Jackson to the Florida Border, authorizing him to chase the Indians over the border if necessary. Never one for half-measures, Jackson in 1818 swept through Florida, conquering it easily. The Federal government backed him in his rash action and Spain meekly yielded the region to its new masters, obtaining a five-million dollar payment for doing so.

Other nations soon became aware of the growing feeling of confidence prevailing in the United States. France, Austria, Russia and Prussia had formed themselves into a "Holy Alliance" to restore to the European monarchies the possessions they had lost in the Napoleonic Wars. When Spain brought them her tale of woe of losing her empire in America, the partners prepared to help her get it back and to take a few slices for themselves. France eyed Mexico, and Russia, which owned Alaska and had been pushing south along the Pacific Coast, had California in mind as a prize.

All these plans alarmed the people of the United States. Once again, it seemed, the chief European powers were going to hem them in from various directions. There would be more disputes, perhaps more wars, fought dangerously close to United States soil.

England, too, opposed the Holy Alliance. She was trading briskly with the new Latin and South American countries and had no desire to see them revert to either France or Spain. Accordingly, the British Minister, Canning, proposed that the United States join with England in telling Europe to keep its hands off the Western Hemisphere, and in pledging that Britain and America would also refrain from seeking any more territory in North or South America.

The proposal was a tempting one. A traditional foe would become a friend, and the powerful British fleet would lend added meaning to the declaration. But some Americans, notably Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, felt that England's real design was to keep the United States out of Latin and South America along with the other powers, which might not always be to America's best interests. Adams protested against America's seeming like a mere "cockboat to a British man-of-war," and recommended that the United States act alone.

Finally heeding Adams' advice, President Monroe set forth the famous Monroe Doctrine in a message to Congress in 1823. Plainly and firmly, Monroe warned Europe not to attempt any further colonization of the Western Hemisphere, or in any way to interfere in the affairs of existing independent nations. The message went on to say that the United States, on its part, would continue its policy of staying out of Europe's internal affairs.

The Monroe Doctrine laid the cornerstone of American foreign policy for the next century. The United States became the champion of the Western Hemisphere and the protector of Latin and South America. In the years that followed, other nations attempting to meddle in Pan-American affairs were successfully warned away, but Uncle Sam himself interfered frequently with his neighbors' destinies and came to be accused of ruthless imperialism and exploitation.

Originally conceived as a measure of self-defense, to isolate America from Europe by placing the Atlantic Ocean

between them, the Monroe Doctrine has since undergone many changes in meaning and interpretation. In its original sense it is obsolete, for the United States no longer acts as protector and shepherd of the Latin American republics, but as a member of a Pan-American system of mutual aid and collective security. Moreover, in two world wars in this century, American troops have fought on European soil, and American soldiers today are garrisoned in trouble spots all over the world. But in another and larger sense, the principles of the Doctrine still live; because the American people believe more than ever that their own safety depends on resisting aggression, even in distant parts of the world.

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When President Monroe left office, the "era of good feeling" came to an end. Sectional interests, which had been bubbling and simmering just beneath the surface of national harmony, finally erupted into the open in the election of 1824; the Republican Party presented four candidates, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, William H. Crawford of Georgia, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and Henry Clay of Kentucky.

No one candidate obtained a majority or over half of the electoral vote, although Jackson had by far the largest popular vote. Nevertheless, when the election went to the House of Representatives, Clay threw his support to Adams, and it was enough to send the New Englander to the White House in the footsteps of his father. Clay, although a Westerner, heartily disliked Jackson, who he sneered at as a "military chieftain"; on the other hand, he liked Adams for his conservative stand on a high tariff, the National Bank and strong central government in general.

The followers of "Old Hickory" in the South and West seethed with rage over the defeat of their hero, and the Adams-Clay faction spent a frustrated and unproductive four years in Washington. In the election of 1828, Jackson's new Democratic Party was swept into the Presidency by a huge majority. Just what his policies were, no one knew, but he had become a symbol of the plain people, democracy incarnate.

And Jackson lived up to his reputation, almost with a

vengeance. Whatever he thought to be the will of the majority of the people he carried into effect with a sweeping force that earned him the title of "King Andrew the First" from his enemies. No one political faction or section of the country held his allegiance, although labor, small business and small farmers had strongly supported him. He did, however, typify the West in his ardent nationalism and distrust of Eastern banking interests.

Southern states-righters, who believed he sympathized with them, felt "Old Hickory's" wrath first. The South had become increasingly agitated over the tariff question, and in 1830 John C. Calhoun led his native state of South Carolina in a move to nullify the high Tariff Act of 1828. At a dinner marking Jefferson's birthday, where talk of nullification and states rights flowed freely, President Jackson suddenly rose and proposed a toast, while looking straight at Calhoun: "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved!" Later, when South Carolina acted to nullify the tariff and made plans to secede from the Union, Jackson made good his words by threatening to move into the state with 40,000 American soldiers. South Carolina yielded just in time, and the tariff was somewhat reduced as a concession to her injured pride.

If Jackson's strong stand for union pleased the Northeast, his attitude toward the National Bank did not. The Bank was run jointly by the government and by well-to-do businessmen, who too often influenced Congressmen with loans and favors. Jackson, the foe of privilege, determined to get rid of the Bank, which he branded as politics-ridden. He ordered all government funds withdrawn. Although there were protests that he was violating the Constitution—the Bank had been declared constitutional in a decision by Chief Justice Marshall—the President had his way, and the Bank closed. State banks took over the burden of national finance.

Meanwhile, a wild fever of speculation in public lands and new industries had gripped the country, and the State banks issued paper money in vast quantities to encourage the boom. When inflation resulted, Jackson ordered that payments to the United States Treasury for land must thereafter be made in gold or silver.

Jackson was a "one man show," a whole government

in himself. When he left the White House to his successor, dapper Martin Van Buren of New York, the entire economic structure of the country toppled in the "Panic of 1837." Gold and silver were scarce compared to paper money, and investments in land development virtually stopped. Banks failed, thousands were thrown out of work, and Van Buren was blamed for the debacle. In the election of 1840 the Democrats were defeated by a coalition of anti-Jackson and anti-Van Buren men calling themselves Whigs, whose candidate, William Henry Harrison, was another popular Indian fighter from the West.

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Throughout the period of the Monroe, Adams and Jackson administrations, the settlement of the West continued at a rapid pace. One after another, states were carved out of the Northwest and Louisiana Territories and admitted to the Union. Parts of the old East, notably New England, watched the development with some disfavor, fearing that they would lose their influence in Congress and eventually become mere outer fringes of a vast republic having different interests from their own. And there was reason to fear; by 1820, sixteen of the forty-six members of the Senate represented states west of the Alleghenies. Ohio, which in 1803 had a population of 50,000, had in 1820 nearly 600,000 residents. Indiana had 147,000.

The growth of the West, however beneficial to the nation at large, focused attention on an issue that every thoughtful American was disturbed about—the great problem of slavery. Was this undemocratic institution to be extended into the new states and territories? Southerners, pioneering in Missouri, Arkansas and the Southwest, felt entitled to take their Negroes with them and build slave states. The Constitution nowhere forbade them to do so; indeed, Congress had already admitted Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana on that basis.

But in the North, antislavery sentiment was growing—not only on moral grounds, but for political and sectional reasons as well. If the slave states came to outnumber the free, the interests of the South, calling for a low tariff and favors to the agricultural interests, would predominate over those of the commercial North.

The first crisis came during Monroe's "era of good feeling," and though it was amicably settled, it caused alarm in both sections. In 1819, when there was a balance of eleven free and eleven slave states in the Union, Missouri applied for admission with slavery. The North objected on the ground that it would upset the balance of states and also set a precedent for extending slavery west of the Mississippi River. The South stood on its Constitutional rights, arguing that Congress had only the right to admit new states, not to prescribe the terms under which they could be admitted. That job was up to the people in the states themselves, the South contended.

A solution to the problem, though one which held deep implications for the future, was found by Henry Clay, "The Great Compromiser," in 1820. Maine at that time was still part of Massachusetts, and it was detached with the Bay State's permission to enter the Union as a free state. Missouri came in with slavery, and thus the balance of states was maintained. At the same time, a line was drawn along parallel 36° 30′, running from the southern border of Missouri through the Louisiana Territory, and slavery was forbidden in the big region north of the line. Both sides were satisfied with the agreement.

Not until Jackson's time did a similar balancing of new free and slave states occur. In 1836 Arkansas was admitted as proslavery, while Michigan came in as free; and again in 1845-6, Florida balanced Iowa on similar terms.

But the problem of slavery, which had lain dormant in the early years of the republic, had begun to rise toward a crisis. With each pioneer move westward, it flared up with renewed violence. On the village greens of the North and the courthouse squares of the South, people gathered to argue the issues, ministers thundered from their pulpits, and fanatics fanned the flames of sectional hatred. After 1840, slavery dominated every other question, political and economic, in the United States. But before coming to the great civil war that finally settled the slavery problem, the American people completed their territorial expansion to the Pacific Coast.

CHAPTER 6

A Country Divided

"REMEMBER THE ALAMO!" "Fifty-four forty or fight!" These two battle cries of over a hundred years ago are familiar to most Americans. The first refers to the slaughter of Texans by the Mexican Army at San Antonio in 1836, and the second to the controversy over the northern border of the Oregon Territory, which was fiercely disputed by the United States and Great Britain in the 1840's.

Texas, in the American Southwest, and Oregon, in the Pacific Northwest, became prizes in the great game of western expansion at approximately the same time—after the Whigs ousted the Democrats in the national election of 1840. Texas had been a province of Mexico after the Mexicans won independence from Spain, while Oregon was claimed jointly by the United States and England on the basis of early discoveries and settlement. Failure of the Whigs to pursue American claims in the two regions cost them the election of 1844.

In the 1820's, most of the population of Texas consisted of Americans, who had been encouraged to settle there by the Mexican government. But the Mexicans, finding that they were losing control of the province, abruptly changed their policy. Immigration was halted and a tight rule clamped down on the Texans. The result was that Texas declared its independence and war began.

In the short struggle, President Santa Anna of Mexico personally led an army against the "rebels," completely wiping out a small, heroic force defending the Alamo, a mission building in San Antonio. Revenge was not long in coming. An army of Texans under General Sam Houston, a veteran of the War of 1812, crushed the Mexicans at San Jacinto, captured Santa Anna and ended the war.

Texas then became an independent republic with Houston as its president.

Proud as they were of winning their freedom, the Texans felt such a close bond with the United States that they favored joining the Union. But because slavery was permitted there, the North opposed the admission of Texas. A declaration by Mexico that annexation of Texas would be considered an act of war was another deterring factor. Thus matters stood when Whigs and Democrats campaigned in 1844.

Selecting James K. Polk of Tennessee as their standard-bearer, the Democrats boldly came out for annexation of Texas and Oregon. The appeal carried weight both North and South, for Oregon, settled by Northerners, was bound to come in as a free state to balance slaveholding Texas. The Whig candidate, "compromising" Henry Clay, hesitated to come out for annexation, and Polk was the people's choice.

Texas was admitted as a state even before Polk took office, after which the new President settled the Oregon dispute with Britain. The United States had claimed the Pacific Northwest Territory all the way up through British Canada to parallel 54° 40′ on the border of Russian Alaska. England labeled this as absurd and refused to acknowledge it. Conveniently forgetting his boastful campaign promise of "Fifty-four forty or fight!" Polk settled for a midway point along the 49th parallel.

Soon after, a dispute over the southern border of Texas led to the long-expected war with Mexico. It is often argued that the United States was anxious to provoke trouble in order to defeat its weaker neighbor and obtain more land; on the other hand, Mexico had refused to arbitrate and actually struck the first blow across the Rio Grande River. In any event, American armies under Generals Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott were soon probing deep into Mexico, while the navy co-operated with American settlers on the Pacific Coast to wrest California from the enemy.

By 1848, the capital of Mexico City had been captured and the United States was everywhere victorious. Mexico was forced to cede vast portions of the Southwest, including California, New Mexico and Arizona. For this, the United States agreed to pay fifteen million dollars in cash.

Many Americans felt that the treaty terms were too generous and that all of Mexico should be taken over and added to the Union.

The addition of all this territory filled out the United States to practically its present size. The country now extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, although deserts, plains and wilderness separated East from West.

* * *

"Gold!" The cry went out from California in 1849, and a stampede to cross the continent was on. The news that gold had been found in California canyons and river beds was enough to draw prospectors by the thousands to the new territory. From sedate old Boston, from bustling New York and from farms and villages all over the East came the "49ers" in their covered wagons, braving the Indians, thirst, heat and cold, to make their fortunes in the promised land.

Until the Gold Rush, California had been a peaceful, thinly settled region with a few Spanish ranches and missions, and a sprinkling of Americans scattered along its shores. In the year 1849 its population soared from 6,000 to 85,000, and its hustling citizens, most of them Northerners, clamored for admission as a free state.

It was well for the country that they did so, because a furor was brewing in Congress over how to admit the new lands taken from Mexico. In their anger, both North and South abandoned the principle of a dividing line, as set forth in the Missouri Compromise; the whole West, cried the North, should be free; the whole West should be declared open to slavery, replied the South with equal vigor. In between the two groups stood the moderates, who suggested that the people in the Territories themselves be allowed to determine for or against slavery—the principle of popular or "squatter sovereignty."

Once again Henry Clay, "The Great Compromiser," came to the rescue. Clay proposed that California be admitted as a free state and that the rest of the land ceded by Mexico be divided into two Territories, Utah and New Mexico, each to determine its status on the popular sovereignty basis. Another feature of the Clay bill, designed to please the South, was a strong Fugitive Slave act. Any

slave escaping to the North must be immediately hunted down and returned to his master.

The debate over the Compromise of 1850 was a brilliant one. Speaking for the South, the aged Calhoun opposed the measure because it did not unconditionally guarantee slavery in the new lands. Calhoun argued that slaves were private property and thus subject to state and territorial law, not national. Therefore Congress had no right to prohibit slaves from being taken into the Territories.

Northerners, too, were worried about the Compromise, objecting particularly to the Fugitive Slave law. But their greatest orator, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, came to Clay's support in a magnificent plea to save the union, no matter what the cost. Congress finally passed the Compromise and the whole country hoped that the slavery issue had been settled once and for all.

* * *

Times were prosperous everywhere. A network of railroads was being built, the factories of the Northeast were humming, grain was pouring in from the Midwest, and California was enjoying a gold boom. The South thrived under "King Cotton."

Out of a total population of approximately nine million in the South in 1850, slightly over three million were slaves. Only a small minority of white men were slave owners, however, and most of the Negroes toiled on the big plantations of a few thousand wealthy and aristocratic families. The Constitution had forbidden further importation of slaves after 1808, but by that time a plentiful and continuing supply had been assured.

Conditions for the slaves varied; for the most part they were handled firmly but without cruelty. On the better plantations, they received some education and church training, and were allowed to come and go as they pleased, as long as they performed their prescribed duties. Quite a few were paid small amounts for their services and were allowed to purchase their freedom after a number of years.

In some cases, however, the slaves were overworked, beaten and mistreated, and families were split up at auction sales. Unwilling to bear their fate, many of these victims took their chances and ran away, hoping to find freedom in the North or in Canada. Often they received

help from sympathetic Northerners, who violated the fugitive slave laws by refusing to return them to their masters.

The North had given up what little slavery existed there soon after the Revolution. Hearing tales of atrocities, or meeting runaway Negroes directly, the Northern people became increasingly disturbed over the moral issue of slavery. A small group called Abolitionists agitated for the immediate stamping out of the institution. And in 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote a novel of plantation life, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which sold like wildfire in the North and incensed public opinion further.

But more incendiary to Northerners than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or anything that had gone before was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. The work of Senator Stephen Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, it repealed the Missouri Compromise forbidding slavery in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase and opened up the vast tract of nearly half a million square miles to "popular sovereignty." Once again the South had a chance to extend its slavery foothold.

Just why Douglas took the step remains something of a mystery. It may have been that he had presidential aspirations and sought Southern support. He had real estate interests in the Northwest and may have wanted to promote development there by giving it territorial status. He had a Southern wife and she may have influenced him.

At any rate, the area was divided into the Kansas and Nebraska Territories, and settlement began. Almost immediately, North and South began vying for Kansas, and civil war broke out as ruffians and fanatics from both sides tried to impose their will on each other. "Popular sovereignty," however attractive it had sounded, failed to work in Kansas and caused only bloodshed.

Three years later, the slavery cause achieved a triumph in the Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case. Scott, a slave, sued for his freedom because he had once been taken into a free territory by his master. Chief Justice Taney ruled against Scott, because, he said, there were no free territories in America. Slaves were property under Constitutional law, and Congress had no right to exclude them from the territories. Henceforth, slavery could be introduced in every new state.

* * *

Meanwhile, a new political party was forming in the North. Calling themselves Republicans, its adherents demanded flatly that the extension of slavery in the territories be halted. One of the first leaders of this party, which has continued in existence to the present day, was Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer and politician from Springfield, Illinois.

Born in a frontier log cabin in Kentucky in 1809, "Honest Abe" Lincoln was destined to become President of the United States at the most crucial moment of its history since the Revolution. He was a tall, gangling, rustic "man of the people," self-educated and ambitious. Moving to Illinois in his youth, he became a moderately successful country lawyer and was elected to a term in Congress. Although Lincoln was a popular figure in his home state, he did not become known nationally until his debates on slavery with Stephen A. Douglas, "the little giant," in 1858. Buth men were running for the United States Senate from Illinois, Lincoln on the Republican ticket and Douglas on the Democratic.

In view of the Dred Scott decision—Lincoln asked the champion of popular sovereignty in debate—could the people of a territory lawfully exclude slavery from its limits when it became a state? Douglas replied that it could —that the government could not *force* slavery, though it was legal, on people who did not want it. This answer cost Douglas his carefully built-up Southern support, for if slavery was legal, the South reminded him, slaveholders in the territories were entitled to protection of their property, by force if necessary.

Douglas won the Illinois Senate seat from Lincoln by a narrow margin, but a bigger contest between them loomed. The prophetic words of Lincoln, "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other," were winning him respect and support from people throughout the North.

The nation was shocked in 1859 when a fanatical Abolitionist, John Brown, led a raid on a government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Brown, with nineteen men, planned to seize the weapons in the arsenal and start a slave

insurrection in the South. Captured by United States soldiers commanded by Robert E. Lee, Brown was tried and hung for his escapade. The rank and file of people in both North and South condemned Brown's rash actions, but a group of New England Abolitionist intellectuals, among them the great poet and philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, lauded Brown as a martyr and likened him to Christ. The incident inflamed the South, which was continually fearful of slave uprisings.

Passions came to a boil as the election campaign of 1860 got under way. President Buchanan, a Democrat, had been a mediocre executive, unable to act in the crisis over slavery. Thus his candidacy was not considered. Convening at Charleston, South Carolina, in the heart of the South, the Democrats hoped to preserve a united front, possibly by nominating Stephen A. Douglas. But "the little giant" could not agree with Southern demands that slavery must be protected and enforced in the territories, and the Northern and Southern factions of the party split. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was the choice of the Southern Democrats, and Douglas was later nominated by the Northern wing at another convention.

The Republicans met in Chicago, expecting to name Senator William H. Seward of New York, but a strong Lincoln sentiment quickly developed and the "rail splitter" won on the tihrd ballot. The party platform called for a halt to the extension of slavery and demanded admission of Kansas as a free state. Further angering the South, it advocated a higher tariff to protect industry and a strong federal "internal improvements" or public works program.

A fourth party, the Constitutional Unionists, entered the field with John Bell of Tennessee as its candidate. Designed to get votes in the border states, it sidestepped the slavery issue and merely advocated allegiance to the Constitution.

When the voters went to the polls in November 1860, the Republicans were victorious. Lincoln polled only forty per cent of the total ballot and not one border or Southern state voted for him; nevertheless, he had the highest vote of any of the four candidates and received a majority in the Electoral College. Douglas was second with a strong Northern showing, and Breckinridge and Bell were supported only in the border and Southern states.

News of Lincoln's victory brought quick retaliation from the South. South Carolina seceded from the Union in December, and several other states from the lower South followed her. Meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, they organized themselves into the Confederate States of America and elected Jefferson Davis President. Davis, a West Pointer and Mexican War hero, had served as a United States Senator and a Secretary of War.

With the Union splitting, Congress tried various methods of compromise to lure the South back, or to hold those Southern states still remaining in the Union; but the efforts were in vain. In Lincoln and the Republican Party, the South saw a movement aimed at its very heart. Unless slavery could be extended, the growing North would gain control of the country and dominate the South politically and economically. To have such federal authority imposed by a hostile majority on a section that had traditionally leaned to the states rights theory of government was more than could be borne. Southerners felt that the interests of the two regions, one industrial and the other agrarian, had become incompatible.

President Lincoln adopted a conciliatory, almost pleading attitude towards the South in his Inaugural Address in March, 1861. He said he was opposed only to extension of slavery, not to the institution itself where it already existed. Reminding Southerners of the nation's common heritage, he declared that it was spiritually, physically and politically impossible for the two sections to go their separate ways, and promised not to use coercive force unless force was used first against the United States Government.

The South's answer came a month later in Charleston harbor, where the United States maintained a small island garrison at Fort Sumter. Provisions were running low, and Lincoln was faced with the choice of sending more by sea, or of yielding the outpost to the Confederate government. He chose to send provisions, at the same time specifying that no military supplies were included; but the move was interpreted as hostile and Confederate artillery batteries opened fire on the Fort on April 12, 1861. Two days later the garrison surrendered and the Stars and Stripes were hauled down, to be replaced by the Confederate banner of Stars and Bars. The Civil War had started.

Exultation swept the South, and rage the North when the news of Fort Sumter became known. President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to re-assert Federal authority throughout the nation. Four more states, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee, seceded from the Union. The border states were torn asunder in their sympathies, but Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland were held in the Union by force. A part of western Virginia remained loyal and later was admitted as the separate state of West Virginia.

On the basis of population and industrial strength, the North held the advantage over the South. There were about twenty million people in the twenty-three states adhering to the Union againt about ten million in the eleven seceding sates; and of this ten million in the South some three and a half million were slaves. Thus the North outnumbered the South by about three to one in white population. Moreover, the North was receiving a steady flow of immigrants from northern Europe.

Industrially, the North, which included the staunchly loyal and powerful Middle West, was plentifully equipped with factories for production of war goods, and with railroads to haul them on. The South had no such facilities: war plants had to be built, and arms were smuggled in from Europe.

Several factors favored the South, however. First, she was the defender, battling for her homes and lives, and she could fight on short lines of supply. Her people were more accustomed to hunting and outdoor life, and were apt to make better soldiers than Yankee shopkeepers and factory workers. Moreover, many Southern gentlemen had devoted their lives to military careers rather than to business. The cream of West Point Military Academy graduates was composed of Southerners like Robert E. Lee and T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson, who provided incomparable leadership to the Southern armies. Finally the South, though badly outnumbered, had her supply of slave labor to fall back on to release white men for active service.

The first half of the Civil War was fought in two main theaters—Virginia, in the East, and along the Mississippi River in the West. When Virginia seceded, Richmond, only one hundred miles south of Washington, was made the

permanent Confederate capital. With confident cries of "On to Richmond!" the North sent an army of 30,000 men into Virginia to meet an approximately equal force of "Rebels" at the first big battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861.

This initial advance into the South was considered more of a holiday than a military operation by the Federals, who were accompanied by Congressmen and their wives carrying picnic lunches. But the festive atmosphere changed from a picnic to a panic as, after a see-saw battle, the North was completely routed. The survivors, preceded by the Congressmen, fled back to Washington, demoralized.

With dogged determination, the North called up more men, and President Lincoln appointed George B. McClellan, a West Pointer who showed promise, to lead the Army of the Potomac in another advance on Richmond. "Little Mac," a great organizer, was worshipped by his soldiers, but he was overcautious in the extreme. Landing 100,000 men southeast of Richmond in a seaborne operation, he marched to the outskirts of the Confederate capital in the spring of 1862, opposed by Lee and Jackson with a force only half his size. But at the moment when victory seemed within his grasp McClellan lost heart and fell all the way back to Washington, claiming he was "outnumbered."

At the White House, President Lincoln was dismayed with his chief general. McClellan, for his part, was arrogant, and treated the President with contempt. Moreover, he was a strong Democrat and was suspected of wanting to appease the South. When, as and if a better general came along, Lincoln was prepared to replace his first choice.

Diplomatic troubles also plagued Lincoln. The sympathies of the English government and upper classes were largely with the South, with which they had maintained close trade and cultural ties. A successful Union blockade of Southern ports reduced the supplies of cotton bound for England and alienated Britain further from the United States. A crisis was reached when a Union warship halted a British steamer with two Confederate envoys aboard, removed them, and jailed them in Boston. England protested this violation of her rights on the high seas, and threatened war.

The Federal government saw ruin ahead if any major

foreign power sided with the enemy. Lincoln ordered the envoys released and apologized to Britain. Even this might not have been satisfactory had not the English working people declared their sympathies for the North in its struggle against slavery.

The North's domination at sea continued, although the South briefly challenged its supremacy with the world's first iron-clad ship, the *Merrimac*. But the Federals quickly countered with a revolving-turret iron-clad, the *Monitor*, and then sent a fleet to storm and capture New Orleans.

Meanwhile, in the Western theater of war, General Ulysses S. Grant, aided by Federal gunboats, was pushing down the Mississippi River deep into Confederate territory. After a costly victory at Shiloh, Grant continued on to Vicksburg, to which he laid siege. The Mississippi was almost entirely in Union hands and Grant, whose drinking habits had practically ruined his army career after West Point, became a national hero.

Contrasted with Grant's successes in the West were the repeated failures of the Union army in the East. The situation became more and more galling to the harried Lincoln, who needed a major victory in order to make an announcement that would greatly strengthen the Union cause.

The moment had come to heed the pleas of Northern Abolitionists and to make the Civil War a struggle not only to preserve the Union but to free the slaves in the South as well. Saving the Union had been Lincoln's sole previous aim; he had declared: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it." Now, in 1862, the best interests of the Union would be served by freeing all the slaves, because it would unite the North, gain world sympathy, and dash the South's last hope of obtaining foreign allies.

To proclaim that the slaves in the South were free while Southern armies were winning victory after victory in the East would have seemed like a futile gesture. Therefore, Lincoln waited until General McClellan turned back a big Southern invasion threat at the Battle of Antietam. As of January 1, 1863, the President then declared in his Emancipation Proclamation, all slaves in the states rebelling against the Union "henceforward shall be free."

Actually, the Emancipation Proclamation was little more than a promise for the future, since the South had still to be beaten. Moreover, it was unconstitutional—amendments abolishing slavery would have to be passed by the states after victory was won. But the Proclamation's noble statement of purpose, promising the liberation of three and a half million Americans living in servitude, produced the effect that Lincoln wanted. The Union was now embarked on a lofty crusade.

Soon this ardor was dampened, however, for McClellan failed to follow up after Antietam, and President Lincoln removed him in disgust for more aggressive commanders. The Army plunged into Virginia again, only to be slaughtered at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Reeling backwards with General Lee in pursuit, it finally took up positions at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The North was now fighting for its life, the enemy was on its soil, and one more defeat might spell the end of the war and the establishment of Southern independence.

At Gettysburg, Lee's magnificnt army of 75,000 veterans in homespun gray opposed about 90,000 blue-clad Federals commanded by General George G. Meade. On July 1 and 2, 1863, the Confederates had all the better of it, driving back both wings of the Union Army. On July 3, General Lee, in his anxiety for a decisive victory, ordered a smashing attack against the Union center, which was strongly entrenched on Cemetery Ridge.

In one of the most dramatic and gallant charges in all military history, General George Pickett led 15,000 infantry men, the flower of the South, in a do-or-die assault on the Federal lines. Marching first in perfect order, then breaking into a savage forward run, the Confederates swept up the ridge in the face of point-blank artillery fire and for a time planted the Stars and Bars alongside the Stars and Stripes on the crest. As the battle reached its climax, blue and gray mingled in a hand-to-hand swirl of lunging bayonets and flailing rifle butts, with the defenders pouring in more reinforcements. Finally the Southerners gave way, after frightful losses, and retreated slowly down the hill. The Battle of Gettysburg was over and the South's biggest threat of the war had been checked.

July 4, Independence Day, was celebrated with wild

rejoicing in the North, for in addition to Gettysburg came news of another great triumph in the West. General Grant had finally starved Vicksburg into surrender, and the Mississippi River belonged wholly to the Union. The Southern states west of the River were cut off, and it was now possible for Grant to move large forces of men eastward to join in the campaigns there.

Gettysburg was the turning point of the Civil War, though two years of bitter struggle lay ahead. The battlefield was made a National Cemetery in the autumn of 1863, with President Lincoln on hand to make a brief dedication speech. The words of the President's immortal Gettysburg Address, pledging the North to redeem the sacrifices of the slain, concluded: "—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, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

* * *

The second half of the Civil War is the story of the North's determined efforts to squeeze the life out of an enemy that refused to admit defeat. The Federal military plan was simple: the Army of the Potomac would continue to push south through Virginia toward Richmond, while Grant and his armies flanked the Confederates from the west and struck at East Tennessee and Georgia.

In General Grant, Lincoln had finally found the type of commander he wanted, someone aggressive and tenacious who would use the North's superiority in equipment and manpower to advantage. After Grant gained control of East Tennessee with a brilliant victory at Chattanooga, Lincoln made him chief of all Northern forces and transferred him to Virginia to face the indomitable Lee. William Tecumseh Sherman, who had served with Grant throughout the war, took over the army in Tennessee and drove towards Atlanta, Georgia.

Trying to sledge-hammer his way to Richmond in 1864, General Grant could make little or no progress, and his losses were appalling. Lee stopped him brilliantly and with heavy losses at The Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, and at Cold Harbor, and when Grant circled south of Richmond,

held him stalemated at Petersburg. But if Grant could not gain, neither would he fall back, and Lee's ranks, which could not be replaced, thinned under the blows.

Meanwhile, the Presidential election of 1864 took place in the North. The Republicans renominated Lincoln, while the Democrats chose General George McClellan, the President's old adversary and ex-army commander. The issue was the war—whether to press it forward at all costs, as Lincoln urged, or to try to stop it through a negotiated peace, as the Democrats wanted. Though Lincoln worried over the outcome because of Grant's failure to finish off Lee, the President was easily re-elected.

And now the great conflict was coming to a close. General Sherman, author of the saying "War is hell," proceeded to demonstrate the truth of his remark by putting Georgia to the torch. Having battered his way to Atlanta, Sherman led his men on a three-hundred-mile march down to Savannah, encountering no opposition and burning and destroying everything in his way. From there he marched north through the Carolinas, using the same ruthless tactics, and was on his way to join Grant in Virginia when Richmond finally fell. General Lee, convinced of the hopelessness of his cause, surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia to Grant at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and hostilities ceased.

The four-year holocaust had cost the American people heavily in the lives of their young men and in loss of property. Union dead ran to 360,000 (nearly equal to the total United States dead in World War II). Besides losing men, the South lost homes, livestock, and means of transportation. Its slaves, valued at two billion dollars, were set free without compensation to their owners. Confederate money and bonds were worthless.

Fully aware of the problems ahead, President Lincoln declared in his second Inaugural Address: "With malice towards none; with charity for all—let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds." The President was prepared to lead the way towards the easiest reconstruction possible.

Many Northern Republicans, however, felt that the South should be punished as a conquered nation and that, by seceding, its states had lost all their privileges as former

members of the Union. Lincoln did not agree. He maintained, as he had in his first Inaugural Address, that it was impossible for any state to leave the Union. Not the Southern States, but groups of people in them, had resisted Federal authority. Any time the states were in the hands of people who would co-operate as partners in the Union again, they were to be welcomed back.

In accordance with this policy, the President during the war had set up his Ten Per Cent plan. If ten per cent of the voters of any Southern state agreed to form a government loyal to the Union, the state would be re-admitted and its representatives allowed to sit in Congress. Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, which had been occupied by Federal troops, were thus brought back into the Union before the final surrender. Further demonstrating his friendly intentions, Lincoln chose as his Vice Presidential running mate in 1864 Andrew Johnson, former Governor and Senator from Tennessee.

The Republican Congress was hostile to the Ten Per Cent Plan. Suppose the South was thus easily re-admitted: would not her Democratic representatives combine with Northern Democrats to oust the Republicans from power? The South must be held down and Congress, not the President, must direct reconstruction. Therefore, the ex-members of the Confederacy must be treated as hostile territories to be dealt with by Congress, not as full-fledged states to be pardoned by the President.

Whether or not Lincoln would have had his way in this executive-legislative battle is a question that can never be answered. Only five days after the Civil War ended, he and Mrs. Lincoln were watching a play from a box at Ford's Theater in Washington when a demented actor named John Wilkes Booth stepped up behind him, shot him in the head, and shouting "Sic semper tyrannis!" fled from the scene. Booth was later trapped in a barn and shot to death when he refused to surrender.

The President died of his wound the following morning, and the North was plunged into grief. Its gentle, wise and great leader was gone. Southerners, too, felt regret, realizing that Lincoln would have done all he could to help them in their terrible situation.

Under its new President, Andrew Johnson, the nation

stumbled forward, torn and wounded but re-dedicated to the principle of a federal government paramount over all the states.

Preface to Part Two

THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR marks the end of the first half of American history to date. In this period the nation's foundations were laid, and its general character of democratic individualism formed. America's economy, even in the increasingly industrial North of the mid-19th century, was still essentially agricultural, and commerce remained largely localized. The Western plains, tenanted by Indians and buffalo, continued to beckon the pioneer.

After 1865, the chronicle changes. Immigration swells into a great tide pouring into the country. Great cities arise. Industry develops and expands, spurred on by new inventions and rising population. Coal is mined and steel is produced, to provide power and material for growing industry. Oil is pumped from the earth by the millions of barrels, and railroads spread out like tentacles across the continent, linking the two coasts. Electricity is harnessed to provide light, power and instant communications.

As the vast resources of America are utilized, great fortunes are accumulated by shrewd exploiters and businessmen. Capital and labor come into intensified organized conflict, the entrepreneurs claiming a right to do as they like with their property, and the workers asserting their demands for better conditions and higher wages. Trying to keep pace in the stepped-up tempo are the small merchants and manufacturers, competing in a world of gigantic, unrestrained free enterprise.

America fills out her borders from the Atlantic to the Pacific, reaching a population of 76 million by 1900, more than double that of 1865. Even the continent is not enough to contain her; and for a time she is tempted to join in the imperialistic race with other first-rate powers by conquering territories beyond the seas.

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The Civil War, exhausting and bloody as it was, did not destroy America. Instead, it awakened the country to a new feeling of vitality, assured it of its greatness, bade it to go on to bigger and better accomplishments.

The modern age was at hand.

CHAPTER 7

Reconstruction and Free Enterprise

RASCALITY, MATERIALISM and idealism were blended into a "witch's brew" in the hectic American Reconstruction period of 1865-77.

The unexpected accession of Andrew Johnson, a Southerner, to the Presidency at the end of the Civil War, was bound to have explosive results. Neither North nor South liked this unfortunate Tennesseean who had remained loyal to the Union. Self-educated, a member of the Southern "poor-white" class, he was honest, tactless, and lacking in ability as a leader.

Two events which occurred during Johnson's administration were *not* the cause of bitter attacks against him. First, his Secretary of State, Seward, bought Alaska from the Tsar of Russia for a little over seven million dollars, a bargain for which 20th-century Americans can be grateful. And second, the government applied the Monroe Doctrine forcefully in ordering the French to remove themselves from Mexico, where they were trying to set up a puppet empire under the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian.

But when Johnson tried to carry out Lincoln's reconstruction plan, Congress rose wrathfully against him. The representatives sent to Washington by the newly formed Southern state governments were denied admittance because many of them had been high officials in the Confederacy and were therefore "traitors." Moreover, the new governments had passed laws restricting the Negroes' full

freedom and providing for "apprentice" systems dangerously approaching re-enslavement. Against Johnson's will, Congress appointed a fifteen-member committee to study these conditions in the South and to report back on the "proper" way to handle the seceded states.

By December, 1865, the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States and its territories, had been ratified, several Southern states joining in the final vote of approval. The Negro was now officially free, but he had yet to be granted full citizenship and the right to vote.

These rights were written into the Constitution in the 14th and 15th Amendments, providing full equality for the ex-slaves, while at the same time taking the vote away from a large number of Confederate leaders who had engaged in "insurrection or rebellion." When the 14th Amendment was submitted to the Southern states for ratification, all but Tennessee turned it down, and Congress passed the harsh Reconstruction Act of 1867 to force them into compliance. With the exception of Tennessee, the ex-Confederate States were divided into five military districts, each occupied by a Union Major General and sufficient troops to keep order. Negroes, working with whites, were to form a new government in each state, and upon ratification of the 14th Amendment, the states were to be readmitted to the Union.

The governments that arose under these conditions were far different from those of ante-bellum days. With the old planter and professional classes largely excluded, the state legislatures were composed of Negroes, few of whom could read or write, and backwoods farmers, equally illiterate. Although they made earnest efforts to cope with their problems, they were often dazzled by their precipitate rise to power. With little knowledge of how to handle money, the legislators voted extravagant sums for public improvements, salaries and personal comforts of all kinds.

Such waste of public funds was bound to attract shrewd politicians and grafters from all over the country, who saw a golden opportunity to share in the loot by "helping" the ignorant lawmakers with their appropriations. Those who came down from the North were called "carpetbaggers," because it was said that they threw all their worldly pos-

sessions into cheap suitcases made of carpet cloth and hastened to the scene. Unscrupulous Southerners with similar designs were known as "scalawags."

Not everyone connected with the movement for Negro freedom in the South was a scamp or scoundrel, however. School teachers volunteered their services to educate the liberated slaves and instruct them in their new responsibilities as American citizens. The Freedmen's Bureau, an agency created by Congress, did yeoman work in building homes for the Negroes, getting them jobs and starting them out on their own.

By 1870, all the Southern states were back in the Union, though troops still occupied them and bitterness ran high. The South, meanwhile, had found a way to counteract the political influence of the Negroes and to keep them away from the polls at election time. Through a terroristic organization known as the Ku Klux Klan the maintainers of "white supremacy" thrashed or lynched the ex-slaves until Negroes no longer dared to take part in public affairs. The same treatment was accorded to the white carpetbaggers and scalawags, who had done so much to aggravate conditions. Thereafter, for generations, the South voted solidly Democratic as an expression of its resentment over the Reconstruction policies of the North.

At the other end of the scale, the "radical" Republicans in Congress became so angry with President Johnson for trying to temper their program in the South that they brought impeachment proceedings against him. No President before or since has faced this ordeal of being tried for "high crimes or misdemeanors." To maneuver the President into a vulnerable position, Congress took away his power to remove cabinet officers at will, knowing that he intended to get rid of his enemy, Secretary of War Stanton. Johnson dismissed Stanton anyway and was brought to trial before the Senate, with Chief Justice Chase presiding. By a single vote, the Senate failed to get the two-thirds majority necessary for impeachment, and the man who had tried to steer a moderate course of reconstruction, following Lincoln's pattern, was allowed to finish out his single term, hated and reviled.

The Republicans' attitude towards the Negro and civil rights was characterized by two motives. First, many sin-

cere people with democratic ideals hated the idea of slavery and racial inequality existing in a nation supposedly dedicated to freedom for everyone. They were therefore determined to give the ex-slaves their due privileges as citizens, no matter how much temporary trouble and inconvenience resulted. The second motive was political and economic: Negro votes meant Republican votes and continued Republican domination over Democrats both in the North and the South. The Republicans had become the party not only of Abolitionists and reformers, but of Northern industrialists as well. The party had allied itself with industry in order to prosecute the war, and this new group of capitalists and promoters had no wish to see the agrarian Democrats, with their desire for low tariffs, return to Washington.

For the next sixteen years the Republicans succeeded in holding power. General Grant, the North's outstanding war hero, served two terms as a Republican President and was followed by Rutherford B. Hayes and James A. Garfield; then by Chester A. Arthur, who took over when Garfield was assassinated.

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It was a time of gigantic industrial expansion, especially in oil, steel and the railroads. Corporations fought each other savagely for business, the winners taking over the losers and forming huge, monopolistic enterprises called trusts. The corporations obtained some of their capital by selling stock to the public—thereby giving the American people a nominal share in their enterprises—but actual control remained with the directors. Some of these directors conducted their businesses honestly and for the public good, and some did not.

General Grant's abilities, it was soon apparent, were of a military nature only. He knew nothing of business or politics, and as President was bewildered and pathetic. Personally honest, he became an unwitting tool of carpetbaggers, dishonest politicians and financiers, who bribed high government officials and Congressmen to advance their interests.

Western railroad companies fared especially well. Congress subsidized them and gave them huge grants of land, in one case 47 million acres, alongside their tracks. The

railroads sold or leased the land to settlers, built towns and homes for them (at a price), and by so doing stimulated more freight and passenger business along their lines. More than this, leading railroad men like James J. Hill and E. H. Harriman developed their own farms, mines and industries on the land and became "empire builders," more powerful in their influence than the governors of the Western states.

The continent was first spanned by rail in 1869 when at Ogden, Utah, a golden spike joined the Union Pacific Railroad, building west from Omaha, to the Central Pacific, being laid east from Sacramento. This connection made it possible to carry passengers and freight by train from New York to San Francisco. The building of the first transcontinental railroad was an epic achievement, for the tracks had to be laid across deserts, over mountains, and through hostile Indian country, where there were no towns within hundreds of miles.

Worthy as the task was, a great scandal arose from it. The builders had formed a company called the Crédit Mobilier and voted themselves unduly large profits at the expense of the ordinary stockholder. Fearing that Congress would investigate, they succeeded in persuading key Congressmen, along with the Vice President of the United States, Schuyler Colfax, to accept gifts of stock in the company. When news of the bribe became known, many political reputations were ruined and honest men were shocked to discover corruption so rampant in the government.

Ability and ruthlessness, but not actual dishonesty, characterized some of the biggest industrialists of post-Civil War days. Andrew Carnegie, Scottish-born, became the "steel king" because he was the first to realize the importance of the large-scale production of steel. With capital amassed from shrewd investments, Carnegie opened a plant at Pittsburgh, convenient because it was in the heart of America's coal district, and coal is essential in the production of iron and steel. Iron ore was brought in from the Mesabi region at the western end of Lake Superior in Carnegie's own fleet of ships. The finished steel went out to the steel users of America on railroads owned or controlled by Carnegie, and in such huge quantities that com-

petition quailed before him, unable to match his low prices. Carnegie's interests were sold in 1901 to form an important part of the United States Steel Corporation—a business capitalized at nearly a billion and a half dollars, or more than the whole nation had been worth a hundred years before.

Another enterprising young man, John D. Rockefeller of Cleveland, Ohio, saw an opportunity in the oil business, which had started with the drilling of the first well in Pennsylvania in 1859. By hard work and ability, Rockefeller managed to pull ahead of the competition; then dealt it a stunning blow. Going to the railroads, Rockefeller demanded that they charge his Standard Oil Company less than its rivals for carrying oil, on pain of losing his patronage. The railroads yielded and agreed to pay him rebates or refunds on the regular rates. In vain did the competitors protest—the thirty-three-year old oil magnate had "cornered" or monopolized transportation facilities, and his desperate opponents were forced to sell out to him, swelling his empire to vast proportions.

Much the same tactics were used by other men in other industries, and everywhere the tendency was towards bigger and bigger combinations. The new meat-packing industry, which resulted from the invention of the railroad refrigerator car, was controlled principally by Gustavus Swift and P. D. Armour. There was a tobacco trust, a sugar trust, a whiskey trust, a rubber trust and a copper trust. A powerful money trust, headed by the great banking firm of J. P. Morgan, of Wall Street, New York, supplied loans and capital for many of these ventures.

While the businessmen reaped their fortunes, inventors were developing more products for the market and in many cases gaining wealth for themselves. The steamboat, locomotive, telegraph and reaper (which greatly accelerated farm output) had been invented earlier in the century. Now to the list were added the telephone, invented by Alexander Graham Bell, a Scottish-American, in 1876; and the electric light bulb and power plant, put into operation by Thomas A. Edison in 1882. The new uses of electricity, for lighting homes and cities, powering machinery and linking homes by telephone, created huge industries and vastly improved the nation's standard of living.

The effects of this industrial revolution on the American people were far-reaching. Avaricious as many of the industrialists were, they were also far-sighted and efficient, and a flood of goods was put on the market. No longer did rural families make their own clothes and furnishings, as they had done formerly in the age of self-sufficiency. For now, useful articles of every description awaited them just a day or so away by rail. The era of mass production was under way.

With industry booming and the industrial labor force increasing to meet the demand for workers, a period of soaring, continuous prosperity seemed to be indicated. But, as in Jackson's time, the country was outstripping its market in a fever of speculative expansion. The railroads had borrowed to the hilt from both American and foreign investors, and needed more to carry on their grandiose plans. When the bankers became alarmed and refused to extend more credit, the whole economic structure of the nation came tumbling down in the Panic of 1873. A five-year depression, with wide unemployment, followed. Although the country prospered throughout the 1880's, it suffered another severe crash in the '90's.

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The Panic of '73 occurred just as President Grant was starting his second term in the White House. Grant's inability to halt corruption in high places during his first term had alienated many members of his own party, who bolted to form the Liberal Republicans. Together with a large group of Democrats, they had nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, on a reform platform; but Greeley made an unimpressive candidate, and Grant was re-elected easily.

Increasing scandals, coupled with hard financial times, however, nearly cost the Republicans the election of 1876. Bowing to public pressure for a candidate of sterling integrity, they named General Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio. The Democrats countered with an equally impressive nominee, Governor Samuel Tilden of New York. Tilden had won fame as a reformer of machine politics in New York, and promised that he would "clean house" on a national scale if elected.

The most exciting thing about the election was its aftermath, which produced a wild and unexpected finish. Tilden polled 250,000 more votes than his opponent. He was also ahead in electoral votes, except for the fact that three Southern states, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, had sent in double sets of returns, occasioned by disputes in the carpetbag governments. Hayes claimed all three states and was finally awarded them, and the election, just before Inauguration Day. For a time it looked as if the nation would be without a President after Grant's term expired.

The Hayes administration is generally conceded to have been one of the cleanest and fairest in American history, but it won no plaudits for the Ohioan at the time. He was in trouble with his own party from the start for withdrawing the last Federal occupation troops from the South, thereby losing more states to the Democrats. Moreover, he dedicated himself to reforming the Federal civil service, which was filled with corrupt party politicians awarded jobs for delivering votes on election day. The Department of Interior, which managed Indian affairs, was found to be run by a group of especially vicious profiteers who shamefully cheated the helpless Indians out of their lands and privileges. When Hayes thoroughly overhauled the Department, he was cursed for his lack of party loyalty and denied the chance to run for a second term.

Even so, the reform movement in the "G. O. P." ("Grand Old Party"—the nickname subsequently given to the Republicans) was growing. In the convention of 1880, the Party divided into two groups, the "stalwarts," who wanted a return to the Grant era of carpetbagging and political patronage, and the "halfbreeds," who stood for civil service reform. The "halfbreed" candidate, General James A. Garfield, finally won the nomination, and defeated the Democratic candidate, General Winfield Hancock, in the national election.

Soon after taking office, Garfield was killed by a disappointed office-seeker, and Vice President Chester A. Arthur succeeded him. Arthur, a former "stalwart," provided a good administration, placing civil service jobs on a merit basis. Like Hayes before him, he was denounced by the party leaders for his "perfidy" and was not nominated for a second term.

James G. Blaine, former Speaker of the House and Secretary of State, was the Republican standard-bearer in 1884. Dynamic and colorful, Blaine was one of the G. O. P.'s most popular leaders, but he had been implicated in some of the scandals of the Grant administrations. For this reason, his party had previously feared to run him as a candidate. Against Blaine, the Democrats pitted Governor Grover Cleveland of New York who, like Samuel Tilden, had an excellent reputation as an upright and fearless administrator.

Once again the Republican reform element repudiated the Party's candidate and sought a liaison with the Democrats. Rallying to Cleveland, the reformers threw him enough support to put the Democrats back in the White House for the first time since the Civil War. Victory in the very close race was partly attributed to an undiplomatic remark of a clergyman supporting Blaine, who referred to the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." The insinuation deeply angered Catholic voters, who turned on Blaine when he failed to repudiate it.

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During the period of Republican rule just described, and for many years following, "big business" continued to roll forward contributing to the material progress of the nation while pocketing vast profits for itself—offering opportunities to get rich to able businessmen of all classes and stations—leading the country to dizzy heights of prosperity and dumping it into a long, fierce depression—building America into a modern industrial giant. "Big business" had a destiny in the 1870's and '80's that nothing or no one could hold back, certainly not the United States Government, which encouraged its growth. But the changes it wrought were bound to affect the people profoundly and to make them react, favorably or unfavorably, to its impact.

For a number of years, American labor had attempted to organize into protective associations and unions to gain better working conditions and wages from the captains of industry. Generally speaking, the workers had to toil hard and long for their paychecks, usually in crowded, poorly ventilated factories or mines. To struggle for improved working conditions was only natural.

The first labor organization to achieve national prominence was the Knights of Labor. Founded in 1869, it was open to all workers from every trade, and was therefore of the "industrial" type. The Knights demanded an eight-hour day, abolition of child labor and a program of public ownership of utilities. At its peak in the 1880's, the organization numbered over 700,000 members, but its failure to call effective strikes, its tendency to make demands that seemed radical even to many workers, and its inherent organizational weaknesses finally doomed it to failure.

An immigrant cigar-maker, Samuel Gompers, had more success. By uniting the various craft unions which were coming into existence into one big federation, Gompers secured a voice for the workingman which continues to be heard to this day—through the American Federation of Labor. Its objectives were more practical and conservative than those of the Knights of Labor. Dedicated solely to principles of trade unionism, the A. F. of L. avoided radical proposals, endorsed the capitalistic system, and strove only for better wages and hours and the right to bargain collectively with employers.

Labor was not the only element in American society that dared to challenge "big business." Along the Western frontier, men rose in protest against business malpractices at their expense.

Under the Homestead Act of 1862, the government had encouraged Western settlement by offering any pioneer free possession of one hundred and sixty acres of land after he had farmed it for five years. It looked like a dazzling gift—until the railroads and the trust combinations moved in. The new Western farmer or businessman, trying to ship his goods along the roads, then found himself competing hopelessly with the big producers, who had forced the railroads to allow them lower rates. The privations of the pioneers were no longer caused so much by bloodthirsty Indians as by their own kinsmen in stovepipe hats and swallowtail coats.

During the 1870's, a farm organization called the Grange arose and fought the railroad interests tooth and nail for reduction of excessive freight rates and an end to rebates and discrimination. Numbering close to two million members, the Grangers sought political action from the state

legislatures and succeeded in getting several regulatory laws on the statute books. Actually, they gained little, for the states could regulate commerce only locally, within their own borders. The regulation of interstate commerce was a Federal matter, which was not taken up until 1887, when some of the railroads' abuses were stopped through the Interstate Commerce Act.

Another cause of dissension in the West was the problem of money deflation. The East, led by its banking interests, wanted a "sound" currency, backed by gold—one that would keep the national credit high. It wanted the excess of "greenback" paper money issued during the Civil War called in and destroyed.

Westerners owed the East money; they had borrowed it to start their farms and businesses during a period of deflation. If they could repay their debts in inflated paper money, which was plentiful and had little purchasing power, their burden would not be so hard to bear. But if they had to repay in the far more valuable gold-backed money, their economic privations would be extreme.

Casting about for some way to keep money "cheap," the West came up with what it considered a good solution. In former times, United States currency had been based on silver as well as gold, sixteen ounces of silver being considered equal to one of gold. However, it was hard to maintain the ratio between the metals and keep them interchangeable, because their commercial values fluctuated. When the value of one rose, it was quickly taken out of circulation and sold to merchants and jewelers at a higher price than the government would pay. This happened in 1873, when silver was so scarce and commercially valuable that it disappeared from circulation. The Treasury then stopped coining it and used gold exclusively.

Shortly afterwards, vast silver mines were suddenly discovered in the West, and the price of the metal fell heavily in relation to gold. The mine owners now clamored for resumption of silver coinage at the old sixteen-to-one ratio, hoping to enrich themselves by exchanging cheap silver for costly gold. Joining with them in the outcry were the Western farmers, who wanted to see silver put into circulation and made the basis for cheap and inflationary paper money—the "right" kind for paying back their debts.

During the Hayes Administration, Congress heeded the pleas of the "silverites" by authorizing purchase of two to four million dollars worth a year. And again in 1890, under the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, the West's demands for more and more coinage of the metal were heeded. But as predicted, gold was hoarded and driven out of circulation, and Congress had to repeal the Sherman Act to keep gold from vanishing altogether.

By the 1890's, the free silver issue had become the biggest problem facing the American people, dividing East and West as slavery had divided North and South thirty years before. In addition to becoming a sectional struggle, it was to take on the nature of a do-or-die fight between agrarianism and industrialism, between debtor and creditor, between the "little man" and "big business." Through the free silver question, in short, American industrial development on a large scale was to be challenged by the millions of people who considered themselves, rightly or wrongly, to be its victims.

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The Democratic party ruled the nation only from 1884-8 and from 1892-6. Grover Cleveland served both Democratic administrations, being the only American President to date who has been defeated by the opposition party after one term and then has come back to win again four years later.

Cleveland was a strong and capable executive who did what he thought was right, rather than aiming to please. He thought it was right to appoint two able Southerners to his Cabinet and to restore some captured Confederate battle flags to the Southern States, which brought an outcry from Republicans. He reappointed a capable Republican to a high-paying civil service job, which antagonized Democrats. He insisted on limiting the pensions for Civil War veterans to those who deserved them, and thus alienated the politically powerful veterans' organizations. And he repudiated part of his party's platform by urging that purchase of silver be stopped.

The biggest problem facing Cleveland in his first administration was what to do with a large revenue surplus that had accumulated in the Treasury as a result of a pros-

perity wave. One way to dissolve it was to pay off part of the national debt, but much of the currency in circulation was based on government bonds; therefore, any redemption of bonds would necessitate a corresponding cut in currency, and deflation at the time did not seem wise. Another way was to spend the surplus on internal improvements, which Cleveland, a traditional Democrat, did not favor. The best way to reduce the surplus, he decided, was to cut government revenues by reducing the high protective tariff, which was favored by manufacturers.

Despite all his efforts, Cleveland was unable to get the tariff lowered, and the issue cost him the Presidency in the election of 1888. His argument that the tariff cost the American people money by keeping the price of domestic manufactured goods too high was countered by Republican claims that the people owed their high wages and jobs to the duties: for they protected American industry from foreign competition and enabled it to run at full capacity. The popular vote in 1888 favored Cleveland, but the all-important electoral count went to the Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, grandson of President William Henry Harrison.

Back in power, the Republicans raised the tariff still higher and spent the increased revenues on war pensions, public works and a strong navy. But these measures did not serve to prevent a new downswing in the nation's "boom and bust" economy as the gold supply, on which its credit was based, dwindled. With banks failing, corporation stocks falling and mortgages foreclosing, the people turned to Grover Cleveland in 1892.

Significantly, in this election a third political party appeared on the scene and threw a scare into both Republicans and Democrats by polling over a million votes. Its members were the malcontents, Western farmers and debtors, who called themselves the People's Party, or Populists. Running General James B. Weaver of Iowa on a platform of free silver, overhaul of the National Bank system, and government ownership of railroads and utilities, they carried the four states of Kansas, Idaho, Colorado and Nevada. Neither of the major parties, the Populists asserted, catered to the true wishes of the people.

President Cleveland struggled manfully to get the nation

back on what he considered to be a sound basis in the years 1892-6. No particular friend of Wall Street, he nevertheless called on J. P. Morgan and other bankers to supply gold to the Treasury in return for government bonds at a discount. The transaction brought down the wrath of the Populists, and of a growing number of Democrats, on Cleveland, who was branded as a slave and tool of Wall Street.

To the now thoroughly aroused farmers and laborers of the country, it seemed as if every action of the government was designed to aid the trusts and corporations at the expense of the plain people. In a series of decisions by the Federal courts, the intent seemed obvious. For example, it was ruled that under the 14th Amendment, which provides that "(no) state (shall) deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law," *corporations* were to be considered as *persons,* and were therefore not to be regulated by the states without Federal sanction and approval. This, it was argued, gave the corporations virtually unlimited power, since the Federal government had never shown any serious intention of restraining them.

The election of 1896 finally brought matters to a climax. Cleveland and the moderate Democrats were apparently unable to save the country from bankruptcy. Meeting at St. Louis, the Republicans pointed gleefully to their opponents' record and nominated Governor William McKinley of Ohio as their candidate on a platform of sound money that would be based on gold only, at least until conditions changed. They charged that cheap silver had debased the nation's currency and credit at home and abroad, making it impossible for business to function properly. Once the condition was remedied, the country would roll forward to prosperity, the Republicans declared.

The Democrats met in Chicago and amid tumultuous excitement repudiated the Cleveland administration and its attempts to maintain the gold standard. A plank endorsing unlimited coinage of silver at the sixteen-to-one ratio was adopted, and delegate after delegate stormed against the Wall Street corporations and trusts which were grinding down the "little man"—the shopkeeper, farmer and factory wage-earner. A leader in the crusade against the big interests was found in thirty-six-year old William Jen-

nings Bryan, Congressman from Nebraska, whose youth and inexperience were offset by his burning fervor and magnificent gift of oratory. In a stirring speech that won him the nomination, Bryan warned his Republican adversaries: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The campaign that followed was perhaps the most colorful and intense ever waged in American history. The Populist party speedily lined up with the Democrats, and the "solid South" pledged its Democratic vote. Bryan stumped the country, his speeches glittering like the silver he advocated.

The Republicans toiled mightily to offset the Bryan spellbinding, throwing millions of dollars into the campaign, for this was a fight they could not afford to lose. McKinley, who was genial, able and experienced, was capably managed by the businessman Mark "Dollar Mark" Hanna, who hired 18,000 speakers during the last week of the campaign to warn of the "menace" of Bryanism confronting the nation.

On election day, over thirteen million voters went to the polls. McKinley triumphed, roughly by a count of seven million to six million. It had been an epic struggle, bitterly fought and close at the finish.

The East heaved a sigh of relief and went back to its stores and factories to work. The West shrugged its shoulders and resumed plowing. But the campaign of 1896 was not forgotten: the spirit of protest had made a strong and mighty showing, one that the victors in the battle could not fail to heed. The voice of the "little man," far from stilled, was to be heard again and again in future years as the democratic pattern of America unfolded.

CHAPTER 8

America Becomes a World Power

HORSES NEIGHED WITH FRIGHT and people stared in amazement at the new contraptions called "horseless carriages" that started chugging through American streets in the 1890's. Slow-moving and clumsy, they were considered mere playthings for the few rich people who could afford them. No one dreamed that in years to come sleek, glass-enclosed automobiles would be rolling off the assembly lines by the millions every year, that one American in every four would own one, that a network of paved highways would cross the continent, that cities would spread out into far-flung suburbs, or that the most isolated farmers would be only a few hours away from town by car. America was to become a "nation on wheels."

Other amazing developments occurred, too, at the turn of the century. At Kittyhawk, North Carolina, the Wright brothers fulfilled one of man's most ancient dreams of rising off the ground in a strange device later called the airplane. Within a few years, airplanes were battling each other in the skies over war-torn Europe, and not long after were carrying passengers across the oceans to all parts of the world.

A young Italian named Guglielmo Marconi sent wireless messages across the Atlantic from Europe to America, and radio was born. Thomas Edison perfected a rapid photography process that gave movies to the nation and the world. The elevator was developed, and with it the skyscrapers that rose in the big cities. These and hundreds of other inventions (many by Americans and many not) modernized the United States after 1900 and gave it the look it wears today.

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The expansion of the United States into a great world power was as inevitable as it was sudden. Americans have a restless energy, perhaps acquired from settling their vast slice of the North American continent and developing it into a great, productive nation. Even before the Western frontier closed in the 1890's, this spirit drove them to enterprises beyond their own borders—to opening up Japan to world trade in 1853, for example, and to protecting their neighbors in the Western Hemisphere through the Monroe Doctrine.

Towards the end of the last century, a great competition for trade in world markets occupied the principal nations of Europe, and the United States entered the race. Unlike Europe, however, America was not seeking new lands to colonize so much as island coaling stations at which her ships could refuel on their way to and from the markets of Asia and Australia. At the same time, the United States was becoming increasingly worried over foreign influence in the Caribbean Sea, where France was trying to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama to link the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Americans conscious of the country's position in world affairs were beginning to ask: "Are we going to let Europe expand in our own Hemisphere and in the Pacific while we stand idly by? Are we safe in surrendering control of the seas to militant powers who may some day be our enemies?"

These questions were brought to a head by the Spanish Empire, weak and tottering in its old age. Spain still held Cuba, the largest, richest island in the West Indies, lying ninety-five miles off the tip of Florida. Here in 1895 began a chain of events that catapulted the United States into a world "empire" before her people could catch their breaths.

Spanish rule in Cuba had been harsh—too harsh for the natives, who rose in a desperate insurrection. An army of 200,000 Spaniards poured into the island and a savagely cruel war was fought by both sides. Caught up in the affray were a sizable number of American planters.

President McKinley attempted to halt the bloodshed for both moral and financial reasons, but was curtly told by

Spain to mind his own business. Indignation was fanned to the boiling point by the American "yellow press," a new kind of journalism featuring "sensational" stories topped by huge headlines. When the papers announced that the U. S. battleship *Maine* had been destroyed in Havana harbor with a loss of two hundred and sixty American sailors, the country furiously demanded war. Just who destroyed the *Maine,* or how it was done, or whether it was an accidental internal explosion, remains a mystery to this day.

At the last moment, Spain tried to avert the conflict by yielding to American demands for an armistice in Cuba. The concessions were ignored, however, and with cries of "Remember the *Maine*!" the American people embarked on a crusade to liberate the Cubans from their tyrannical masters and give them independence.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 was surprisingly swift and one-sided. In the first engagement, an American fleet under Admiral George Dewey left the British naval base at Hong Kong, China, steamed down to the Spanish-owned Philippine Islands and utterly destroyed a Spanish fleet at Manila, without losing a single man. The Philippines lay helpless and unprotected under American guns, awaiting the arrival of an expeditionary force from the United States.

In the Western Hemisphere, American troops moved into Cuba and defeated the Spanish in a rapid series of battles. At San Juan Hill, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of New York, a promising young politician, led a gallant and successful charge of the famous Rough Riders against the enemy. Spanish resistance ended a few weeks later when another fleet was completely smashed by the Americans off Santiago, Cuba. All in all, the war had taken only three months, Spain's islands in the Caribbean were in American hands, and the Stars and Stripes waved over far-off Manila.

At the peace table, the United States government had to make a fateful decision. Should it hand Spain's possessions, with the exception of liberated Cuba, back to her? Or should it take them over as colonies and run them on an imperialistic basis? The contest was hotly waged; many Americans argued that the nation was violating fundamental principles in annexing far-off lands that would pre-

sumably never be freed or become states. Others believed that expansion and acquisition of colonies were part of the country's "manifest destiny" as a world power, or that it would be cruel to turn the helpless natives back to the tender mercies of Spain. President McKinley decided not to hand the colonies back.

As a result, Spain was forced to cede Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines to the United States and, under the Platt Amendment (1901), Cuba was established as a republic under American protection. In addition, the United States annexed Hawaii, which had been colonized by American missionaries and traders many years before, and made it a territory in 1900.

By far the largest possession in America's new "empire" was the Philippines, with a population of seven and a half million. Under their leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipinos had fought for freedom from Spain. Now their efforts were directed against their new masters, and a long-drawn-out war followed, featured by bitter guerrilla fighting in the jungles and mountains. Over fifty thousand American troops had to be sent to the Islands before the Philippine insurrection was finally quelled.

Moreover, the United States soon found itself embroiled in trouble in China. That unhappy nation had been carved up into "spheres of influence" for commercial exploitation by several European powers, and in a burst of resentment an organization of the Chinese people called "Boxers" attempted to murder or expel all foreigners. In the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the Chinese besieged the British legation in Peking and were finally driven off by an international army including American troops from the Philippines. The United States proved to be a greater friend of China than the other powers, however; for when the Chinese government was forced to pay an indemnity for permitting the Boxer uprising, the United States devoted its share of the money to the education of Chinese students in American colleges. Moreover, the United States used its influence to promote what was called the "Open Door" policy. It urged that dismemberment of China be stopped, and that "Chinese territorial and administrative entity" be respected.

* * *

Domestically, the United States was brimming over with prosperity in 1900. Production of coal, iron, steel and grain was soaring, exports far exceeded imports, and the discovery of large amounts of gold in Alaska stabilized the currency. Under these circumstances, President McKinley had little trouble in winning re-election over William Jennings Bryan, who was again the Democratic candidate. "Big business" was carrying the country foward in a great surge.

McKinley's running mate in 1900 was Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of San Juan Hill and one of the most colorful figures in American history. Born of well-to-do parents, "Teddy" Roosevelt graduated from Harvard, spent several years as a Western cowboy to improve his feeble health, and after the Spanish-American War was elected Governor of New York. There his record of honesty and reform so displeased Republican politicians and businessmen that they succeeded in getting him elevated or "kicked upstairs" to the Vice Presidency, where they thought he could do them no more harm.

The strategy soon boomeranged. An assassin's bullet cut down President McKinley after only six months of his second term, and forty-two-year old Roosevelt took over the nation's helm. A real man of action, he immediately called for regulation of "big business," a vigorous foreign policy, and conservation and reclamation of the Western lands, which were in danger of being despoiled. This new program, aimed at benefiting all classes of society, was called the "square deal."

Roosevelt was not opposed to the trusts and corporations as such; he believed that they were a natural and necessary part of the American capitalistic system. His targets were the lawbreakers, the "criminal rich" and "malefactors of great wealth" who bribed and cheated to gain their ends and acted against the public interest.

That Roosevelt was in earnest became apparent soon after he took office. In 1890 Congress had passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, forbidding combinations "in restraint of trade." Far from restraining business combinations, however, the Sherman Act helped business to re-

strain others, because it was interpreted to mean that labor had no right to strike. Roosevelt, however, took a different view.

When the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads formed a combination bringing a major portion of the railway mileage in the West under one control, Roosevelt invoked the Sherman Act and brought suit in the courts to have the monopoly dissolved. The government won the case, to the delight of the public. For the time being, the Sherman Act proved to have teeth.

In the summer of 1902 the nation's coal miners struck for better conditions and the mine owners refused to arbitrate. As winter came on, the coal supply dwindled and the public suffered from high prices and from cold noses and feet. Roosevelt attacked the owners, threatening to run the mines with Federal troops unless they agreed to let an impartial commission arbitrate their differences with the union. Finally the angry owners yielded, mining was resumed and the commission voted a ten per cent wage increase to the workers.

In the West, Roosevelt opposed the special interests again, this time by withdrawing vast tracts of public lands from sale and placing them under government protection —an action that Western lumbermen and cattlemen bitterly opposed. The measure was taken to save the country's natural resources from exploiters who had already wastefully cut down forests and ruined large cattle-grazing areas with no thought of restoring them. At the same time, Roosevelt furthered the construction of dams and irrigation projects to make useless desert land fertile.

The vigor shown by Roosevelt in the country's internal affairs was no less energetically applied to foreign policy. Anti-imperialists denounced his actions as rash and undiplomatic, and his motto, "Speak softly and carry a big stick" was cited as evidence of his duplicity. Nevertheless, Roosevelt became an outstanding world figure, and his prestige and influence abroad were immense.

With America's interests now extending across the Pacific, the need for an isthmian canal became imperative. The French effort to build one had failed, and ships from Europe and America's East Coast still had to sail all the way around the tip of South America to get to the Orient.

In 1902, Congress voted to construct a canal, preferably through Panama, a province of Colombia or, failing that, across Nicaragua. The French persuaded Roosevelt to buy their bogged-down company and equipment, so that he was free to proceed with the Panama route if he could get Colombia to renew the franchise.

Colombia, however, was dissatisfied with Roosevelt's offer of ten million dollars and a yearly rental in return for a narrow land strip across the fifty-mile wide Panama Isthmus. The South American republic deemed the price too low for so valuable a concession. But in rejecting the offer, Colombia lost Panama altogether, for a carefully planned revolution broke out there, and as American warships happened to be standing by, the revolution was not suppressed. In this mysterious manner the United States came to deal with the new Republic of Panama, paid the new government what it had offered to Colombia, and proceeded to build the Panama Canal, one of the greatest engineering feats of all time.

Such unorthodox tactics can be deplored as unfair, or condoned because they seemed necessarily to foil an attempted holdup and reach a great goal. Good or bad, they increased the distrust of America among her smaller neighbors to the south, who feared a further extension of American influence. These suspicions were partly realized when President Roosevelt proclaimed his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

Several Latin and South American nations had borrowed money from Europe for internal improvements. For various reasons, they failed to pay it back, and foreign naval forces arrived in their ports to make collections. To prevent these incidents and forestall possible foreign occupation of the bankrupt countries, Roosevelt announced that henceforth the United States would collect all such debts and would so manage its defaulting neighbors' internal affairs that they would become financially sound. This extension of the Monroe Doctrine, which had not previously provided for active American intervention of this sort, was resented by the Latin Americans, but it brought peace and stability to the Western Hemisphere.

"Teddy" Roosevelt's popularity was riding a high crest in the presidential election year of 1904, so that he was

easily elected over the conservative Democratic nominee, Alton Parker. Roosevelt's second term was marked in the field of foreign policy by his successes in bringing the Russo-Japanese War to an end (the treaty was signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire) and in helping to prevent a war between France and Germany over a dispute in Morocco. At home, Roosevelt continued his "trust-busting" policy and secured more legislation regulating the railroads.

An air of reform was everywhere present. A group of writers called "muckrakers" exposed unsanitary conditions in the meat-packing and food industries, and Congress passed laws to stop these abuses. In the West, a growing movement to give women the right to vote and to have United States Senators elected directly by the people rather than by the "big business"-controlled state legislatures took shape. Later a champion of these causes, Theodore Roosevelt could have been re-elected President in 1908 had he so wished. But "Teddy" had pledged himself not to run for a third term, and his hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft, rolled into office over the often-defeated William Jennings Bryan.

* * *

After the super-energetic Roosevelt, almost any President, no matter how able, was bound to seem weak and ineffective by comparison. Such was the fate of the genial and corpulent Taft, who had had a distinguished legal and political career, but who could not "sell" himself to the people. Taft continued Roosevelt's policies, prosecuting the trusts with renewed vigor, but forces beyond his control had been unleashed. The Republican Party was splitting into two factions. One group, the liberal "insurgents," favored all of Roosevelt's domestic program and demanded that it be accelerated—that the tariff be re-reduced immediately, that laws favorable to labor be passed, and that an income tax be levied against the rich. The other faction was the conservative "stand-patters," who had always distrusted Roosevelt and hoped to return the nation to "big business" rule.

As President Taft pushed stolidly along, the G. O. P.

liberals became impatient, and accused him of being a reactionary. When he failed to get the tariff lowered, and replaced some of Roosevelt's key henchmen with "stand-patters," the insurgents rebelled against the Administration and formed the National Republican Progressive League under Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin.

As Governor of that state, "Fighting Bob" LaFollette had defined Progressive principles and put them into action. Insofar as possible, railroads and businesses were regulated in the public interest, the rights of the workingman were protected, and there was a state income tax. But more than this, Progressivism encouraged popular rule by the voters, giving them control of their state legislatures. In what was called the *initiative,* a group of citizens could petition for laws they wanted and compel the legislature to take action. In the *referendum,* the voters had the chance to approve or reject measures already passed. In the *recall,* officials could be removed from their jobs on petition of a sufficient number of citizens. And in the *direct primary,* the voters chose their own delegates to the national political conventions, rather than leaving the choice to political bosses. These extensions of popular rule, then, were the basic core of the program which the Progressives sought to incorporate into the Republican Party.

While the Progressive movement was gaining momentum Theodore Roosevelt returned to America after a long hunting trip in Africa and a speaking tour of Europe. Asked where his political sympathies lay, with his friend Taft or with the Progressives, Roosevelt came out for the latter. To the dismay of LaFollette, who considered Roosevelt no more liberal than Taft, the Progressives swung their allegiance to the ex-President and went to the Republican convention of 1912 determined to nominate him for a third term.

Roosevelt and Taft, once close friends, were now bitter enemies as they contended for the nomination. Against the great popularity and magnetism of Roosevelt, Taft pitted the party political machinery, and shoved through to victory on the first ballot. Enraged at the proceedings, Roosevelt left the convention hall promising to start a third party. The G. O. P. was as neatly split as the Democrats had been in 1860.

Two months later, the Roosevelt followers re-assembled, and in a fervent display of loyalty and enthusiasm named their beloved leader the candidate of the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party. To those who reminded him of his pledge not to run for office again, Roosevelt replied that he had merely meant not for more than two terms in succession. The platform of the Progressives called for popular rule such as LaFollette had instituted in Wisconsin, for direct election of Senators, regulation of trusts, and a vigorous conservation program.

Democrats the country over rejoiced over the Republican cleavage. Here was the coveted chance to get back into power for the first time in twenty years. Should Bryan be allowed to carry the standard again? The great orator had lost too often. Meeting in Baltimore, the convention see-sawed back and forth between Speaker of the House Champ Clark and Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey. On the forty-sixth ballot, with Bryan's support, Wilson was nominated.

The new Democratic candidate, a Virginian by birth, had graduated from Princeton and had been a college professor and President there before becoming New Jersey's Governor. A scholar and idealist, he opposed the stranglehold of "big business" and the trusts, as did the Progressives. "The government of the United States is a foster child of the special interests. It is not allowed to have a will of its own," he declared vehemently, promising a thorough reorganization. Thus the hopes of Roosevelt men that liberal Democrats would vote Progressive were dashed, and Wilson ran away with the national election in November. Wilson got a little over six million votes; Roosevelt, a little over four million; Taft, three and a half million; and Eugene V. Debs, Socialist, nearly one million.

Americans who feared that their new "college professor" President would be powerless to manage the political hurly-burly in Congress were in for a surprise. Wilson was not a "man of the people," but he had a strong mind of his own, and his campaign promises as outlined in a series of speeches published under the title "The New Freedom" were carried out with alacrity.

Calling Congress into special session soon after his inauguration, Wilson told the lawmakers: "The tariff duties

must be altered. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege." In response, the House and Senate passed the Underwood tariff, the first real downward revision in fifty years, giving foreign manufacturers a chance to compete in the American market at lower prices. To make up for the loss in revenues, the President pushed through an income tax, made possible by the 16th Constitutional Amendment ratified by the states at the end of the Taft administration.

Three months later the 17th Amendment, providing for direct election of United States Senators by the people, was also ratified. Fitting in with the new liberalism sweeping the nation, it dealt a hard blow to lobbyists and politicians who had formerly supervised the choice of Senators in the state legislatures.

Wilson's next step was to revise the nation's outworn banking system, under which the private banking interests controlled most of the credit. "Control," the President said, "must be public, not private, must be vested in the government itself, so that banks may be the instruments, not the masters of business and of individual enterprise and initiative." Under the Federal Reserve Act, the country was divided into twelve districts, each having a main bank with power to issue and regulate currency as required by business conditions. Capital was subscribed by national banks, which became members, and the whole system was carefully supervised by a central Federal Reserve Board in Washington consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, Comptroller of the Currency and six Presidential appointees. The new banking system provided a more elastic currency and has become a permanent part of the country's machinery for regulating the amount and value of money in the United States.

A steady stream of legislation beneficial to the "little man" continued to flow from Congress at the President's request. The Clayton Anti-Trust act recognized the right of labor to strike and limited the right of businessmen to be members of each other's boards of directors—the old practice of "interlocking directorates" which had led to big consolidations. The Federal Trade Commission was set up to investigate unfair business practices and recommend corrective action. Farmers were given Federal land banks

from which they could borrow at a low rate of interest. Merchant seamen were provided with higher wages and better conditions.

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"It would be the irony of fate if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs," Wilson once remarked. The President was an expert on American Constitutional history but lacked experience in international diplomacy. It was indeed ironical that Wilson was to serve his country during a great world upheaval.

A revolution in Mexico plagued the President first. The tyrant Huerta seized the government and held it firmly against his adversary, General Carranza. The governments of Europe, which had many investments in Mexico, recognized the Huerta government because it had restored law and order; the United States was asked to do the same, to assure Mexico's stability.

But the idealistic Wilson was shocked by Huerta's ruthless tactics and demanded that he resign. Incident piled on incident until an American force seized the port of Vera Cruz. Huerta then abdicated in favor of Carranza. But the seizure of Vera Cruz shocked and frightened the smaller nations of the Western Hemisphere.

The new government struggled to hold Mexico together, aided by American arms and supplies. This infuriated Carranza's new antagonist, Pancho Villa, who assembled a daring force of raiders and with the cry "Death to Americans!" crossed the border onto American soil and massacred a number of soldiers and civilians. The United States chased Villa through Mexico for months without being able to catch him, and the hunt was finally abandoned.

Troublesome as the Mexican question may have been, it was a mere storm in a teacup compared with the difficulties Wilson faced in Europe. In August, 1914, powerful Germany, claiming that France, England and Russia were hemming her in on the European continent and blocking her expansion movements throughout the rest of the world, erupted with her ally, Austria-Hungary in a mighty drive to upset the "balance of power." The immediate cause of World War I was the assassination of the heir to the Aus-

trian throne by a Serbian patriot. Austria punished Serbia, Russia came to the defense of her fellow-Slavs in the Balkans, and Germany sided with Austria. Thus the battle was joined. Italy came in with England and France on the side of Russia; Turkey and Bulgaria sided with the Central Powers. The United States, acting under the "hands off Europe" policy of the Monroe Doctrine, declared its neutrality.

The Germans had all the best of it in the beginning, smashing through helpless little Belgium and down almost to the gates of Paris, where they were finally checked. Most of the American people, reading in their newspapers of the gallant defense put up by the Allies against haughty Kaiser Wilhelm's military machine, sympathized with the French and British, with whom they felt a closer bond from the past.

As in the Napoleonic Wars, the belligerents proclaimed blockades of each other's ports and started seizing neutral American ships carrying munitions and food into the war zones. But whereas the British navy, which held control of the seas, merely confiscated vessels bound for her enemy, without destroying them, Germany resorted to submarine warfare. U-boats rose silently from below the ocean surface, shot torpedoes into their prey, and crept off, leaving crewmen and passengers to die where they had been struck.

What angered Americans as much as the destruction of their own ships, relatively few of which were hit, was the loss of American lives on foreign passenger liners like England's *Lusitania*. This proud queen of the seas was sent to the bottom with twelve hundred and fifty men, women and children, of whom one hundred and fourteen were Americans. The Germans expressed regret for the torpedoing, but pointed out that besides passengers the *Lusitania* was also carrying ammunition for the Allies.

Again and again, President Wilson protested to Germany against submarine warfare, to be answered only by vague apologies and more provocations. The Germans deeply resented the fact that America was keeping the Allies alive by extending big loans with which to buy food and military equipment, while the Central Powers were able to obtain only a trickle of supplies from the United States through neutral Scandinavian ports. As Germany

struck harder at sea, American public opinion against her rose correspondingly. Nevertheless, in 1916, Wilson was re-elected President over Charles Evans Hughes on the slogan, "He kept us out of war."

But the United States was not destined to keep aloof much longer. German attempts to incite Mexico and Japan to attack America if she entered the war were revealed, together with proof of espionage and sabotage of American war plants. When the Germans announced a new policy of unrestricted submarine warfare to bring England to her knees, President Wilson asked Congress to act, and Congress declared war on April 6, 1917.

Behind these more immediate reasons for intervening was a growing conviction on the part of the President that the war had become a struggle for survival by the world's democratic nations against an aggressive and militaristic autocracy, represented by the Central Powers. America's role in world affairs, Wilson decided, was to help the democracies to win a victory without conquest or hate, and then to form a *League of Nations* embracing victors and vanquished alike in a democratic world brotherhood. Under such a federation, the underlying causes of all wars —nationalism, imperialism, the "balance of power" through systems of alliances—would be forever eliminated. This was the basis of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" which he proposed as an outline of possible terms of peace in 1918.

Inspired by these high ideals, the United States entered the First World War on the side of the Allies, now hard-pressed because Russia was withdrawing in defeat. President Wilson was given sweeping powers to mobilize labor and industry for an all-out production drive, and both co-operated, the manufacturers accepting price regulations and other controls, and the unions foregoing the right to strike—at least unofficially.

Though America could offer her allies multi-billion dollar loans and shiploads of supplies, especially food, her contribution of fighting men presented more of a problem. The army was small and the task of raising, training and transporting sizable forces to a battlefront three thousand miles away seemed almost insurmountable. Yet this, too, was done with almost incredible speed and energy. Americans of German and Austro-Hungarian descent submitted

calmly to the draft along with their fellow-citizens. Within a year the American Expeditionary Force in France, commanded by General John J. Pershing, numbered nearly 700,000 men; six months later the figure stood at 2 million.

Amazed at the suddenness with which America was mobilizing, the Central Powers launched an all-out offensive in the spring of 1918 to try to end the war quickly. The Allied Supreme Commander, Marshal Foch of France, added American troops to the defense wherever they were needed, and the "doughboys" fought brilliantly at Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood, winning the admiration of their foreign comrades-in-arms.

After the German drive was stopped, the Americans were regrouped into a single army and given a portion of the front to handle themselves. Attacking savagely, they penetrated strong German defenses in the St. Mihiel salient, then pushed through the machine-gun-studded Meuse-Argonne sector with 1,200,000 men. The Germans fell back, beaten along the whole front, and the war ended with an armistice on November 11, 1918. Although the United States had been a late-comer to the war and suffered relatively few casualties, America's weight—in men, money and supplies—had tipped the scales of battle on the continent and had, as people hoped at the time, "made the world safe for democracy."

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The armistice ended the world conflict and forced Germany to withdraw from the lands she had overrun, but a peace settlement had still to be made. Into the treaty President Wilson was determined to incorporate his "Fourteen Points," calling for abolition of secret treaties between nations, and for disarmament, freedom of the seas and, most important, a League of Nations. Early in 1919 Wilson sailed to Paris to be present personally at the peace negotiations.

Under the American Constitution, the President can make treaties only with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate. Wilson had asked the country to elect a Democratic Senate in the Congressional elections of 1918 to make his task easier, and perhaps because of the firmness of his manner was rebuffed. The Republicans gained control and

the President antagonized them further by refusing to let the Senate be represented on his peace delegation at the Conference.

Abroad, Wilson met with the other members of the "Big Four," Lloyd George of England, Clemenceau of France and Orlando of Italy. The views of these leaders, whose countries had been badly hurt by the enemy, contrasted with Wilson's proposals for generous terms to the vanquished. Germany must be made to pay for her sins, his colleagues argued: to surrender coal mines and iron deposits and give up her colonies. On most of these points Wilson yielded in order to secure adoption of his League of Nations.

As organized and finally adopted in the Treaty of Versailles, the League provided for a nine-member executive council, with permanent seats to be held by England, France, the United States, Italy and Japan. Most decisions of the Council were to require unanimous approval by all nine members. Aggression was outlawed: the Council was to recommend the action to be taken against any country attacking a member nation; such action might be military in the event that a collective economic boycott failed. Besides the Council there were to be an advisory Assembly, an International Labor Office, and an International Court of Justice to arbitrate disputes between nations.

In June, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles, embodying the League of Nations, was signed by the Allies and Germany, the latter protesting that Wilson's program for a just peace had been scrapped. The President himself was the first to put his name to the document, believing that he had done his best and that the Treaty would prevent future wars. Having signed, he sent word to the Senate to ratify his work.

But the instructions were not obeyed. Besides feeling slighted and insulted by Wilson, many Senators objected to various parts of the Treaty on principle, and a few were opposed to the League of Nations in its entirety. Was not a partial loss of sovereignty involved? Why should Britain and her Dominions be given six votes to only one for America? Would the United States become embroiled in a series of world "police actions" if it joined? Led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the Republicans

demanded a number of revisions before they would agree to ratification.

Wilson would not yield an iota. Declaring that any changes would weaken the Treaty, he returned from Paris to take his case to the people over the Senator's heads. Exhausted from strain and overwork, the President collapsed while on a speaking tour and never emerged into full public life again. The Senate blamed him for refusing to compromise and permanently rejected the Treaty, which the other Allies had meanwhile ratified. Two years later, the United States signed a separate peace with Germany.

The American people seemed to have grown tired of their role as champions of the cause of international peace. Little attention was paid to the words of the dying Woodrow Wilson when he mourned: "We had a chance to gain the leadership of the world. We have lost it, and soon we shall be witnessing the tragedy of it all."

CHAPTER 9

"Back to Normalcy" and the New Deal

IT WAS A TROUBLED post-war world that Americans faced after the armistice of 1918. In raising money to carry on the struggle, the government had increased the national debt from a little under one billion dollars to the unheard of total of 25¼ billion. However, it was expected that the deficit would be cut by the repayment of 10 billion dollars loaned to the Allies.

Fear of Russia gripped the people as the Communists who had seized control of the Kremlin in 1917 consolidated their grip on Russia, and the communist movement spread world-wide through carefully-organized "cells," or underground units. Just who was a Red agent and who was not was hard to determine, especially since another left-wing organization, the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of

the World) was at the height of its influence; but in the labor unrest that gripped America during the transition to peacetime production, many alleged radicals and agitators were thrown into jail or deported.

Underlying the labor trouble was the rapid rise in prices brought about by wartime scarcities of goods. The workers demanded higher wages to keep pace with the cost of living, and a coal strike, led by John L. Lewis, dragged on for months before the government managed to effect a settlement.

During this period of readjustment, in 1919, the United States adopted the 18th Amendment to the Constitution, forbidding the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages. However worthy its purpose, the Amendment failed to put an end to drinking, which became all the more attractive because it had to be carried on clandestinely. The liquor business flourished illegally as gangsters fought and murdered each other for control of the "bootleg" markets.

The whole country seemed to suffer a letdown in morality. The returning soldiers referred to themselves as members of the "lost generation" and vowed to make up for lost time. Even a short, sharp post-war depression failed to dampen the people's spirits for long, although the farmers continued to suffer for many years from its effects.

The presidential election of 1920 centered around the question of whether to proceed with Wilson's "New Freedom" at home and League of Nations abroad, or to adopt the Republican slogan of "Back to normalcy." This latter meant, loosely, a return to the pre-war era, a high tariff to protect American industry, less participation in world affairs, and more self-interest and isolation in general. Taking part in the election along with the male voters were the American women, who had finally been given the franchise under the 19th Amendment after years of agitation.

The result of the balloting showed clearly that the people had lost their appetites for Democratic idealism and world-saving zeal. The Republican candidate, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, overwhelmed his opponent, Governor James M. Cox, also of Ohio. Harding, a handsome, amiable newspaper editor from a small city, suggested the "typical American" who would guide the country along a safe course to prosperity.

As soon as the Republicans took office, they carried out their pledge to raise the tariff, and an economic barrier of formidable proportions was erected around the United States. Inside the country the effects seemed to be good: industry profited, factories hummed busily and employment ran high. But on the other hand, European countries were shut out of the American market and were thus unable to sell goods from which they could make dollars to pay off their debts. Again and again the United States was warned by experts in economics to lower the tariff if she expected to be repaid.

Further in line with the policy of withdrawal from world contacts came strict control of immigration. The flood of foreigners who had passed by the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor earlier in the century was reduced to a mere trickle, on the theory that restricting immigration would keep plenty of jobs available for Americans. A growing distrust and cynicism toward everything foreign contributed to the tightening of the immigration laws.

Even so, the United States acted in concert with the other big powers in attempting to reduce armaments and promote world peace by means that would not involve taking any responsibility. Acting outside the League of Nations, President Harding's able Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, invited foreign representatives to the Washington Conference of 1921-22, at which the size of navies was reduced to an agreed proportion among the principal powers. Also, through a series of treaties, the interests of the powers in China and the Far East were defined so as to avoid future entanglements, and in still another agreement, submarine attacks on merchant ships in wartime were outlawed.

The Washington Conference was the crowning achievement of the Harding administration, which in the end was less remembered for its accomplishments than its scandals. Seldom had they been surpassed, even in the Grant era that followed the Civil War. The Director of the Veterans' Bureau was found guilty of misappropriating some $200,000 from the agency's funds and sent to a Federal penitentiary. Two other government grafters committed suicide rather than face investigation. Worst of all was the "Teapot Dome" scandal. It was disclosed that Secretary of the

Interior Albert Fall had persuaded the President to transfer oil reserves, belonging to the Navy, over to the Interior Department. Fall then leased some of the lands, including those at Tea-pot Dome, Wyoming, to private oil operators, who paid him bribes for these valuable concessions. For this flagrant abuse of the public trust, Fall was later sentenced to a year in jail and a fine of $100,000.

The sudden death of President Harding while returning from a trip to Alaska in 1923 spared him any further worries over the corruption with which his name was becoming linked. He was succeeded by Vice President Calvin Coolidge, a dour and silent New England "Yankee," whose reputation for honesty was unquestioned, and whose policies were conservative.

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Times were so prosperous in the '20's that it was possible for the government to cut income tax rates substantially and still pile up increasing amounts of revenue. The Treasury brimmed over, and the national debt was cut from about 25 billion to 16 billion dollars. Content with this state of affairs, President Coolidge sat back and let economic events take their course, remarking laconically, "The business of America is business."

This Golden Age was marked by mass production on what seemed then to be a gigantic scale. Automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, radios, gadgets of every description, began to be produced in quantity on assembly lines where workers stood side by side performing their special, mechanized tasks. Production seemed to have become scientifically perfected, with not a motion or a moment wasted.

The market for these goods lay largely among the workingmen who produced them. To expand the market, it was believed necessary only to raise the workers' wages, so they could buy more, and this in turn would create demand for more production. The cycle seemed limitless—the "poorhouse" would soon be abolished and there would be "two cars in every garage," it was jubilantly predicted.

To give added impetus to the prosperity drive, manufacturers pushed their wares through high-pressure advertising campaigns. The virtues of soap flakes and cigarettes

were increasingly extolled on the radio and in the press, appealing to the buying instincts of the public in every conceivable way. And the customers were told, too, that there was no need to pay in advance for the larger items such as furniture—liberal credit terms on the installment buying plan would be extended.

But the American market, big as it was, did not seem able to provide enough customers for the products of industry. Goods must be shipped overseas to foreign markets to provide a needed extra margin of profit for manufacturers. But how was payment to be made? One way might have been to lower the tariff and permit freer trade, thereby giving foreign countries a chance to sell their own goods in America and buy American goods in return. The alternative was to extend more loans, enabling semi-bankrupt nations to go deeper in debt to purchase the products offered them. Still primarily concerned with protecting its own industries, the United States adopted the latter course and poured both goods, and the credit to buy them, abroad.

There was little resistance to the Republicans in the election of 1924. Calvin Coolidge was elected to another term over a conservative Democrat, John W. Davis. Dissatisfied with both party platforms, a liberal faction calling itself the Progressive Party—and endorsed by the Socialists—entered the field under the leadership of "Fighting Bob" LaFollette. But its program, which included ownership of railroads and federal aid to farmers, attracted only five million votes as against Coolidge's sixteen million and Davis' eight million.

Even so, voices of discontent continued to be heard throughout the land, and in increasing volume. The farmers were in a sad plight; during the war they had been encouraged to produce all they could, and with new machinery and improved scientific methods, they achieved a greatly increased output. But now in peacetime their meat and grain went begging on the world market at low prices, and the government refused to subsidize the surplus, as called for in the proposed McNary-Haugen bill. In vetoing this measure, President Coolidge declared himself in favor of lending money to agriculture to get it on its feet, but cautioned against tampering with the natural law of supply and demand through government price supports.

Coolidge's last years in office were marked by the pioneering non-stop solo airplane flight of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh from New York to Paris—an epic achievement—and by the signing of the Kellogg-Briand pact outlawing war. Some fifty-nine nations answered the joint call of the French and American governments to pledge themselves never to take up arms again except in self-defense. Optimism over prospects for permanent world peace ran high when the treaty went into effect.

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"I do not choose to run," taciturn President Coolidge told reporters in 1927 when asked if he wanted another four years in the White House. In his place the Republicans nominated Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover, a mining engineer who had spent many years abroad promoting American business and had a first-hand knowledge of world markets. A little formal and unbending, Hoover was looked up to as an efficient administrator who would carry the country to even greater heights of prosperity.

The choice of the Democrats was Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, a gay and colorful politician of humble origin from New York City's lower East Side. "The happy warrior," as he was called, campaigned for federal development of water power, but the real issues of the election revolved around Smith's Roman Catholicism and the fact that he favored a modification of the Prohibition laws against alcoholic beverages. Both these factors shocked the South—still voting Democratic in memory of the Civil War and the carpetbaggers—and caused considerable concern elsewhere in Protestant America. It was freely predicted that if Smith won, the policies of the United States government would be dictated by the Pope from the Vatican in Italy.

On election day, the voters overwhelmingly endorsed Hoover, and several Southern states voted Republican for the first time since Reconstruction days. Declaring that "I have no fears for the future of our country; it is bright with hope," the new President took office in a confident frame of mind.

Confidence, indeed, was everywhere, and the public had found a new way of making money rapidly. The securities

of the big corporations were available for purchase on the New York Stock Exchange and other Wall Street markets, and as business boomed they rose in value. A letter or telephone call from any part of the country could instruct a brokerage firm to buy stocks, and their values were going up virtually every day. The brokers encouraged this purchasing by amateur speculators for the sake of the commissions involved. They carried their customers along "on margin"—that is, accepted small down-payments until profits accrued. As a result, the American public, and many investors abroad as well, went on a wild buying spree that sent stocks soaring high above their real values.

It was this over-speculation that caused the sudden dreadful collapse in the autumn of 1929, when stocks were at peak prices and bankers and public alike wondered how long the boom would last. A wave of doubt caused the stock market to crash and touched off the Great Depression that plunged the nation from prosperity to near-ruin. The first break in the market occurred on October 19. It was followed by a full panic as brokers called for more margin from their customers and, failing to get it, sold their securities for anything they would bring. In the course of ten days stocks tumbled to as little as one-fifth of their former value, and millions of holdings were wiped out.

The country shook its head groggily and started surveying the results of the cataclysm. Money had been lost, to be sure, but had industry itself, the basic foundation of prosperity, been hurt? No bombs had landed on the factories, which still stood ready to serve the public. Why, then, was there anything to worry about, except a temporary loss of savings?

Thus reasoned the optimists, who did not realize that the system of distribution was itself at fault and that the purchasing power was not available in the consumer markets where the businessmen were trying to sell their goods. Once thrown off balance by the stock market crash, the business markets went into a swift downward spiral. As people canceled their orders for new automobiles, and went without the new dress or suit they had planned to buy, industry felt the pinch. Production declined rapidly, factories closed, and millions of unemployed queued up

in breadlines to get free meals. By the end of 1932 over twelve million people were out of work and desperate, banks were failing, mortgages were being foreclosed, and there seemed no end in sight to the havoc that was besetting the country.

The Great Depression spread world-wide as "Uncle Sam," the generous credit man, cut off his loans abroad and raised the tariff to the highest levels ever under the Smoot-Hawley Act. Germany staggered into bankruptcy and turned to a fanatical Fascist named Adolf Hitler to pull her out of trouble. England slipped off the gold standard in an effort to increase her exports by letting foreigners have more English money for an ounce of gold. And across the Pacific Ocean, Japan, an overcrowded, industrious nation of sixty million people, took advantage of the world's distress by invading Manchuria and wresting it away from China, a violation of the Kellogg-Briand pact and other agreements.

At the beginning of the depression, President Hoover tried to reassure the American people that nothing really serious had happened, that the nation had been through depressions before, and that prosperity was "just around the corner." But as suffering and poverty grew, Mr. Hoover abandoned the traditional Republican position of letting economic forces take care of themselves, and embarked on a program of positive action. He called for a moratorium on foreign war debts. He persuaded Congress to create the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to failing banks, railroads and other industries. The Home Owners Loan Corporation was set up to advance credit to individual citizens faced with the prospect of being evicted from their homes.

Nevertheless, Hoover's program was not felt to be extensive enough by a nation which had lost confidence in itself and was stumbling toward chaos. When the national election of 1932 was held, with the President running for a second term, it was a foregone conclusion that his time was up.

* * *

The Democrats returned to power in a landslide, with Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York as

President. A distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, the new Chief Executive came from a wealthy, aristocratic family, was a Harvard graduate, had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson, and had been the Democrats' choice for Vice President in 1920. Afflicted with infantile paralysis during the '20's, Roosevelt had lost the free use of his legs and was able to walk only with the greatest difficulty.

The Democratic platform had called for reciprocal trade agreements, Federal aid to farmers and the unemployed, government control over banking and securities markets, repeal of Prohibition, and reduction of expenditures. All promises except the last were carried out with a vigor that amazed the public; for now "Big Business" was shoved aside for "Big Government"—government that stepped directly into the lives of the people, handed them money, increased the tax rates, regulated wages and prices in industry, and told the farmer how many acres to plant. All this was part of the *New Deal* promised by the President.

"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," Roosevelt told the people in his inaugural address in March, 1933. As he spoke, a new financial panic was gripping the country, banks all over the land were closed, and money was circulating uncertainly and only in cash. Acting firmly in the crisis, the President declared a bank holiday and had the institutions examined for potential soundness. Those that could be salvaged were given loans where necessary and allowed to reopen; the few that could not were dissolved.

Soon after, in a quick series of measures, Roosevelt called in all the gold and silver in the country and placed it at the disposal of the Treasury. No longer could paper money be redeemed in gold, and the country thus went off the gold standard. But the fact that the government owned vast stores of the metal tended to keep the currency fairly well stabilized, even though the gold value of the dollar was reduced and more notes issued. By permitting a carefully controlled inflation, the government hoped to raise prices and stimulate business.

To get recovery started, the President proposed not only to help businessmen, or as he put it, "those at the top," in hopes that they "would in their benevolence or gener-

osity pass that help on,"—but also to increase purchasing power at the lower income levels by direct aid to the masses of needy citizens represented by the "forgotten man." In short, money was to be funneled in at both ends of the economy, top and bottom, to get the nation back on its feet.

For those at the top level, business was aided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which had been greatly expanded to give aid to failing enterprises. Even more important to industry, however, was the National Industrial Recovery Act, designed to cut down competition among businesses and thereby prevent prices from falling further during hard times. When the N. I. R. A. was launched in 1933, it had the blessing of both management and labor.

Under this Act, business leaders in each industry drew up codes or agreements prescribing uniform prices to be charged for their products, defining fair practices, and establishing set wages and hours for workers. The codes were then reviewed by experts acting for the President and, if found satisfactory, were put into effect and enforced by the government's National Recovery Administration. In return for this chance to band together for mutual advantage, the businessmen were required to recognize the rights of labor to bargain collectively with them through their own unions.

Federal aid to the "forgotten man" at the other end of the economic scale took many forms as one "alphabetical" agency after another was proposed by the "Brain Trust," a group of economists and college professors advising the President. For the first time in history, the government appropriated funds to be given directly to the needy through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Insofar as possible, however, direct relief was avoided and the unemployed were given jobs in the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and other programs sponsored by the government. A good deal of useful work was accomplished in building roads, planting forests and erecting public buildings, while constructive jobs as clerks, writers, artists and musicians were found for the white collar workers.

To help the farmers, the Agricultural Adjustment Act provided for curtailment of farm output to get rid of the

surplus that was depressing prices. Farmers were paid *not* to raise grain and livestock, fields were left idle and excess produce was destroyed. Considerable criticism was levied against this policy. Millions of people throughout the United States and the world needed food that they could not pay for, and as yet no way of giving it to them was politically feasible.

The government embarked on an ambitious project in the Tennessee River Valley, an area embracing 640,000 square miles in the heart of the South. During World War I it had built a dam and ammunition factories at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, which it had tried unsuccessfully to sell when peace came. Now, in 1933, it created the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), an independent government agency, to put these facilities to work producing fertilizer and electric power. More, the TVA went on to build many additional dams and power plants to improve the region. Cheap electricity was made available; floods that had ravaged the Valley and hindered its development were halted; farm experts were sent to show the people how to conserve their land and achieve greater production. Within a few years what had once been a backward area was a land of humming industries and prosperous farms.

Looking to the future, the New Deal passed the Social Security Act to protect the people against many of the common forms of distress. The program, which has continued to the present time, includes unemployment insurance for workers, old age pensions, aid to dependent children, and benefits to the needy, blind and ill. Federal funds, distributed and administered by the states, contribute to much of this security system, which is also supported in part by workers, employers, and state and local governments.

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Much of the New Deal program, its leaders freely admitted during the 1930's, was experimental and conceived in haste to meet the pressing needs of the times. How did the American people react to this unprecedented paternalism directed from Washington? For the most part, it was gratefully accepted, and Franklin D. Roosevelt became a hero to millions whom he had removed from distress at least temporarily. Agriculture and labor, in particular, rallied to him.

On the other hand, a fairly large minority of Americans, represented mainly by the business interests, soon abandoned their enthusiasm for the New Deal and opposed it with implacable hatred. To be sure, the government was helping the needy, a laudable objective, and business itself was beginning to recover; but where was the money coming from? Even though taxes had soared, no tax program could be expected to support the multifarious projects undertaken by the "Brain Trust." The nation was off the gold standard and running up the national debt billions of dollars a year with a wild and reckless extravagance that would lead to economic ruin, it was predicted.

With equal vehemence, critics of the New Deal assailed it as socialistic and un-American. The TVA, they argued, for all its benefits, was a blow aimed at the heart of free enterprise. What right had the government to take over a vast section of the country and produce electric power at rates so low that private utility companies could not compete? The TVA, they said, was a burden on taxpayers all over the country who derived no visible benefits from the lavish sums spent on it.

Along with their disapproval of the principles of the New Deal, most of the businessmen resented government interference in their affairs, which they claimed was stifling them. Wall Street, for example, loudly protested against strict regulation of its markets by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Industry complained that labor had been granted far too much power to enforce its demands under the National Labor Relations Act making collective bargaining mandatory. In far too many cases where the government arbitrated labor-management differences, it was charged, the issues were settled in favor of organized labor, now flourishing under two great unions, the American Federation of Labor and the new Congress of Industrial Organizations.

For all their opposition, the anti-New Dealers were unable to rally much strength for the presidential election of 1936. The people, vividly remembering the breadlines of four years past, swept President Roosevelt back into office on a tidal wave of votes. His opponent, Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas, carried only two states, Maine and Vermont.

With this strong endorsement behind him, Mr. Roosevelt prepared to do battle with the Supreme Court at the start of his second term. The Court, composed mainly of conservative judges, had declared several important New Deal measures, including the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, unconstitutional. To liberalize the Court, Mr. Roosevelt proposed that the Justices retire at the age of seventy, and that for each Justice refusing to do so, the President be permitted to appoint an additional Justice until the Court numbered fifteen.

On this proposal, public opinion refused to support Mr. Roosevelt. Many people felt that the cherished principle of checks and balances in government was jeopardized. In refusing to act, the Senate pointed out that the independence of the judiciary branch was threatened by the executive department. In a sense, however, the President was the real victor in the struggle, because from that time on, the Court, fearing more attacks, handed down favorable interpretations of New Deal policies.

Business, meanwhile, went into a sharp price rise in the first half of 1937, followed by a sharp decline in the summer, and unemployment climbed again. A contributing factor to the "recession" or down-turn was business's distrust of the President's "dictatorial policies," as evidenced in his attempt to change the complexion of the Supreme Court. The New Deal seemed unable to bring the nation into a stable prosperity by the amount of expenditures it could supply in peacetime. But it continued to endear itself to the majority of people by passing legislation favorable to the "forgotten man." No one can say whether, under prewar political conditions, a "spending program" would have ever been able to solve the depression problem; for America's involvement in World War II brought a much larger government program and an abrupt end to breadlines and poverty.

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The New Deal's foreign policy was as vigorous in many ways as its domestic program. In the Western Hemisphere, Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick" approach towards Latin and South America had been abandoned by President Hoover for a "Good Neighbor Policy" which Mr. Roosevelt

carried forward. American intervention in the internal affairs of her sister republics ceased to be a source of friction. Cuba was removed from protectorate status and given full independence.

Elsewhere, the United States showed evidences of good faith by promising to free the Philippines as soon as they were ready to take over their own affairs. At the same time, Secretary of State Cordell Hull presented the Democrats' answer to the tariff problem. Hull obtained authority from Congress to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries by which the United States lowered the tariff on certain imports and secured similar lowered rates on some of the goods she shipped abroad. The plan helped to revive world trade.

By now, however, war clouds were gathering fast all over the world. In Europe, Adolf Hitler, who had become fascist dictator of Germany, vowed to recover what his country had lost under the Versailles Treaty, by force if necessary. His partner, Benito Mussolini, was involved in a war of aggression against Ethiopia. Spain went through a harsh civil war, with the Fascists winning a total victory. And in Asia, Japan was on the march in China.

For the most part, Americans viewed these developments apathetically. There still persisted a strong feeling of disillusionmnt over World War I, which isolationists claimed had been an imperialistic struggle and no concern of the United States. During the mid-1930's, disclosures of international agreements among munitions makers inflamed anti-war sentiment in America to such a pitch that Congress passed two laws to safeguard the country from again becoming entangled abroad. First, the Johnson Act prohibited any more loans to countries which had defaulted on their former obligations. And second, the Neutrality Act forbade sale of military supplies to any and all belligerents in future foreign wars, and warned Americans not to travel on ships of foreign belligerents except at their own risk.

President Roosevelt approved of these Acts at the time they were passed, but when Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland and showed every evidence of overrunning Europe, the President warned in his Quarantine speech of 1937 that "the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. . . . Let no one imagine that America will escape." Hitler's

mass persecution of Jews, his aggressive militarism and contempt for democracy caused increasing fear among Germany's former enemies that he would soon unleash full-scale war, and an attempt to appease him at the Munich conference failed. Finally, when the Fuehrer attacked Poland, and England and France declared war on him in September, 1939, President Roosevelt asked for repeal of the Neutrality Act so that he could send supplies to the Allies. Congress granted the request on condition that the terms of sale be "cash and carry."

Thus World War II began, and the clock seemed to have rolled back to 1914. But the pattern of events was different this time. After nine months of quiet preparation, the German Nazis suddenly thrust into France, the Low Countries, Denmark and Norway, and forced those nations to surrender and submit to occupation. Then the British were driven off the European continent at Dunkirk.

As England stood alone against the might of Germany and Italy combined, it seemed almost certain that she must either surrender or be pulverized into defeat from land, sea and air. The American people, reading reports of England's last-ditch stand, or listening to radio broadcasts from bomb-battered London, were divided over what course to follow. "England's fight is our fight; if she falls, we will be next on Germany's list," one group, the interventionists, declared. "America must stay out of the war; it makes no difference who wins it," the isolationists replied.

President Roosevelt's sympathies were strongly with Britain. By executive action in September, 1940, he traded her fifty badly needed destroyers in return for naval bases in the Western Hemisphere. Many Americans objected to the President's move as a gross violation of neutrality, but just as many more applauded it. Meanwhile, Congress passed a draft act to raise an army for self-defense, and more and more factories were converted to war production.

Amid this feverish preparation for no one knew quite what, the presidential election of 1940 was held. Successfully defying the tradition against running for a third term, Mr. Roosevelt defeated Wendell Willkie, a public utilities magnate who had come to public attention by fighting the TVA some years before. While the two candidates disagreed on domestic policy, their foreign views coincided:

Britain must be given American aid, short of war.

As 1941 got under way, the hope of resisting Germany and Italy looked dim. Japan, bent on dominating the Far East through a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," had joined them in an alliance. In Europe, Germany overran Greece and Yugoslavia, then declared war on Russia and smashed deeply into her territory. Across the English Channel, the British still hung on, uninvaded but gravely menaced.

At the start of his third term, President Roosevelt told Congress: "Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being assailed in every part of the world. . . . I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are everywhere involved. . . ." The President then asked for all-out production of goods to halt the advance of the dictator nations and outlined his program for a better world founded on the Four Freedoms: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear of aggression.

The President proposed and Congress promptly passed the Lend-Lease Act, authorizing the manufacture and distribution of billions of dollars worth of material to England and Russia to resist the dictator nations. After the war, it was agreed, any material still useful could be returned or purchased; what was used up would be written off. The whole purpose was to rush supplies overseas in time to avert defeat, regardless of ability to pay, and without creating any war debts to embarrass post-war relations.

In delivering lend-lease goods, the American merchant fleet and Navy took an active hand, engaging German submarines in numerous shooting "incidents." To strengthen its hold on the Atlantic, the United States sent military personnel to Greenland, Iceland and Northern Ireland, way stations along the shipping routes.

In August, 1941, President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Winston Churchill of England "somewhere at sea" and formulated the Atlantic Charter, outlining aims for victory over the Axis and for the period to follow the war. The two leaders laid the foundations of the present United Nations by declaring themselves in favor of collective security, international economic collaboration, and disarmament.

Although friction between the United States and Germany was growing hot in the Atlantic, it was from another direction that war finally came to America. Japan, expanding into French Indo-China and Thailand, was warned by the United States to halt her conquests on the Asian mainland; the Japanese dispatched two envoys to Washington to discuss a settlement.

While the negotiations were going on, a task force of Japanese ships and planes arrived off Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and on December 7, 1941, launched an attack on the American fleet, army camps and air fields there that caught the defenders completely by surprise. Warship after warship sank under the enemy bombs, and over two thousand were killed. Simultaneously, attacks were made on the Philippines, Guam and other American outposts. Whether the American officers in charge at Pearl Harbor had been negligent in their duty, or whether Washington had not properly warned them of the danger of a sudden attack has never been fully determined.

On December 8, Congress, at the President's request, declared war on Japan. England did the same. Germany and Italy then declared war on the United States, and the greatest, most appalling struggle the world has yet seen gained new momentum.

CHAPTER 10

The Modern Era

ALTHOUGH THE UNITED NATIONS was not launched under its charter until June, 1945, its beginnings date back much earlier. On January 1, 1942, at a meeting in Washington, the United States and twenty-five other nations fighting the Axis Powers pledged to unite for victory and win a peace based on the terms of the Atlantic Charter. Between the time of this agreement and the end of hostilities lay three and a half years of desperate fighting.

As far as America was concerned, World War II dwarfed World War I. Instead of putting 4 million in uniform, the United States mustered over 12 million, of whom a small percentage were women serving in non-combat units. The 364,000 total casualties of World War I were only one-third of the more than a million of World War II; and the national debt of 27 billion in 1919 was less than one-tenth of the 279-billion debt of 1945.

For all its war production and military conscription prior to Pearl Harbor, the nation was none too ready to fight a two-front war in Europe and Asia when the time came. Caught off-guard and badly hurt by the initial Japanese attack, America lost the Philippines, which were valiantly defended by native and American troops under General Douglas MacArthur, and all her other important Pacific bases, except Hawaii. The Japanese moved into the Aleutian Islands of Alaska, and menaced the North American continent. At the same time, they swept the British out of Malaya and Singapore, captured the rich Dutch East Indies and numerous other Pacific islands, and threatened Australia.

Toward the middle of 1942, American resistance began to stiffen as new planes and ships arrived in the Pacific. With the invasion of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, the long, painful process of recapturing territory from the Japanese, and finally breaching their homeland, began. The war was fought courageously and mercilessly by both sides, with few prisoners taken in the jungles and on the beaches. On the mainland of Asia, China continued to resist as best she could, with American help, and the British held on in Burma.

But important as defeating Japan was, President Roosevelt deemed the war in Europe of even greater consequence, and here the bulk of American military might was sent. In November, 1942, British and American forces under General Dwight D. Eisenhower invaded Northwest Africa and helped push General Rommel's hard-fighting Afrika Korps off that continent. From there the victors crossed the Mediterranean to Italy via Sicily, and received the surrender of the Italians, who came over to the winning side. The Germans held on stubbornly in the Italian

"boot," however, and were not dislodged from the northern part until the end of the war.

During 1943, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Premier Josef Stalin of the Soviet Union and General Chiang Kai-shek of China held conferences at various points to discuss military strategy and post-war plans for a workable United Nations. The Soviet armies, lashing back at the Germans in heavy fighting, were promised help in the form of a second front.

This pledge was kept when on June 6, 1944, an army composed of Americans, British, Canadians, and patriots who had escaped from conquered countries—the whole force under the command of General Eisenhower—swarmed across the Channel from England and invaded Normandy on the coast of France. The Germans resisted desperately, but crippling air strikes against their supply lines, cities and industries were beginning to drain their war potential, and they fell back across France to the Rhine.

Meanwhile, in the Pacific, General MacArthur was fighting his way back toward the Philippines, and Marines were retaking Guam and other central Pacific bastions. After wrestling New Guinea and adjacent islands from the Japanese, MacArthur's men stormed Leyte and Luzon, and the Navy beat off a supreme enemy bid to recoup. Only in China and Burma were the Japanese able to stall or hold their own. With the acquisition of Okinawa and Iwo Jima after fiercely fought campaigns, the United States, with thousands of bombers, was at Japan's doorstep.

World War II was drawing to a close in Europe. The Nazis counter-attacked courageously but futilely into Belgium in the "Battle of the Bulge" during Christmas, 1944, but once the drive's force was spent, they were beaten in the West. Nor were their prospects any better on the Eastern front, where the Soviet armies surged across Poland and onto German soil. Finally, onrushing American and Soviet units met in the heart of Germany, Adolf Hitler committed suicide to avoid being captured by the Russians entering Berlin, and the war in Europe was over. What was left of authority in Germany surrendered unconditionally on May 7, 1945.

Franklin D. Roosevelt did not live to see the final victory

which he had done so much to bring about. After winning re-election to a fourth presidential term in 1944, the President had conferred with Premier Stalin at Yalta, where it was agreed that the USSR should enter the war against Japan in return for important territorial concessions in China. Mr. Roosevelt returned to the United States looking haggard and drawn, and went to Warm Springs, Georgia, for a rest. On April 12 he died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage, and the nation was stunned and saddened. "F. D. R." was succeeded by Vice President Harry S. Truman, former Senator from Missouri.

The war in the Pacific was now pressed to a conclusion. Japan was at bay, but she still had a big army and a fanatical determination to hold her homeland. An attempt to invade Japan would have been costly. Although she might finally have been reduced to surrender by conventional air bombing, neither invasion nor ordinary bombing were employed.

Since the earliest days of the war, the United Nations and the Axis had been engaged in a mad race to see who could manufacture an atom bomb first. For fifty years or more, scientists had slowly been unraveling the mysteries of nuclear fission. The United States and Britain finally pooled their knowledge successfully, and on July 6, 1945, at the Los Alamos testing grounds in New Mexico, the first atom bomb in history was exploded before observers who shook in awe before its fiery mushroom cloud and horrible power.

Ten days later, Japan was formally warned to surrender unconditionally or face complete destruction from the air; however, no mention was made of the new atomic weapon. On August 6, an American plane dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima, Japan, a city of 340,000, killing and injuring an estimated 180,000 people, and flattening most of the city. On August 8, the USSR declared war on Japan and rolled into Manchuria and Korea. On August 9, the United States dropped a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki, causing estimated casualties of 80,000 killed and injured. On August 14, Emperor Hirohito notified the United Nations that Japan was ready to surrender.

Thus World War II came to an end as Japanese envoys boarded the U. S. battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 1, 1945, to sign the surrender terms. All of

Japan's overseas possessions were taken from her, and her homeland occupied. The world rejoiced that the fighting had stopped, but its happiness was tempered by the sober realization that the atomic age, for good or ill, had arrived.

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The close co-operation between United Nations leaders during the course of the war, and their avowed intention to work for peace afterward, pointed naturally toward the creation of some sort of permanent international machinery, more effective than the old League of Nations, to carry out their plans. By and large, the American people approved of the idea, and President Roosevelt had solid support not only from Democrats, but also from many Republicans, in the Senate.

After preliminary conferences, delegates from fifty anti-Axis nations met at San Francisco, California, in April, 1945, to draw up a charter for the United Nations. Under its terms, the chief body of the organization, with power to take positive action to enforce peace, was to be a Security Council. There were also to be a General Assembly—a world forum where issues could be debated and courses of action recommended—an International Court of Justice to settle legal disputes, a secretariat, and a Trusteeship Council to administer non-self-governing territories, most of them ceded by the Axis powers. Numerous other agencies and commissions, old and new, such as the International Labor Organization, World Health Organization, International Bank, and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, were to be affiliated with the United Nations in order to co-ordinate their work for the general welfare of the world.

The Security Council was to consist of delegates from eleven member nations, with permanent seats to be held by the "Big Five" powers, the United States, Britain, USSR, France and China. A majority of seven votes was required to make a decision, but any one of the "Big Five" could veto any "substantive" act of the Council, i.e., on other than organizational matters. This extraordinary veto power demonstrated the unwillingness of the big powers to yield any portion of their sovereignty or bow against their will to the authority of the United Nations.

In July, 1945, the United States Senate ratified the Charter, other countries quickly joined, and the United Nations started operations in January, 1946, with Trygve Lie of Norway as the first Secretary-General. The Organization voted to locate its permanent seat in New York City.

Any hopes that international peace had at last been achieved were dispelled within a year after World War II ended, however. Two great conflicting movements were afoot in the world: democracy, championed by the United States and other "Western" powers; and communism, espoused by the Soviet Union. On question after question that arose in the United Nations and elsewhere, the two sides disagreed; and as the Soviets extended their control into Poland and the Balkans, it seemed as if, in the words of Winston Churchill, an "iron curtain" had descended across Europe, separating the Western Democratic world from the Kremlin and its satellites.

Two nations on which the iron curtain fell like a guillotine were Germany and Austria. Both countries were jointly occupied by the United States, Britain, France and the USSR, and endless disputes raged over how to reunify the unhappy nations and conclude peace treaties with them. In Germany, the Four Powers agreed that the Nazi war leaders must be tried and punished, and that the nation must be disarmed. But it soon became apparent that Moscow did not plan to co-operate in rebuilding Germany on any terms, other than turning it to communism. The democracies had hoped that industrial West Germany and the agricultural Soviet East zone would be able to trade for mutual advantage and improvement, but Stalin barred such commerce and placed his area behind the iron curtain. Thus Germany remained split between two worlds.

In the United Nations, the United States and the Soviet Union clashed on an even more important issue—control of atomic energy. The United States offered to give up its stockpile of atomic bombs only after an effective method of international control and inspection had been adopted. This proposal seemed reasonable enough to a majority of nations; but the Soviet Union insisted that the Americans destroy their bombs first, and that control of atomic energy then be turned over to the Security Council. The objection to this proposal was that the Council would be unable to ad-

minister an effective inspection because of the Soviet veto power. If the United States were to destroy its stockpile and build no more bombs, what was to prevent Russia from secretly gaining atomic supremacy by building her own supply and refusing to be inspected? In this atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust, international relations deteriorated and gloomy prophets spoke of World War III while the veterans of World War II were still marching home.

* * *

On the post-war domestic scene, America demobilized quickly and tried to get back to "business as usual" as quickly as possible. The Army was allowed to dwindle from about eleven million men down to one million—a dangerous mistake in view of world events, some people thought—but the veterans were anxious to get home, and public opinion was on their side.

The country had gone all-out for war production; consequently, there were shortages of civilian goods in many lines, as well as a very severe housing problem. During the war, the Office of Price Administration had maintained a system of price controls to keep prices from soaring as a result of scarcities.

Despite President Truman's wish to keep the O. P. A. price ceilings in effect, both management and labor contributed to breaking them down and restoring the nation to a free market. Soon after the war, a rash of strikes for higher wages broke out, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers playing a prominent role, as he had after World War I; and a number of increases were granted in key industries. As a result, manufacturers complained that their production costs were higher and that price ceilings would have to be lifted to keep them from being caught in a ruinous economic squeeze.

Over the President's protests, Congress yielded to pressure for the relaxing of controls, and prices started to climb. This, coupled with discontent over strikes, the housing shortage and scarcities of goods, led the American public to vote Republican in the Congressional elections of 1946. For the first time since the advent of the New Deal fourteen years before, the G. O. P. gained majorities in both the House and Senate, and a bitter showdown with President Truman loomed ahead.

The Senate leader was Robert A. Taft of Ohio, a staunch Republican, and son of former President William Howard Taft. Determined to correct what he considered the inequities of the New Deal, Senator Taft concentrated on two measures, a reduction in income taxes and a labor law to curb somewhat the power of the unions and their leaders.

The Taft-Hartley Law, passed over President Truman's veto, attempted to balance the bargaining power between labor and management which had allegedly been tipped in labor's favor under the Wagner, or National Labor Relations Act. Whereas only unfair employer practices had been outlawed under the Wagner Act, the new law similarly defined and forbade unfair labor practices. Going further, it banned the *closed shop,* under which management could hire only union members; provided for a sixty-day "cooling off" period before strikes could be called; and required union officers to file affidavits stating that they were not Communists. The unions protested bitterly against the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" Act. Later experience indicated that the Act did not seriously injure the labor movement although it did constitute a setback for the union officials.

Again over President Truman's protests and vetoes, the G. O. P. Congress slashed income taxes, which it claimed had been excessive. Mr. Truman contended that with the national debt standing at over 250 billion dollars, all sources of revenue were needed; besides, he pointed out, the tense international situation called for large expenditures for national defense.

To strengthen the armed forces, leaders in Congress sought to adopt universal military training, but the measure failed because of public opposition to it as being militaristic. Congress succeeded, however, in agreeing to place the army, navy and air force under one cabinet head, the Secretary of Defense, in the hope of promoting closer coordination and all-around efficiency.

With confidence and glowing anticipation, the Republican party looked forward to the presidential election of 1948. At last, after sixteen years, its return to the White House seemed assured. Business was good, but even with the tax cuts, the average man still found it hard to save

money because prices were so high. The country seemed dissatisfied and ready for a change of administrations.

* * *

The reason for this combination of high prosperity, high prices and high taxes is easily explained—the government was spending vast amounts of money on a "cold war" to halt the militant advance of communism in Europe. The powerful Soviet armies directly menaced several nations along their borders, among them oil-rich Iran and strategically situated Turkey. In Czechoslovakia, with Soviet forces standing along the border to overawe any resistance, a Communist coup was executed, and that strongly democratic nation was drawn behind the iron curtain. Greece was gripped by a civil war between Communists and regular government forces, while Italy and France were threatened by well-organized Red movements. The Soviets also sought to drive the Western powers from Berlin by cutting off railroad and other transportation from the West, but the United States and Britain countered with the "airlift," sending supplies to their zones in the city by fleets of cargo planes. On top of all this, it was disclosed that the Soviets had developed atomic weapons of their own.

As in World War II, America acted to bolster her friends abroad against totalitarian aggression. This policy was stated in the Truman Doctrine, which resulted in the dispatch of military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. There was some criticism of Mr. Truman for acting outside the United Nations, but he contended that until that body could handle the matter effectively, the United States would have to act on its own.

To deal with the economic distress in the rest of Europe the Marshall Plan was advanced by Secretary of State George C. Marshall in 1947. The European Recovery Program, as it was also called, was directed "not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos." Secretary Marshall recognized the fact that European industry, trade and agriculture had been seriously damaged by the war, that such conditions encouraged communism, and that substantial help was needed to get the continent back on its feet. He therefore invited the European nations, including Russia, to get together and

draw up balance sheets of what they could do to help themselves and what they needed from the outside. The United States would then supply loans, credits and materials to meet this need.

Stalin branded the Marshall Plan as imperialistic and refused to take part or to allow the Soviet satellites to join. However, sixteen other nations, including West Germany, met at Paris and planned a program of revival which the United States underwrote with seventeen billion dollars. Under the leadership of Paul G. Hoffman, an American industrialist, the Marshall Plan proved generally successful; the countries of Western Europe worked together and with the Americans to restore their war-torn economies. With economic recovery, the Communist Parties in the Western countries began to shrink.

In its new role as a world leader, the United States also joined Western Europe in a military defense pact called the North Atlantic Treaty. The move to band together was instituted on the continent and quickly championed by America. In all, fourteen nations, including Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Greece and Turkey have pledged themselves to come to each other's aid if attacked, and most of Latin America is also committed by virtue of mutual defense pacts in which the United States is one of the signers. General Eisenhower became the first head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) when it was formed in 1949, and military headquarters were established at Paris. Thus within the United Nations there came to exist formal military blocs, the free nations on the one hand and the Soviet Union with its satellites on the other.

* * *

For the most part, Americans supported President Truman's foreign policy during the troubled years after the second World War. In the presidential election of 1948, the Republicans pledged to follow the same course of action if their candidate, Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, were elected. Dewey, an excellent speaker with a fine record as an executive and a "crime-busting" district attorney, had been defeated by President Roosevelt in 1944. Running with him on the G. O. P. ticket in 1948 was Governor Earl Warren of California.

The Democrats were deeply concerned over their chances in the campaign, which was the first to be televised to millions of Americans in their homes. Mr. Truman had been made to look ineffective in his struggle with the Republican Congress on domestic issues. Of even graver import was the fact that both right- and left-wing factions of the Democratic party were opposed to the President. The right wing appeared in the Southern states, where there was much popular resentment over Mr. Truman's efforts to get Federal legislation protecting the rights of Negroes. The left wing was led by Henry A. Wallace, former Vice President under Roosevelt, who advocated a conciliatory policy toward the USSR. Wallace had been Secretary of Commerce under Mr. Truman, but had spoken publicly against the President's policies and had been forced out of the Cabinet. He broke away from the Democrats in 1948 to head a new "Progressive" party, which immediately drew the active support of American Communists.

The President could probably have held the South in line at the Democratic convention if he had not insisted on the adoption of a federal Civil Rights program aimed at curbing race discrimination. A move to break down restrictions against the hiring of Negroes and members of other racial minorities had been started by the New Deal's Fair Employment Practices Commission during the war. Mr. Truman wanted Congress to pass legislation empowering the government to enforce this policy. He also wanted a law to force the abolition of the poll tax, which had kept many underprivileged Southern Negroes, as well as poor whites, from voting.

The Southern delegates objected vehemently to the Civil Rights program, insisting that the problem of securing more privileges for the Negro was a matter for the states, and not the federal government, to handle. No sweeping laws enacted in Washington could automatically erase the delicate racial situation still existing in the South, they contended. At the same time, they pointed to the progress made by the Negroes in obtaining better schools, jobs and housing in recent years.

When Mr. Truman firmly stood his ground on civil rights, a large group of Southerners withdrew from the convention and started the States' Rights or Dixiecrat

party, with Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as its presidential nominee. There were now four main candidates in the field for election: Dewey, Truman, Thurmond and Wallace.

As the campaign unfolded, poll-takers predicted an easy Republican victory over the split opposition, and Governor Dewey did not press hard or touch on controversial issues. By contrast, President Truman toured the country from border to border denouncing the Taft-Hartley Act and the Republican "Do-Nothing" Congress, praising the Administration's firm stand against communism, upholding civil rights, and promising more aid to farmers and greater social security benefits. It was a whirlwind performance, delivered in down-to-earth language, and on election day it caused the greatest upset in American political history.

When the votes were counted, Truman had an electoral total of 303 to Governor Dewey's 189, Thurmond's 39, and Wallace's none. Most of the South had voted for Truman in spite of the Dixiecrats, and Wallace's appeasement policy had fallen flat. Agriculture and labor had swung the balance to the Democrats as they had done before under the New Deal. Both houses of Congress went Democratic, also, and it appeared that the President would at last be able to launch his Fair Deal.

In his second-term inaugural, Mr. Truman announced another American foreign policy plank, fourth in a series of "four major courses of action" to bring peace to the world. *Point Four* was described as "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-privileged areas." Under the technical aid program, the United States hopes to play a part in an improvement of the world standard of living by helping in the war on disease, reclaiming wasteland, developing natural resources, and furthering other such useful projects abroad.

At home, however, disappointments were in store for the President when he took office. The temper of the new Congress proved to be more conservative than expected, and a coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats blocked major legislation. Attempts to cut the budget followed, and complaints over waste and inefficiency in the government were loudly voiced.

Worse yet for the Truman administration were charges by such people as Senator Joseph McCarthy, Republican from Wisconsin, that the government, especially the State Department headed by Dean Acheson, was honeycombed with Communist agents and sympathizers. It developed that a number of government officials had been Communist agents or sympathizers during the period of the New Deal and World War II, when relations with the Soviets had been technically friendly. And in particular the trial and conviction of Alger Hiss, who had held a confidential position in the State Department, seemed to symbolize for the public the danger of widespread spying and subversion.

As the "cold war" continued, Congress took new steps to curb the Communist party and affiliated organizations in the United States by requiring them to register with the government and report on their activities. In 1949, after a long trial, ten Communist party leaders were found guilty of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the United States government and were sentenced to jail. There were a number of local investigations of individuals and groups on charges of Red sympathies. Some fears were expressed that basic American principles of individual freedom were being endangered by irresponsible investigating committees, as in the case of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. On the other hand, it was argued that America must act to protect herself, and certainly her code of justice was incomparably better than the Communists'.

While the problem of communism at home was raising serious questions about subversion on one hand and the danger of undermining due process of law on the other, a different sort of attack against freedom was developing in Korea.

* * *

Events in Asia after World War II followed an exciting and confused course. The United States tried to help unravel the pattern for a few years, then withdrew for awhile, only to become more involved in the continent's affairs than ever.

Carrying out its promises to free the Philippines, the United States gave the Islands their independence on July 4, 1946. In return for economic aid, the new republic

provided strategic military bases for the use of American forces.

General MacArthur was made military governor of Japan after the war, and introduced many democratic processes of government to the Japanese people. Emperor Hirohito retained his crown, but a new constitution was adopted, providing for a legislature elected by both men and women. In 1951, over Soviet protests, the nations that had been at war with Japan concluded a peace treaty with her, under which she renounced all rights to territory other than her home islands. The treaty, which the Japanese nevertheless signed with satisfaction, was prepared by John Foster Dulles as special Ambassador for the U. S. Department of State. Later, Japan granted the United States military bases, to aid in the defense of the Pacific.

In China, American diplomacy fared less well. During the war the Americans made an effort to bring about an alliance between Chiang Kai-shek, head of the recognized Chinese government, and the Chinese Communist leaders, who were carrying on a guerrilla war in large sections of the country. The American purpose was to unite all the Chinese against the Japanese. This plan was unsuccessful.

At the end of the Japanese war, the Soviet Union, which had a treaty of alliance with Chiang, nevertheless gave large quantities of military supplies to the Communist forces, who resumed their attacks on the Nationalists. Many Americans felt that the corruption of Chiang's government was one cause of the poor morale and showing of his armies, though there were others who felt that in spite of Chiang's many faults, more vigorous aid to him might stem the Red tide. Meanwhile, Communist promises of land reform were influential in drawing popular support to the Communists.

As the crisis in China neared, the American government became convinced that military and financial aid could not save Chiang in the absence of popular support, and aid dwindled. Finally Chiang fled to Formosa with the remains of his army, and the Communists were left in control of the mainland.

When the Soviets declared war on Japan in the closing days of World War II, their soldiers invaded Japanese-owned Korea and pushed down to the 38th parallel. The

United States and the Soviet Union then formally agreed that American forces were to receive the surrender of Japanese troops south of the 38th parallel while the Soviet forces would do the same north of the line. It had been previously agreed during the war that Korea would be given full independence.

Moscow, however, showed no disposition to give up its half of the peninsula, and began to communize North Korea. The United States referred the matter to the Assembly of the United Nations, which called for elections to be held throughout the country to establish an independent government. The Soviet authorities in North Korea, however, refused to allow the elections to be held in their area and, as a result, elections were held only in South Korea. Syngman Rhee was elected President of the new republic, which was recognized by the United Nations as the government of all Korea. American occupation forces were then withdrawn from the peninsula.

Meanwhile, the Soviet authorities had set up the puppet "People's Democratic Republic" of North Korea, had trained and equipped an army there, and had withdrawn the bulk of their own troops. On June 25, 1950, the North Koreans launched a full-scale invasion across the 38th parallel into South Korea.

Action from the United Nations came quickly. The Security Council met without the Soviet delegate, who was boycotting the Council at that time. It called on United Nations members to "repel the armed attack in Korea." A great deal was at stake for the democratic powers, for a Communist success would have paved the way to further attack in Asia, especially in French Indo-China, where a Communist civil war was raging.

President Truman acted boldly and decisively for the United States in response to the call of the United Nations. He announced that American troops would help South Korea resist, and ordered the Seventh Fleet to stand between China and Formosa to prevent war from breaking out in that area. The United Nations then authorized Mr. Truman to name a commander to lead its forces in Korea, and General MacArthur was chosen. American troops were rushed to the battlefront from Japan, and other United Nations members hastened to send troops and supplies.

In the first phase of the war, the North Koreans nearly drove the United Nations off the peninsula as they captured Seoul and pushed south almost to Pusan. But in September, 1950, MacArthur counter-stroked effectively when he outflanked the enemy by landing an amphibious force at Inchon. The United Nations forces, consisting predominantly of South Koreans and Americans, then recaptured Seoul, crossed the 38th parallel and slashed deep into North Korea, vanguards actually reaching the Yalu River border of Manchuria.

At this point, a swarm of Chinese Communist "volunteers" suddenly attacked the United Nations forces and swept them back below the 38th parallel. Moscow denied having ordered the attack, but to most observers there was little doubt it had done so. After a long retreat the U. N. forces rallied. Fighting grimly and inflicting terrific losses on the North Koreans and Chinese, they advanced back to the parallel, where the lines finally stabilized.

The problem of what to do about the Chinese intervention now confronted the United Nations. For some time, General MacArthur had counseled an all-out-for-victory program of blockading the China coast, using Chiang Kai-shek's troops from Formosa in the war, and bombing enemy air bases in what he called the "privileged sanctuary" of Manchuria. Attractive as the idea sounded, the Administration, along with other United Nations members, opposed it for fear that it would precipitate a third world war. When MacArthur's appeals became too vehement, and after his public statements contrary to UN policy, President Truman dismissed him from his command and the General returned home, a highly controversial but respected figure.

In June, 1951, the Soviet delegation to the United Nations proposed that "discussions be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire" in Korea. Both sides readily agreed, and negotiations opened at the town of Kaesong, near the 38th parallel. However, disputes soon arose as to where the cease-fire line should be placed, and over the disposition of prisoners. The Communists demanded that all their prisoners be repatriated, but thousands of North Koreans were non-Communists and did not want to be returned. The issue was perplexing, and negotiations dragged

on. Meanwhile, some 250,000 Americans serving under the United Nations banner continued to fight and die along the parallel.

* * *

Just as Americans had generally supported President Truman's foreign policy in Europe, so did they also go along with him on his decision to hold communism at bay in Asia. But as the Korean War casualties mounted, as the national debt crept higher, and as the dilemma of how to win the war without starting a bigger one grew, people started losing confidence in the Administration.

Adding to the dissatisfaction were disclosures of graft and corruption in the government. High officials in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, it developed, were taking bribes from tax evaders instead of prosecuting them. Scandals were reported in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, where Congressmen and officials were charged with using influence to obtain loans for industry in return for commissions and gratuities of various kinds. Even the Justice Department came under scrutiny for its failure to show vigor in the investigation of vote frauds in the corrupt Pendergast political machine in Kansas City. It was this machine which had launched President Truman on his political career.

In 1951, the 20th Amendment, prohibiting future Presidents from serving more than two terms, or of serving more than one full term after they had already held office for more than two years, was ratified. The Amendment did not apply to "any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed," but Mr. Truman announced that he would not be a candidate again.

Excitement over the election campaign of 1952 got off to an early start when Senator Taft declared his willingness to be the G. O. P. nominee a whole year in advance. The Senator, a rather severe and analytical man, was not especially popular with the rank and file of American people, and he was criticized for leaning towards isolationism; nevertheless, he was an able politician and controlled the Republican party machinery.

Looking about for a more appealing candidate, a group of liberal, internationalist Republicans, led by Senator Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, approached General

Eisenhower at his N. A. T. O. headquarters in Europe and asked for his political views. Eisenhower, the nation's top war hero, had never made his party affiliation known. He had been similarly approached by the Democrats as a possible candidate in 1948.

To the delight of Lodge and his co-workers, Eisenhower declared himself a Republican and offered himself as a candidate if the people wanted him. When it became evident that he stood a good chance of winning the G. O. P. nomination, the General resigned from his command in Europe and returned to America to take part in the campaign.

Taft and his backers fought strongly to offset the groundswell of public opinion favoring Eisenhower. In the "smoke-filled" rooms at the convention, they did their utmost to bring the delegates into line for the Ohioan. But there was no stopping the Eisenhower faction, and he was nominated on the first ballot. The choice for Vice President was Senator Richard M. Nixon of California.

Aspirants to succeed President Truman in the White House included Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who had won a national reputation on television as a crime investigator; Vice President Alben Barkley; Senator Richard Russell of Georgia; and Averell Harriman, Mutual Security Administrator. None of these candidates satisfied Mr. Truman, however, who preferred Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.

Stevenson, a newcomer to politics, was a man of good reputation and had won high praise as Governor. His presence as the Democratic candidate would help to offset the taint of corruption now associated with the party, it was felt. Although he had no desire to run for President, Stevenson finally yielded to party pressure, and was nominated. In a bid for Southern votes, the Democrats chose Senator John Sparkman of Alabama for Vice President.

The 1952 election campaign was unique in that neither candidate had much political experience; indeed, General Eisenhower had none. As the struggle proceeded, the General's simple, blunt pronouncements of his faith in the American people contrasted with the brilliant, witty and sophisticated observations of his opponent on domestic and world affairs.

The issues of the campaign were Korea, corruption and the Fair Deal. On the first two, Eisenhower held the advantage: as a soldier, he seemed better qualified to resolve the difficulties in Korea, and he promised to make an inspection trip there if elected. On corruption, Stevenson was at a disadvantage because, for all his own integrity, he was the hand-picked candidate of President Truman, who was campaigning for him vigorously.

On the matter of the Fair Deal, Stevenson promised to carry on in the traditions of Roosevelt and Truman, but here again he had difficulty in getting ahead of his opponent. Eisenhower freely admitted that great social and economic gains for the "little man" had resulted from the Democratic policies, and he promised to continue them—with less bureaucracy, red tape and graft.

The still-Democratic South eyed the struggle with increasing interest. General Eisenhower was popular as a war hero there, he had been born in Texas, and his attacks on bureaucracy and over-centralized government suggested that he believed in States Rights. Was it possible, Southerners asked themselves, that the hated Republican party was planning to follow the principles of Jefferson and Calhoun more closely than the Democrats?

Of particular interest to the South was the question of "tidelands" oil. Off the coasts of Texas, Louisiana and Florida (and also California) lie rich undersea oil deposits which can be profitably developed. Estimates of the worth of the oil range from 40 to 250 billion dollars. To whom do these deposits belong, the states that border them or the Federal government? On three occasions the Supreme Court had ruled in favor of the Federal government.

During the campaign, General Eisenhower gained favor in the South by advocating that the states be granted offshore oil lands out to their "historic limits," meaning three miles for California and Louisiana, and ten and a half for Texas and Florida. Governor Stevenson disagreed, declaring that the undersea deposits belonged to the government and all the people of America, though some way might be found to let the adjoining states share in part of the profits.

Consulting their graphs and figures on the eve of the Eisenhower-Stevenson election, the political forecasters

saw a very close race that could go either way. Twenty-four hours later they were once again holding their heads in embarrassment and trying to explain what had gone wrong with their prognostications.

Eisenhower was elected in a landslide. The electoral vote was 442 to 89, and the popular vote favored the General by nearly 34 million to a little over 27 million for Stevenson. The "solid South" was broken as Virginia, Tennessee, Texas and Florida went Republican. Governor Stevenson carried only nine states, all of them Southern except West Virginia, which borders the South. The Governor had campaigned excellently, in a way that won him respect and affection, but the American people had made up their minds that after twenty years of Democratic rule the time had come for a change of political administrations.

* * *

On January 20, 1953, President Eisenhower was inaugurated at the Capitol in Washington as the 34th President of the United States. Usually a relaxed and smiling man, the President looked tense and serious as he addressed the nation in the hearing of the world: "My fellow citizens: The world and we have passed the midway point of a century of continuing challenge. We sense with all our faculties that forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as scarcely before in history. . . . We are summoned to act in wisdom and in conscience; to work with industry, to teach with persuasion, to preach with conviction, to weigh our every deed with care and with compassion. For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America."

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