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IX. A Short History of American Politics

by

John Bach McMaster.

What is now the territory of the United States has been derived from six European nations. Resting on the discovery by Columbus, and the Bulls of the Popes, Spain claimed the whole Continent, but has been in actual possession only of the Gulf coast from Florida to Texas, and of the interior from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The Swedes once had settlements on the Delaware. The Dutch, following up the voyage of Hudson to the river bearing his name, claimed and held the country from the Delaware to the Connecticut. The French discovered the St. Lawrence and explored and held military possession of the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio and the Great Lakes. The English by virtue of the voyages of the Cabots claimed the Atlantic coast and there founded the colonies which grew into the thirteen United States. Alaska was purchased from Russia.

In the course of the struggle, sometimes peaceful, often bloody, by which the rule of these nations has been thrown off, the Dutch conquered the Swedes; the English conquered the Dutch and the French; the United States expelled the English and in time by purchase or conquest drove out the Spaniards and the Mexicans.

The first serious struggle for possession occurred in the middle of the 18th century, when the English moving westward met the French moving eastward at the sources of the river Ohio. In that struggle which has come down to us as the 'French and Indian War' France was worsted and, retiring from this continent, divided her possessions between England and Spain. To England she gave Canada and the islands and shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and, entering what is now the United States, drew a line down the middle of the Mississippi River and gave all to the E. of that line (save the island on which is the city of New Orleans) to Great Britain, and all to the W. of it to Spain; Spain at the same time gave Florida to England as the price of Cuba.

Having thus come into possession of all the country to the E. of the Great River, King George determined to send out an army of 10,000 men to defend the colonies, and have the latter bear a part of the expense. This part he attempted to collect by duties on goods imported and by a Stamp Tax (1765) on legal documents and printed matter. No tax for revenue had before been laid on America by act of Parliament. The colonists therefore resisted this first attempt and raising the cry 'no taxation without representation' they forced Parliament to repeal the Stamp Tax in 1766. The right to tax was at the same time distinctly asserted, and in 1767 was again used, and duties laid on paints, oils, lead, glass, and tea. Once more the colonists resisted and, by refusing to import any goods, wares, or

merchandise of English make, so distressed the manufacturers of England that Parliament repealed every tax save that on tea. All the tea needed in America was now smuggled in from Holland. The East India Company, deprived of the American market, became embarrassed, and, calling on Parliament for aid, was suffered to export tea, a privilege never before enjoyed. Selecting commissioners in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, cargoes of tea were duly consigned to them; but the people would not allow a pound of it to be sold. At Boston men disguised as Indians boarded the tea ships and threw the boxes into the harbour (comp. p. 88).

As a punishment for this, Parliament shut the port of Boston and deprived the people of Massachusetts of many functions of local government. The Assembly of Massachusetts thereupon called for a General Congress to meet at Philadelphia on Sept. 5th, 1774. The colonies gladly responded and this Congress, having issued a Declaration of Rights and addresses to the King, to Parliament, and to the People of England, adjourned to await the result. The day for the reassembling of Congress was May 10th, 1775; but before that day came, the attempt of Gage to seize military stores brought on a fight at Lexington (April 19th, 1775; p. 125). The fight at Lexington was followed by the siege of the British in Boston, by the formation of the 'Continental Army', by the appointment of *George Washington* to command it, by the battle of Bunker Hill (June 17th, 1775; p. 96), and by an expedition against Quebec, which came to naught, on the last day of the year.

General William Howe meantime had succeeded Gage in command of the British at Boston, and, finding himself hard pressed by Washington, evacuated the city and sailed for Halifax. Believing New York was to be attacked, Washington now hurried to Long Island, where (August 27th, 1776; p. 58) Howe defeated him, took possession of New York, and drove him first up the Hudson and then southward across New Jersey.

Congress, which (July 4th, 1776) had declared the colonies to be free and independent states, now fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. But Washington, turning in his retreat, surprised and captured the British outpost at Trenton (p. 228). Cornwallis instantly hurried toward that town, but Washington, passing around the British rear, attacked and captured (at Princeton, Jan. 3rd, 1777; p. 228) a detachment on its march to Trenton, and then went into winter quarters at Morristown.

With the return of spring Howe, finding that he could not reach Philadelphia by land without passing in front of the Continental Army stretched out on a strongly intrenched line across New Jersey, went by sea. Washington met him at Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine (p. 268), was defeated, and on Sept. 25th, 1777, Howe entered Philadelphia. In the attempt to dislodge him Wash-

ington fought and lost the battle of Germantown (Oct. 4th, 1777; p. 243). The loss of Philadelphia was more than made good by the capture of *Burgoyne* and his army at Saratoga (Oct. 17th, 1777; p. 198), while on his way from Canada to New York City.

The fruits of this victory were the recognition of the Independence of the United States by France, the treaty of alliance with France (Feb. 8th, 1778), and the evacuation of Philadelphia by *Clinton*, who had succeeded *Howe*. *Washington*, who had spent the winter at Valley Forge (p. 253), instantly followed, and overtaking *Clinton* at Monmouth fought and won the battle at that place (June 29th, 1778). *Clinton* escaped to New York, and *Washington*, drawing his army in a circle about the city from Morristown on the S. to West Point on the N., awaited further movements.

Turning towards the Southern States, the British commander now despatched an expedition which took Savannah and overran the State of Georgia. The year which followed (1779) is memorable for the capture of Stony Point by *Anthony Wayne* (p. 163), for the treason of *Benedict Arnold* (pp. 163, 168), for the execution of *Major John André* (p. 166), for the capture of the Serapis by *Paul Jones* after one of the most desperate naval battles on record, and by the failure of an attempt by the Americans to retake Savannah (p. 394). In 1780 *Clinton* led an expedition from New York to Charleston, took the city, swept over South Carolina, and, leaving *Cornwallis* in command, hurried back to New York. *Gates*, who now attempted to dislodge the British, was beaten. *Greene* now succeeded *Gates*, and *Morgan*, the commander of his light troops, won the battle of the Cowpens (Jan. 17th, 1781; p. 375). This victory brought up *Cornwallis*, who chased *Greene* across the State of North Carolina to Guilford Court House (p. 375), where *Greene* was beaten and *Cornwallis* forced to retreat to Wilmington. Moving southward, *Greene* was again beaten in two pitched battles, but forced the British to withdraw within their lines at Charleston and Savannah.

Cornwallis meantime moved from Wilmington into Virginia and took possession of Yorktown. And now *Washington*, who had long been watching New York, again took the offensive, hurried across New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and, while a French fleet closed the Chesapeake Bay, he besieged *Cornwallis* by land, till (Oct. 19th, 1781) the British General surrendered (p. 369). This practically ended the war.

The Treaty of Peace, in 1783, actually ended it, secured the independence of the United States and fixed her boundaries, roughly speaking, as the Atlantic Ocean on the E., the Mississippi on the W., New Brunswick, the St. Lawrence, and the Great Lakes on the N., and the parallel of 31° on the S.

While the war was still raging, Congress had framed an instrument of government, which the States ratified and put in force on Mar. 1st, 1781. This instrument of government which bound the thirteen States

in perpetual union was known as the Articles of Confederation, and established a government as bad as any yet devised by man. There was no executive, no judiciary, and only the semblance of a legislature. The Congress consisted of not more than seven nor less than two delegates from each State; sat in secret session; was presided over by a President elected from its own members; and could not pass any law unless the delegates of nine states assented. It could wage war, make treaties, and borrow money; but it could not lay a tax of any kind whatsoever; nor regulate commerce between the States, or with foreign powers; and was dependent entirely on the liberality of the States for revenue. This defect proved fatal. Inability to regulate foreign commerce by duties stripped the country of its specie. Lack of specie forced the States to issue paper money. Paper money was followed by tender acts and force acts and, in some places, by a violent stoppage of justice by the debtor class. A commercial and financial crisis followed and the people of the States, reduced to desperation, gladly acceded to a call for a national trade convention which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787. The instructions of the delegates bade them suggest amendments to the Articles of Confederation. But the convention, considering the Articles too bad to be mended, framed the Constitution which the people, acting through conventions in the various states, ratified during 1787 and 1788.

On Mar. 4th, 1789, the Constitution became the 'supreme law of the land.' In the first congress no trace of party lines is visible. But the work of establishing government had not gone far when differences of opinion sprang up; when the cry of partial legislation was raised, and the people all over the country began to divide into two great parties, — those who favoured and those who opposed a liberal construction of the language of the Constitution and the establishment of a strong national government. The friends of national government took the name of Federalists, and under the lead of *Alexander Hamilton* who, as Secretary of the Treasury, marked out the financial policy of the administration, they funded the foreign and domestic debt occasioned by the war for independence, assumed the debts incurred by the States in that struggle, set up a national bank with branches, and laid a tax on distilled liquors. Each one of these acts was met with violent opposition as designed to benefit a class, as unconstitutional, and as highly detrimental to the interests of the South. Against the Federalists were now brought charges of a leaning towards monarchy and aristocracy. Great Britain it was said has a funded debt, a bank, and an excise. These things are, therefore, monarchical institutions. But the Federalists have introduced them into the United States. The Federalists, therefore, are aristocrats, monarchists, and monopolists.

Of all who believed these charges, none believed them more sincerely than *Thomas Jefferson*, Secretary of State. Seeing in these

acts a wide departure from the true principles of democracy, he set himself to work to organize a party of opposition, and was soon looked up to as the recognized leader of the Federal Republicans. Hardly had the two parties thus been called into existence by difference of opinion on questions of home affairs, when they were parted yet more widely, and the dispute between them intensely embittered by questions of foreign affairs. In 1793 the French Republic declared war against England, and sent a minister to the United States. As the United States was bound to France by the Treaty of Alliance and by a Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and was not bound to Great Britain by any commercial treaty whatever, it seemed not unlikely that she would be dragged unwillingly into the war. But Washington with the advice of his secretaries proclaimed neutrality, and from that time every Republican was the firm friend of France and every Federalist the ally of England. Then began a seven years' struggle for neutrality. France threw open her colonial ports to neutral commerce. Great Britain asserting the 'Rule of the War of 1756', a rule prescribing that no neutral should have, in time of war, a trade it did not have in peace, declared this trade was contraband and seized the ships of the United States engaged in it. The Republicans denounced neutrality and attempted to force a war. The Federalists in alarm dispatched *John Jay*, the Chief Justice, to London with offers of a commercial treaty. England responded and on Feb. 29th, 1796, the first treaty of Amity and Commerce between her and the United States became law. At this France took offence, rejected the new minister (C. C. Pinckney) from the United States, and drove him from her soil; suspended the treaties, insulted a special commission (sent out in the interest of peace), with demands for bribes and tribute, and brought on a quasi-war. Never since the days of Bunker Hill had the country been so stirred as this act of the French Directory stirred it in the summer of 1798. Then was written our national song 'Hail Columbia'. Then was established the department of the Navy. Then, under the cry, 'Millions for defence; not a cent for tribute', went forth that gallant little fleet which humbled the tricolour in the West Indies and brought France to her senses.

With the elevation of Napoleon to the First Consulship came peace in 1800. In that same year the Federalists fell from power never to return. Once in power, the Republicans began to carry out the principles they had so long preached. They reduced the National debt; they repealed the internal taxes. They sold the Navy; boldly assaulted the Supreme Court; and in 1811, when the Charter of the National Bank expired, refused to renew it. Their doctrine of strict construction, however, was ruined, when, in 1803, they bought the Province of Louisiana from France and added to the public domain that splendid region which lies between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. At that moment it seemed

as if the people were about to enter on a career of unwonted prosperity. But Napoleon suddenly made war on England, and by 1806 the United States was involved in a desperate struggle of nine years both with France and England for commercial independence. Great Britain searched our ships, impressed our sailors, violated the neutrality of our ports, and by the decisions of her admiralty courts and by orders in council sought to ruin our neutral commerce with Europe, unless carried on through her ports and under her license. Napoleon attacked us with his decrees of Berlin and Milan, and sought to ruin our neutral commerce with England. The United States retaliated by means of the Embargo and Non-intercourse, and, in 1812, by declared war.

With the cessation of hostilities another epoch in our history begins. From the day when Washington proclaimed neutrality in 1793, to the day when the people celebrated, with bonfires and with fireworks, and with public dinners, the return of peace in 1815, the political and industrial history of the United States is deeply affected by the political history of Europe. It was questions of foreign policy, not of domestic policy that divided the two parties, that took up the time of Congress, that raised up and pulled down politicians. But after 1815 foreign affairs sank into insignificance, and for the next thirty years the history of the United States is the history of the political and economic development of the country to the E. of the Mississippi River.

The opposition which the Federalists made to the War completed their ruin. In 1816 for the last time they put forward a presidential candidate, carried three states out of nineteen, and expired in the effort. During the eight years of *Monroe's* administration (1817-25) but one great and harmonious party ruled the political destinies of the country. This remarkable period has come down to us in history as the 'Era of good feeling'. It was indeed such an era, and so good were the feelings that in 1820 when *Monroe* was re-elected no competitor was named to run against him. Every State, every electoral vote save one was his. Even that one was his. But the elector who controlled it, threw it away on *John Quincy Adams* lest *Monroe* should have the unanimous vote of the Presidential electors, an honour which has been bestowed on no man save *Washington*.

In the midst of this harmony, however, events were fast ripening for a great schism. Under the protection offered by the commercial restrictions which began with the Embargo and ended with the peace, manufactures had sprung up and flourished. If they were to continue to flourish they must continue to be protected, and the question of free trade and protection rose for the first time into really national importance. The rush of population into the West led to the admission of *Indiana* (1816), *Mississippi* (1817), *Illinois* (1818), *Alabama* (1819), and *Missouri* (1820) into the Union, and

brought up for serious discussion the uses to be made of public lands lying within them. The steamboat, which had been adopted far and wide, had produced a demand for some improved means of communication by land to join the great water highways of the country and opened the era of internal improvements. The application of Missouri for admission into the Union brought up the question of the admission of slavery to the W. of the Mississippi. A series of decisions of the Supreme Court, setting aside acts of the State legislatures, gave new prominence to the question of State rights.

The Missouri question was settled by the famous Compromise of 1820 (the first great political compromise) which drew the line 36° 30' from the Mississippi to the 100th Meridian, and pledged all to the N. of it, save Missouri, to freedom. But the others were not to be settled by compromise, and in the campaign of 1824 the once harmonious Republican party was rent in pieces. Each of the four quarters of the Republic put a candidate in the field and 'the scrub-race for the presidency' began. The new manufacturing interests of the East put forward *John Quincy Adams*. The West, demanding internal improvements at public expense, had for its candidate *Henry Clay*. *William H. Crawford* of Georgia (nominated by a caucus of congressmen) represented the old Republican party of the South. *Andrew Jackson* of Tennessee stood for the new Democracy, for the people, with all their hatred of monopolies and class control, their prejudices, their half-formed notions, their violent outbursts of feeling. Behind none of them was there an organized party. But taking the name of 'Adams men' and 'Clay men', 'Crawford men' and 'Jackson men', the friends of each entered the campaign and lost it. No candidate secured a majority of the electoral college, and the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams.

Under the administration of Adams (1825-29) the men who wished for protection and the men who wished for internal improvements at Government expense united, took the name first of National Republicans and then of Whigs, and, led on by Henry Clay and *Daniel Webster*, carried through the high protection tariffs of 1828 and 1832. The friends of Jackson and Crawford took the name of Democrats, won the election of 1829, and, during twelve years, governed the country. In the course of these years the population of the United States rose to 17,000,000, and the number of states to twenty-six. Steam navigation began on the Ocean; two thousand miles of railroad were built in the land; new inventions came into use; and the social and industrial life of the people was completely revolutionized. The National debt was paid; a surplus accumulated in the Treasury; the sale of public lands rose from \$3,000,000 in 1831 to \$25,000,000 in 1836; and the rage for internal improvements burned more fiercely than ever. A great financial panic spread over the country; the Charter of the National Bank

expired; a hundred 'wild-cat banks' sprang up to take its place; and the question of the abolition of slavery became troublesome.

On the great questions which grew out of this condition of affairs the position of the two parties was well defined. The Democrats demanded a strict construction of the Constitution; no internal improvements at public expense; a surrender of the public lands to the state in which they lay; no tariff for protection; no National Bank; no agitation of the question of abolition of slavery; the establishment of sub-treasuries for the safe keeping of the public funds, and the distribution of the surplus revenue. The Whigs demanded a re-charter of the National Bank; a tariff for protection; the expenditure of the surplus on internal improvements; the distribution of the money derived from the sale of public lands; a limitation of the veto power of the President; and no removals from office for political reasons.

The Democrats, true to their principles, and having the power, carried them out. They destroyed the Bank; they defeated bill after bill for the construction of roads and canals; they distributed \$38,000,000 of the surplus revenue among the states, and, by the cartage of immense sums of money from the East to the far distant West, hastened that inevitable financial crisis known as the 'panic of 1837'. Andrew Jackson had just been succeeded in the Presidency by *Martin Van Buren* (1837-41) and on him the storm burst in all its fury. But he stood it bravely, held to a strict construction of the Constitution, insisted that the panic would right itself without interference by the Government, and stoutly refused to meddle. Since the refusal of Congress to re-charter the Bank of the United States, whose charter expired in 1836, the revenue of the Government had been deposited in certain 'pet banks' designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Every one of them failed in the panic of 1837. Van Buren, therefore, recommended 'the divorce of Bank and State', and after a struggle of three years his friends carried the 'sub-treasury' scheme in 1840. This law cast off all connection between the State Banks and the Government, put the collectors of the revenue under heavy bonds to keep the money safely till called for by the Secretary of the Treasury, and limited payments to or by the United States to specie.

The year 1840 was presidential year and is memorable for the introduction of new political methods; for the rise of a new and vigorous party; and for the appearance of a new political issue. The new machinery consisted in the permanent introduction of the National Convention for the nomination of a president, now used by the Democrats for the second time, and by the Whigs for the first; in the promulgation of a party platform by the convention, now used by the Democrats for the first time; and in the use of mass meetings, processions, songs, and all the paraphernalia of a modern campaign by the Whigs. The new party was the Liberty Party and

the new issue the 'absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from slavery, and the restoration of equality of rights among men'. The principles of that party were: slavery is against natural right, is strictly local, is a state institution, and derives no support from the authority of Congress, which has no power to set up or continue slavery anywhere; every treaty, every act, establishing, favouring, or continuing slavery in the District of Columbia, in the territories, on the high seas is, therefore, unconstitutional.

The candidate of this party was *James Gillespie Birney*. The Democrats nominated Martin Van Buren. The Whigs put forward *William Henry Harrison* and elected him. Harrison died one month after his inauguration, and *John Tyler*, the Vice-President, and a Democrat of the Calhoun wing became president. The Whig policy as sketched by Clay was the repeal of the sub-treasury act; the charter of a National Bank; a tariff for protection; and the distribution of the sales of public lands. To the repeal of the sub-treasury act Tyler gladly assented. To the establishment of a bank even when called 'Fiscal Corporation', he would not assent, and, having twice vetoed such bills, was read out of the party by a formal manifesto issued by Whig Congressmen. It mattered little, however, for the question of the hour was not the bank, nor the tariff, nor the distribution of the sales of lands, but the annexation of the Republic of Texas. Joined to the demand for the re-occupation of Oregon, it became the chief plank in the Democratic platform of 1844. The Whig platform said not a word on the subject, and the Liberty Party, turning with loathing from the cowardice of Clay, voted again for Birney, gave the State of New York to the Democrats, and with it the presidency. Accepting the result of the election as an 'instruction from the people', Congress passed the needed act and Tyler in the last hours of his administration declared Texas annexed.

The boundary of the new State was ill-defined. Texas claimed to the Rio Grande. Mexico would probably have acknowledged the Nueces River. The United States attempted to enforce the claim of Texas, sent troops to the Rio Grande, and so brought on the Mexican War. At its close the boundary of the United States was carried to the S. from 42° to the Gila River, and what is now California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and more than half of Wyoming and Colorado were added to the public domain. While the war was still raging, *Polk*, who had succeeded Tyler, asked for \$2,000,000 to aid him in negotiating peace. Well knowing that the money was to be used to buy land from Mexico, *David Wilmot* moved in the House of Representatives that from all territory bought with the money slavery should be excluded. This was the famous Wilmot proviso. It failed of adoption and the territory was acquired in 1848, with its character as to slavery or freedom wholly undetermined.

And now the old parties began to break up. Democrats who

believed in the Wilmot proviso, and Whigs who detested the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, and the extension of slavery went over in a body to the Liberty Party, formed with it the 'Free-soil Party', nominated Martin Van Buren, and gave him 300,000 votes. In their platform they declared that Congress had no more power to make a slave than to make a king; that they accepted the issue thrust on them by the South; that to the demand for more slave states and more slave territories they answered, no more slave states, no more slave territories; and that on their banner was inscribed 'Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men'. As the defection of Whigs to the Liberty Party in 1844 gave New York State to the Democrats and elected Polk, so the defection of Democrats to the Free Soilers in 1848 gave New York to the Whigs and elected Taylor. As Harrison, the first Whig President, died one month after taking office, so Taylor, the second Whig President, died suddenly when a little over one year in office, just as the great Whig Compromise of 1850 was closing. The imperative need of civil government in the new territory, the discovery of gold in California, the rush of men from all parts of the earth to the Pacific Coast forced Congress to establish organized territories. The question was: shall they be opened or closed to slavery? But, as the soil had been free when acquired from Mexico, the question really was: shall the United States establish slavery? The Democrats, holding that slaves were property, claimed the right to take them into any territory, and asserting the principle of 'squatter sovereignty', claimed the right of the people living in any territory to settle for themselves whether it should be slave or free. The Free Soilers demanded that the soil having been free when a part of Mexico should be free as a part of the United States. Between these two Clay now stepped in to act as pacificator. Taking up the grievances of each side, he framed and carried through the measure known as the Compromise of 1850, the third great political Compromise in our history. The fruit of this was the admission of California, as a free state; the passage of a more stringent law for the recovery of fugitive slaves; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and the organization of Utah and New Mexico on the basis of 'squatter sovereignty'. This done, Senators and Representatives of all parties joined in a manifesto, declaring that the issues resting on slavery were dead issues, and that they would neither vote for, nor work for any man who thought otherwise. But thousands did think otherwise. The action of Clay pleased none. Anti-slavery men deserted him in the North; pro-slavery men deserted him in the South; and in 1852 the Whig party carried but four states out of thirty-one and perished. Even its two great leaders Clay and Webster were, by that time, in their graves.

Excited by such success, the Democrats, led on by *Stephen A. Douglas*, now broke through the compromise of 1820 and in

1854 applied 'squatter sovereignty' to the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Against this violation State legislatures, the people, the pulpit, and the press protested vigorously, for every acre of Kansas and Nebraska lay to the N. of 36° 30' and was solemnly pledged to freedom. But the Democratic leaders would not listen and drove from their ranks another detachment of voters. The effect was soon manifest. The little parties began to unite and when, in 1856, the time came to elect another President, the Republican party of to-day was fully organized and ready. Once more and for the last time for 28 years the Democrats won. The administration of *James Buchanan* (1857-61) marks an epoch. The question before the country was that of the extension of slavery into the new territories. Hardly had he been inaugurated, when the Supreme Court handed down a decision on the case of *Dred Scott*, which denied the right of Congress to legislate on slavery, set aside the compromises of 1820 and 1850 as unconstitutional, and opened all the territories to slavery. From that moment the Whig and Democratic parties began to break up rapidly till, when 1860 came, four parties and four presidential candidates were in the field. The Democratic party, having finally split at the National Convention for nominating a president and vice-president, the southern wing put forward *Breckenridge* and *Lane* and demanded that Congress should protect slavery in the territories. The northern wing nominated *Stephen A. Douglas* and declared for squatter sovereignty and the Compromise of 1850. A third party, taking the name of 'Constitutional Union', declared for the Constitution and the Union at any price and no agitation of slavery, nominated *Bell* and *Everett*, and drew the support of the old Whigs of the Clay and Webster school. The Republicans, declaring that Congress should prohibit slavery in the territories, nominated *Abraham Lincoln* and *Hannibal Hamlin* and won the election.

The State of South Carolina immediately seceded and before the end of Feb., 1861, was followed by Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Taking the name of the Confederate States of America, they formed first a temporary and then a permanent government, elected *Jefferson Davis* President, raised an army, and besieged Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbour. The attempt to relieve the fort brought on the bombardment and surrender (April 19th, 1861). The Confederate States were now joined by Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee. Richmond was made the capital, and the Civil War opened in earnest.

The line of separation between the States then became the Potomac River, the Ohio River, and a line across S. Missouri and Indian Territory to New Mexico. Along this line the troops of the Union were drawn up in many places under many commanders. Yet there were in the main but three great armies. That of the E. or Potomac under *Gen. McClellan*; that of the centre or the Ohio under *Gen. Buell*; that of the W. or Missouri under *Gen. Halleck*.

In command of all as Lieutenant-General was *Winfield Scott*. Confronting them were the troops of the Confederacy, drawn up in three corresponding armies: that of N. Virginia under *Johnston* and *Lee*, that of the Cumberland under *Albert Sidney Johnston*, and that of the trans-Mississippi under *McCulloch* and *Price*.

Yielding to the demand of the North for the capture of Richmond before the Confederate congress could meet there (July 20th, 1861), *McDowell* went forth with thirty-eight thousand three-months volunteers to the ever memorable field of Bull Run (p. 374). But the serious campaigning did not begin until Jan., 1862. Then the whole line west of the Alleghenies (made up of the armies of Ohio and the Missouri), turning on Pittsburg as a centre, swept southward, captured Forts Henry and Donelson, defeated the Confederates at Shiloh (p. 384), captured Corinth (p. 334), took Island No. 10 (p. 364), and drove them from Fort Pillow. Meantime *Farragut* entered the Mississippi from the Gulf (see p. 416), passed Forts Jackson and St. Phillip, captured New Orleans, and sent Commodore Davis up the river to take Memphis. Memphis fell June 6th, 1862, and, save for Vicksburg, the Mississippi was open to navigation. When the year closed, the Confederates had been driven to the E. into the mountains of Tennessee, where (Dec. 31st, 1862-Jan. 2nd, 1863) was fought the desperate and bloody battle of Murfreesboro'. The Union troops won, and the Confederate army fell back to Chattanooga (p. 383).

With the Army of the Potomac meantime all had gone ill. The affair at Bull Run in July, 1861, had been followed by the transfer of the army to McClellan. But McClellan wasted time, wore out the patience of the North, and forced Lincoln to issue General Order No. 1 for a forward movement of all the armies on Feb. 22nd, 1862. Obedient to this McClellan began his 'Peninsula Campaign' against Richmond, was out-generaled by Lee, and in the second battle of Bull Run (p. 374) suffered so crushing a defeat that Lee ventured to cross the Potomac, enter Maryland, and encounter McClellan on the field of Antietam (p. 379). In that battle Lee was beaten and fled across the Potomac. But McClellan failed to follow up the victory and was removed, the command of the Army of the Potomac passing to *Burnside*. Burnside led it across the Potomac and the Rappahannock and on Dec. 13th, 1862, lost the battle of Fredericksburg (p. 366). For this he was replaced by *Hooker*, who, May 1st-4th, 1863, fought and lost the battle of Chancellorsville (p. 366). Lee now again took the offensive, crossed the Potomac, entered Pennsylvania, and at Gettysburg met the Army of the Potomac under *Meade* (p. 366). On that field was fought the decisive battle of the war. Then (July 1st-4th, 1863) the backbone of the Confederacy was broken, and the two armies returned to their old positions in Virginia.

While Meade was beating Lee at Gettysburg, *Grant* captured

Vicksburg (July 1st-3rd, 1863; see p. 359). For this he was sent to command the army of *Rosecrans*, then besieged by *Bragg* at Chattanooga (p. 383). Again success attended him and, in Nov., he stormed Lookout Mountain, defeated *Bragg* in the famous 'Battle above the Clouds' (p. 383), and drove him in disorder through the mountains. For these signal victories he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General (in 1864) and placed in command of the Armies of the United States.

That year is memorable for the great march of *Sherman* to the E. from Chattanooga to the sea (p. 395), for the victories of *Sheridan* in the Valley of the Shenandoah (p. 379), for the Wilderness Campaign of Grant (p. 366), the shutting up of Lee in Richmond, and by the re-election of Lincoln. His competitor was *General McClellan*, whom the northern Democrats put forward on the platform that the war was a failure and that peace should be made with the South. In the spring of 1865 came the retreat of Lee from Richmond, and on April 9th, his surrender at Appomattox Court House (p. 373). On April 15th, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated (p. 287), and *Andrew Johnson* became President.

With the succession of Johnson the era of Reconstruction, political and social, begins. The outcome of political reconstruction was the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States, the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, and a long list of acts to protect and assist the Freedmen of the South. The outcome of social reconstruction was the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the passage and use of the Force Act, and the dreadful condition of affairs which ruined the South for a decade.

In the North the effect of such measures was to split the Republican party and put seven Presidential candidates in the field in 1872. One represented the Temperance party; another the Labour party, denouncing Chinese labour and the non-taxation of Government land; a third was the Liberal Republican, demanding union, amnesty, and civil rights, accusing Grant of packing the Supreme Court in the interests of corporations, and calling for a repeal of the Ku Klux Laws. The Liberal Republicans having chosen *Horace Greeley* as their candidate, the Democrats accepted and endorsed him. But he pleased neither party and the discontented Liberals and the discontented Democrats each chose a candidate of their own. The Republicans nominated Grant and elected him. His second term (1873-77) was the nadir of our politics, both State and National, and ended with the disputed election and the rise of the Independent or 'Greenback Party', demanding the repeal of the Act for the resumption of specie payments and the issue of United States 'greenback' notes, convertible into bonds, as the currency of the country. Double returns and doubtful returns from the S. States put the votes of thirteen electors in dispute. As the House was Democratic and the Senate Republican, the joint rule

under which the Electoral votes had been counted since 1866 could not be adopted. A compromise was necessary and on Jan. 29th, 1877, the Electoral Commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court was created to decide on the doubtful returns. Of the fifteen eight were Republicans and seven Democrats, and by a strict party vote the thirteen Electoral votes were given to the Republicans and *Rutherford B. Hayes* declared elected.

The memorable events of his term (1877-81) were the resumption of specie payments on Jan. 1st, 1879; the passage of the Bland Silver Bill, restoring the silver dollar to the list of coins, making it legal tender, and providing for the coinage of not less than 2,000,000 nor more than 4,000,000 each month; and the rapid growth of the National or Greenback-Labour party. Hayes was followed in 1881 by *James A. Garfield*, whose contest with the Senators from New York over the distribution of patronage led to his assassination by the hand of a crazy applicant for office. *Chester A. Arthur* then became President, was followed in 1885 by *Grover Cleveland*, who was succeeded in 1889 by *Benjamin Harrison*, who was in turn succeeded in 1893 by *Grover Cleveland*. In 1897 *William McKinley* became President, and his period of office was signalized by a war with Spain (1898) and the advent of the United States as a Colonial Power.

States and Territories of the United States.

STATES.			STATES		
	Area in sq. M.	Pop. in 1890		Area in sq. M.	Pop. in 1890
1. Alabama	51,540	1,513,017	28. New York	47,620	5,997,853
2. Arkansas	53,045	1,128,179	29. North Carolina	48,580	1,617,947
3. California	155,960	1,208,130	30. North Dakota	70,196	182,719
4. Colorado	108,645	412,198	31. Ohio	40,760	3,672,816
5. Connecticut	4,845	746,253	32. Oregon	94,560	318,767
6. Delaware	1,960	168,493	33. Pennsylvania	44,985	5,256,014
7. Florida	54,240	391,422	34. Rhode Island	1,085	345,506
8. Georgia	58,980	1,837,353	35. South Carolina	30,170	1,151,149
9. Idaho	84,290	84,325	36. South Dakota	76,850	328,805
10. Illinois	58,000	3,826,351	37. Tennessee	41,750	1,767,513
11. Indiana	35,910	2,192,404	38. Texas	262,290	2,235,523
12. Iowa	55,475	1,911,896	39. Utah	82,190	207,905
13. Kansas	81,700	1,427,096	40. Vermont	9,135	332,422
14. Kentucky	40,000	1,858,635	41. Virginia	40,125	1,655,880
15. Louisiana	45,420	1,118,587	42. Washington	66,820	349,390
16. Maine	29,885	661,096	43. West Virginia	24,645	762,794
17. Maryland	9,860	1,042,330	44. Wisconsin	54,450	1,688,880
18. Massachusetts	8,040	2,293,943	45. Wyoming	97,575	60,706
19. Michigan	57,430	2,098,899			
20. Minnesota	79,205	1,301,826	TERRITORIES.		
21. Mississippi	46,340	1,289,800	Arizona	112,920	59,620
22. Missouri	68,735	2,679,134	New Mexico	122,460	153,583
23. Montana	145,310	132,159	Oklahoma	38,830	61,834
24. Nebraska	76,840	1,058,910			
25. Nevada	109,740	45,781	District of Columbia	60	230,392
26. New Hampshire	9,065	376,630	Alaska	581,410	31,795
27. New Jersey	7,455	1,444,933			
			Total 3,501,410 62,654,045		