A HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY

A TEXTBOOK FOR HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

BY

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UNIT ONE

How our Country was Discovered and Settled

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Breakfast in New York, luncheon in Kansas City, dinner in Los Angeles. The aviator now covers the three thousand miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast in less than a summer's day. Passing in the first hour of his flight across the narrow Atlantic plain (the home of the thirteen original states), with its many rivers flowing south and southeast, he soars above the wooded Appalachian range of mountains, extending from the Adirondacks in New York to the state of Alabama, and then has before and beneath him the thousand and more miles of the great Mississippi basin. Over the eastern half of the basin, once covered with dense forests, he looks down upon cities and farms and a network of railroads and highways; but not long after he crosses the Mississippi, the prairies begin to replace the timbered land, the rivers become shallow and sand-choked, the settlements grow sparser, and the Great Plains stretch wider and drier to the foothills of the Rockies. Another flight of nearly a thousand miles carries him above the majestic snow-capped peaks of the Rockies and the Sierras, with the high plateaus between the ranges, and then he descends into the sunlit gardens of the Pacific coast.

What the aviator has done in the smooth flight of a single day took our pioneers more than two centuries to accomplish, as

they toiled through the forests with ax and rifle, floated down the "western waters" to the Mississippi, led their wagon trains across the prairies and deserts, fought the stealthy Indians of the forest and the fierce Indians of the plains, and left the bones of their animals and comrades to bleach in the hot sands or to be buried in the drifts of the blizzard. The westward march of the pioneers is the pageant of American democracy. The trader followed the explorer, and the settler followed the trader. The steamboat replaced the raft and flatboat on the rivers. The railroad succeeded the stagecoach and the express rider across the plains and mountains. As each new western frontier opened up new resources (rich bottom lands for farms, vast stands of timber, mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron, apparently exhaustless deposits of coal and oil) each contributed to the story of American life, affecting not only our methods of production, manufacture, trade, and travel but also our laws, our politics, our schools, our churches, our literature, our speech, our diet, and our dress.

About one hundred and thirty million people now live in the forty-eight states which form our Union. If they were equally distributed over the three million square miles of the country, there would be a little more than forty inhabitants to the square mile. But our population is very "spotty." The tiny state of Rhode Island has five hundred and sixty-seven people to the square mile, while the state of Nevada, ninety times as large, has less than one inhabitant to the square mile. If the United States were as densely populated as England (seven hundred per square mile), it would contain more than the present total population of the world. The four industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, occupying less than seven per cent of the area of the United States, hold nearly thirty per cent of the population. The four mountain states of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada, with fifteen per cent of the area, have only one and one-tenth per cent of the population. Leaving to one side the eleven million eight

hundred and fifty thousand Negroes, most of whom are descended from the slaves imported into the country, and the three hundred and thirty-two thousand Indians who have survived the relentless march of the white men across their continent, we find that our population has grown from two main sources: first, from the natural increase and constant westward migration of the settlers who came to our shores (mostly from the British Isles) in the colonial days; and, second, from the heavy European immigration to this land of promise during the nineteenth century. In the seventy years before the World War more than thirty million immigrants arrived in America. Two thirds of them came from Germany, Italy, Ireland, Poland, and Russia. By the census of 1930 there were over thirteen million whites of foreign birth in the United States, and twice that number of foreign or mixed parentage, that is, with either father or mother or both born in alien lands.

America has been called the "melting pot" because of these millions of people of foreign speech and customs who have been thrown in with our native colonial stock, to be fused into a new type of American. Some students of society (sociologists) think that the process has injured our country by introducing a base alloy. Others point to the benefits which the brains and the hands of the immigrants have brought. There is much to be said for each side of the question. But all are agreed that the mixture of peoples in the American melting pot, like the variety of soil and climate in the vast American continent, has had a constant influence upon our history.

Let us now see why and when and how people from the Old World came to discover and settle the land of a New World.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS

The history of the United States really began not with the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, but with the founding of the English colonies in America in the seventeenth century. For the groups of homemakers who then settled on our shores from New England to the Carolinas brought with them the seeds of culture which grew into the harvest of our national life. Many other peoples came, to be sure, to add variety and richness to the harvest; but they did not supplant it by the institutions of their homelands. The language, the laws, the forms of government, the ideas of the rights and duties of free citizens as contrasted with unprivileged subjects, even the models of literature, architecture, dress, and manners, — all these were of English origin. They, of course, suffered a "sea change" by being brought across the wide ocean into the wilderness of the New World. But they persisted and took root and spread out over mountains and rivers and plains until our whole land from sea to sea was dominated by a civilization which had been derived from the British Isles. Therefore, though the stories of the Spanish conquerors and the French explorers and missionaries are exciting and picturesque, the more sober chronicles of English settlers deserve our chief interest. We shall study in this chapter the reasons why the English came to America, and the forms of government which they established here.

England Takes to the Sea. At the beginning of the seventeenth century no one would have dreamed that England was destined to build the greatest colonial empire of modern times, with possessions on every continent and in all the seas. For when the last of the Tudor sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth, died

king's appointed officials. They forced one governor to resign and another to dissolve an "old and rotten" House of Burgesses which he had brought under his thumb. And when Governor William Berkeley refused to defend the outlying settlements of the colony against the Susquehanna Indians in 1675 (because of his personal profit from the fur trade), a popular young planter named Nathaniel Bacon raised an army of three hundred volunteers on his own account and not only defeated the Indians but drove Governor Berkeley out of his capital, Jamestown, and set it on fire. Bacon died of fever (or poison) at the moment of his victory, and his "rebellion" collapsed; but, as the first armed resistance to the behavior of English officials in the American colonies, it was prophetic of the great rebellion which took place exactly a century later.

The Pilgrim Fathers. While Virginia was founded as a business enterprise by a company of London "adventurers,"[1] the second English colony in America had a religious origin. The Separatists (p. 50) were so "harried" by King James's spies and sheriffs that in the year 1608 about a hundred of them from the eastern part of England fled to Holland, which was at that time the only country in Europe where men were not persecuted for their religious beliefs. But these exiles were not entirely happy in their new home, in spite of their freedom to worship as they pleased. Being mostly farmers, they found it hard to adapt themselves to the industrial life of the city of Leiden, where they were settled. Besides, they did not want their children to grow up in a foreign land, where they would forget their native tongue and be tempted to neglect their strict observance of the Sabbath day. They felt like "pilgrims and strangers," longing for a home under the English flag. America beckoned; but the Pilgrims had neither money nor supplies, nor friends at court.

[1] "Adventurers" was the term used for the people in England who subscribed the money to provide ships and supplies for the colonists; while the actual settlers in the colonies were called "planters." Some of the stockholders ("adventurers") might, of course, go to America and become "planters," as in the case of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; but generally the men responsible for financing the company remained in England.

Indignation against Andros had reached a high point when the welcome news arrived in Boston in April, 1689, that James II had been driven from his throne by the "glorious revolution." Andros, left unprotected by the fall of his master, was seized and imprisoned by the outraged leaders of the colony. The town meeting of Boston assumed the government, appointed a committee of safety, and sent envoys to London to learn the will of the new sovereigns, William and Mary of Orange. The "empire" of Andros was broken up. Connecticut and Rhode Island were allowed to resume self-government under their old charters. New York (where a certain Jacob Leisler had seized the power on the news of James II's downfall[1]) and New Jersey received new royal governors. Massachusetts was given a new charter in 1691, which altered the independent Puritan character of the colony in three important respects: (1) the governor was to be appointed by the king instead of elected by the freemen of the colony; (2) liberty of worship was guaranteed to all Protestant sects; (3) the ownership of property and not membership in a Puritan church was made the basis of political rights. Under this charter the Massachusetts colony lived until the American Revolution.

The Proprietary Colony of Maryland. Virginia, Plymouth, and Massachusetts, however varied the motives which brought their settlers to America, had all been financed by trading companies which invited investors to buy their stock. In 1632 appeared the first successful colony of a type which was to supersede the trading company entirely and become the pattern for the colonies founded under the later Stuart kings, Charles II and James II (1660–1689). It is known as a "proprietorship." The king granted to a man or a small group of men (generally courtiers) a tract of land with large powers of government. The proprietors appointed the governors, judges, and councilors of their colonies, organized the courts, authorized lawmaking as-

[1] Leisler had no intention of "rebellion," and was willing and ready to hand over authority to the new king's governor when he should arrive at New York. But that cruel governor, Slaughter, provoked by Leisler's assumption of power, had the innocent man hanged as a traitor.

which provided that "no person in this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be in any ways troubled . . . for his or her religion . . . so that they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary or molest or conspire against the civil government established." This is the first act of religious toleration in the American colonies, though by excluding non-Christians it was less tolerant than Roger Williams's complete religious freedom in Rhode Island. Lord Baltimore even went so far as to appoint a Puritan governor of Maryland in deference to his large majority of Protestant subjects. The strife between Catholics and Protestants in Maryland continued until James II was overthrown in England. Then Maryland was taken away from the Baltimores and put under a royal governor. The Anglican Church was established, and the Catholics, who comprised less than 10 per cent of the population, were deprived of their political rights. However, when the Baltimores turned Protestant the colony was restored to them (1720), and it remained a proprietary province until the American Revolution.

The Carolinas. Owing a debt of both gratitude and money to the Cavaliers who had helped him regain his throne, Charles II, in 1663, granted to a group of eight courtiers the huge tract of land between Virginia and the Spanish settlement of Florida, extending westward to the "South Sea." The object of the proprietors was to build up a prosperous trade in semitropical products, such as silk, wine, ginger, rice, and indigo. They published *A Brief Description* of the province, with a map, setting forth "the Healthfulness of the Air, the Fertility of the Earth and Waters, and the great Pleasure and Profit [that] will accrue to those that shall go thither to enjoy the same." Settlers from Barbados and the British Isles, together with some German and French Huguenots (Protestants), were attracted to the colony by its growing industries and its policy of religious toleration, until by the end of the seventeenth century it had a population of more than fifty thousand.

But the colony did not prosper politically. An elaborate constitution, the "Grand Model," composed by the great English philosopher John Locke, proved utterly unfit for the govern-

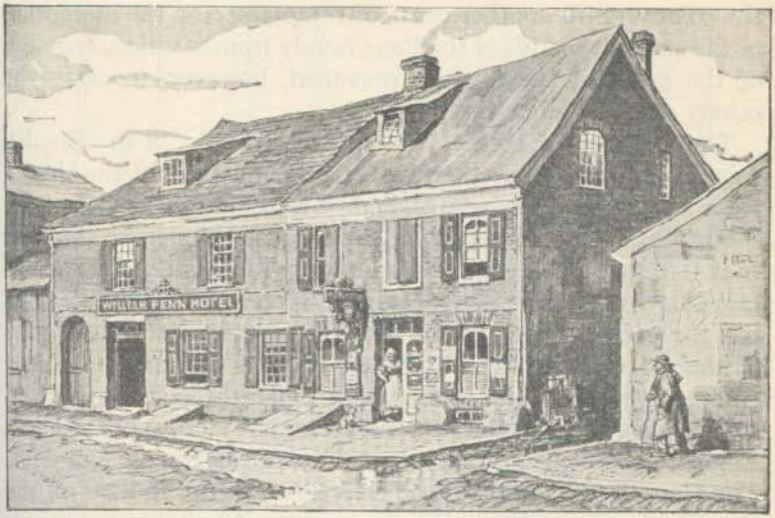
ment of a sparse colony in the American wilderness. The northern settlers on Albemarle Sound and the southern group around Charleston, separated by three hundred miles, went their own ways, until they were recognized in 1711 as the colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina, with a governor for each. Pirates preying on the rich islands of the West Indies used the sheltered coast of North Carolina for their lairs. The Spaniards, who claimed the Carolina territory as their own, incited the Indians to attack the colony on the south. The proprietors, according to the charter, owned the land as feudal lords; and when the assembly of South Carolina tried to take it out of their hands and sell it to settlers, they vetoed the act. The assembly then rebelled against the proprietors and petitioned King George I to be taken under his protection as a royal province (1719). The petition was granted, and ten years later the proprietors sold their rights and interests in both Carolinas to the crown for £50,000.

The Dutch Colony on the Hudson. The best place on the Atlantic coast for the establishment of a colony was the site of New York, with its splendid harbor and bay and its great river leading up to the heart of the fur country. Yet it was not the English but the Dutch who took possession of this choice region. In September, 1609, in search of a passage to Cathay, Henry Hudson, an experienced English navigator in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed up the river which bears his name, bartering trinkets, liquor, and firearms for the valuable furs which the Indians brought out in their canoes to his little vessel, the *Half-Moon*. Five years later Fort Orange was built on the present site of Albany. The States-General of Holland created the Dutch West India Company to govern the colony, which was called New Netherland.

The first director-general (governor) arrived at Manhattan in 1623, the date taken to mark the founding of New York City. Shortly afterward the third director-general, Peter Minuit, bought from the Indians the island on which the greatest metropolis of our country now stands, paying for it sixty Dutch guilders (twenty-four dollars), or about one tenth of a cent an

Under Dutch rule the colony had had no representative assembly, nor was it until 1683 that the new English proprietor yielded to the pressure (especially from the towns on Long Island founded on the New England model) to grant one. Two years later, on coming to the English throne as James II, he revoked this grant and made New York the pattern of absolute government to which he tried to make all the colonies north of Maryland conform. How his viceroy Andros failed in this plan we have already seen (p. 63). After the confusion following the overthrow of James II and the tragic fate of Leisler (p. 64) was past, New York went on for the rest of the colonial period with governors sent over by the king and with an assembly elected by the people. The Anglican Church was established, but other Protestant sects were allowed to worship freely. Two interesting facts were noted by visitors to New York even in the seventeenth century, namely, the great variety of peoples and languages to be found there, and the absorption of the inhabitants in money-making.

The Jerseys. Even before he had driven the Dutch from his new province, the Duke of York leased the lower part of it, between the Delaware and the Atlantic, to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The latter had been governor of the island of Jersey, in the English Channel, and it was in honor of him that the province was called New Jersey. The new proprietors immediately published "Concessions" for their colony — a liberal constitution granting religious liberty and a popular assembly with the control of taxation. The proprietors divided their province into East Jersey (Carteret's) and West Jersey (Berkeley's). Their right to establish a government was constantly disputed by the governors of New York, and their attempts to collect rents from the land were resisted by settlers, many of whom were Puritans from New England. Finally both proprietors grew tired of the strife and sold out their claims to groups of Friends, or Quakers, who, in spite of their peaceful doctrines, could not bring order and harmony into New Jersey politics. In 1702 East and West Jersey were united into a single royal colony, which for thirty-six years



THE OLD PENN HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA

in 1682 and laid out the town of Philadelphia ("brotherly love"), with its streets at right angles and with ample house plots. A year later there were four thousand "industrious husbandmen, carpenters, masons, weavers and other mechanics in Pennsylvania"; and before the end of the seventeenth century it was the largest and most prosperous colony in America. Its exports of bread, flour, lumber, and beer made those commodities "a drugg in all the markets of the West Indies." Evidently the "holy experiment" was a worldly success.

Nevertheless, after Penn's death there were frequent quarrels between the proprietors, the assembly, and the people of the colony. The Scotch-Irish and Germans who were filling up the western land complained, like the frontiersmen in all the colonies, that they were not getting their fair share of representatives in the legislature at Philadelphia. Moreover, these frontiersmen, who were natural-born fighters, had to bear the attacks of the French and Indians on the border in the wars of the eighteenth century, while the wealthy pacifist Quakers who controlled the government were slow to appropriate money for the defense of

the colony. Still another cause of complaint was the exemption of the extensive lands of the Penn family from taxation. Enough of the spirit of the founder prevailed, however, to carry the colony over its difficulties.

The Colony of Georgia. To complete the list of the English colonies which became the thirteen original states of the Union, we must mention Georgia, though it was founded long after the Stuarts had been driven from the English throne. In the year that George Washington was born (1732) James Oglethorpe obtained a charter from King George II granting to a body of trustees for a term of twenty-one years the southern, unsettled part of the old Carolina territory lying between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. Oglethorpe was a philanthropist who wished to provide a home in the New World for the victims of the harsh English laws which threw a man into prison for a small debt. The Church was eager for the conversion of the Indians on the Carolina borders. Capitalists hoped to make profits out of silk and wine industries introduced into the province. And the English government, drifting into a war with Spain, was glad to have the frontier extended southward to Spanish Florida. So Parliament, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Bank of England, and many private citizens contributed toward founding the new colony on the banks of the Savannah in 1733. Slavery was forbidden in Georgia in the early days; also the traffic in rum. Still the colony did not prosper as its founder had hoped. Silk and wine culture proved unsuited to the land. When war between England and Spain broke out, Oglethorpe twice descended upon the Spanish post of St. Augustine, in Florida, but was not able to take the fort.

It was not till the close of the French and Indian War, in 1763, that the quarrel over "the debatable land" was ended by the transfer of the province of Florida from Spain to England. Meanwhile, ten years earlier, the trustees of Georgia had been glad to surrender their charter to the king. The valiant Oglethorpe lived till 1785, to see the colony which he had founded a state of the Union, whose independence was recognized by Great Britain and the other powers of Europe.

COLONIAL STAGECOACH

families. Huguenots (Protestants) expelled from France by Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) came to New England, New York, and South Carolina. The defeat of the Scotch supporters of the Stuart cause in 1715 and 1745 sent many Highlanders to America. Germans, fleeing from the devastation of the Rhinelands by the French armies, flocked to Penn's colony at the rate of nearly two thousand a year from 1727 to 1754. Protestants from the north of Ireland (the Scotch-Irish), oppressed by the harsh English laws against their industries and commerce, came over to fill in the frontier region from New Hampshire to the Carolinas, until there were nearly four hundred thousand of them here at the time of the Revolutionary War. Altogether, the non-English stocks made up more than a quarter of the population in 1776.

If the colonies were still far from the idea of a political union for the common good in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, they were, nevertheless, coming closer together in many ways. The spaces between the earlier patches of settlement were filling up. Stage lines and post-office routes were

mercial centers had a flourishing trade with the West Indies. The English islands alone could not furnish sufficient molasses for the rum distilleries of Massachusetts and Rhode Island; nor did they provide a large enough market to absorb the fish, lumber, horses, and wheat exported from mainland colonies to the Indies. If trade with the foreign islands were killed, the American merchants could not find the money to pay for the manufactured goods which they imported from England, some of which, such as woolens, hats, and iron products, the colonists were forbidden to make for foreign or intercolonial trade.

The colonies therefore defied the Molasses Act, and for the next thirty years the English ministers were wise enough not to attempt to enforce it. The chief reason for this prudent course was doubtless the rapid increase in the population and wealth of the colonies in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of that century there were not more than three hundred thousand inhabitants scattered from New Hampshire to South Carolina; but by 1760 the number had grown to over a million and a half. In 1700 the total trade of the continental colonies with England was £635,000, or less than one half of the trade between England and the West Indies; but, again, by 1760 the foreign trade of the mainland colonies had increased to £3,000,000, and the imports of these colonies from England were double those of the West Indies. Communities as prosperous as these were not inclined to subordinate their commercial interests to those of the British Empire in general, much less of the West Indies in particular. "If the King of England were encamped on Boston Common with twenty thousand men," said James Otis, "he could not enforce these laws."

The French Menace. Besides defending their local governments and their growing trade against too much interference by acts of Parliament and royal officials, the colonists also rendered valiant aid to the mother country in defending their borders against the French and the Indians. The year after Jamestown was founded, Samuel de Champlain, resuming Jacques Cartier's work of seventy years before (p. 42), established the beginning of the French empire in America by the

glance at the condition of the country in 1789, we shall study in this chapter the way in which the chief problems were met.

The United States in 1789. The country over which Washington was unanimously called to preside in 1789 contained a free white population of 3,200,000, with 600,000 Negro slaves, scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from New England to Georgia. Philadelphia, the largest city, had 42,000 inhabitants; New York followed with 32,000; Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore had each passed the 10,000 mark. A steady stream of immigration was pouring into the valleys of the Ohio and the Cumberland across the Alleghenies. In the very summer that the statesmen at Philadelphia were framing the Constitution, a traveler reported that 900 boats had gone down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, carrying 18,000 settlers with their horses, sheep, and cattle, to take up the farm lands which were to be had for a dollar or two an acre. The census of 1790 showed a population of more than 100,000 in what had been the trans-Allegheny districts of Virginia and North Carolina; and these hardy pioneers, imbued with the idea of self-government, were preparing the machinery for statehood and clamoring to be admitted to the Union. North of the Ohio the settlement was somewhat slower, because the 45,000 Indians of that region, encouraged by agents from Canada who wished to keep the fur trade in the hands of the British, were better organized to resist the American advance. All the country west of the Mississippi, as well as the entire shore of the Gulf of Mexico, belonged to Spain. Our country was then but one third the size of the present United States and contained less than one thirtieth of our present population.

Industries and Commerce. What is now a land of great cities joined by a network of railroad and airplane lines, and humming with the whir of thousands of factory wheels and millions of automobile engines, was in Washington's day a land of forests and farms. Over 90 per cent of the inhabitants were tillers of the soil. Shipping and fishing were the only industries of importance. There were, to be sure, a few iron foundries, tanneries, pottery works, and textile mills; but the "Industrial Revolu-

treaty of 1778 and authorized our ships to prey on French commerce. In the two years 1798–1800 a state of war with France existed, and over eighty French ships were captured. But neither country wanted war. When Talleyrand saw that he could not browbeat the United States, he hastened to assure our minister to Holland that a new American commission would be received with due respect by the French Republic. Adams, to his everlasting credit, resisted the clamor of the Hamiltonian faction for war, and sent envoys to France to reopen negotiations. Four days after they had sailed from Philadelphia, Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the corrupt Directory. Intent on establishing his despotic power in France and Europe, Napoleon wanted no complications with the United States. He readily agreed, in September, 1800, to a convention by which he gave up the treaty of alliance of 1778 in return for our government's abandonment of all claims for damages to our shipping by French cruisers since 1793. It was a fair bargain, and it enabled us to enter the nineteenth century at peace with all the nations of the world.

The Alien and Sedition Acts. The Federalists rendered great services to the country during the first decade of its history under the Constitution. They set our finances in order and strengthened our credit at home and abroad; they encouraged domestic manufactures and stimulated foreign trade; they maintained the honor of the United States while bringing to a peaceful conclusion serious controversies with England, France, and Spain. By the year 1800 the new government was firmly established. But already the Federalists had signed the death warrant of their party. In the heyday of their power, in the exciting summer of 1798, they had sought to crush the Republican opposition and secure their own party hold on the government by passing a set of laws that caused their downfall.

Since most of the foreigners who came to the country joined the Republicans, the Federalists passed a Naturalization Act, increasing from five to fourteen years the period of residence necessary for a foreigner to become a citizen of the United States. Two Alien Acts followed which gave the President the power for

weekly levees were succeeded by informal receptions, to which the public thronged to shake the President's hand. The British minister Merry was shocked when Jefferson received him in negligee, with slippers worn down at the heels, and Merry's secretary compared the President to "a tall, large-boned farmer," — a description which Jefferson would probably have considered flattering, since he believed that the independent, self-respecting farmers were the saving element in our population.

Jefferson's Moderation. It soon appeared that the scaremongers who had prophesied a revolution in case Jefferson were elected had grossly misjudged their man. In his inaugural address the new President praised our "just and solid republican government" as a "successful experiment," and declared that Federalists and Republicans were all brethren in their common devotion to the Union. He promised "equal and exact justice to men of every shade of political and religious opinion"; friendship with all nations, but no alliances; respect for the rights of the states, while still preserving "the general [national] government in all its constitutional vigor"; freedom of speech, press, and elections; and economy and honesty in the management of the country's finances. If Jefferson's opponents feared or his followers hoped that he would attack the financial system which Hamilton had set up (Bank, tariff, public funds), they were equally mistaken. The Naturalization Act (p. 204) and a tax on whisky which had started a riot, known as the Whisky Rebellion of 1794, among the farmers of western Pennsylvania, were repealed. The offenders imprisoned or fined under the Sedition Act were pardoned. The army and navy were reduced, and Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, a native of Switzerland, applied the savings to the payment of the public debt, which he estimated would be entirely paid off by the year 1817. These reforms could hardly be called a "revolution."

Hectoring the Judges. There was one point, however, at which Jefferson made a direct attack on the policy of his predecessor. At the very close of Adams's administration the Federalists, defeated in the elections for the Presidency and Congress,

to 80,000,000 pounds in 1811, and to 177,000,000 pounds in 1821. Because cotton culture exhausts the soil rapidly, the planters were always looking for fresh lands. They quickly spread into the fertile regions of the Mississippi Territory (which Andrew Jackson had freed from the Indian danger), and by 1821 more than a third of the cotton crop was being raised in the states west of the Alleghenies.

Since manufacturing was excluded from the South by the plantation system, there was no need for a protective tariff. The planter bought his clothing, tools, furniture, and other manufactured goods from the North or from Europe. The tariff was a burden upon him, because it raised the price of every such article that he bought, thus enriching the Northern manufacturer at his expense. That the tariff made higher wages possible and so increased the buying power of the laborers was no argument in its favor; for his laborers were slaves to whom he paid no wages, but for whom he had to supply tools, clothing, and food. He was not particularly interested in the prosperity of the New England cotton mills, because they used only about one fourth of the Southern cotton crop. The planter's chief markets were in Europe, and he wanted to exchange his cotton freely for the manufactured goods of Europe and the North at prices which were not increased 10, 20, or 30 per cent by the tariff.

The New West. In contrast to the industrial system of the East and the plantation system of the South, the West presented a pioneer society, with its own peculiar needs and interests. The ever westward-moving frontier has been one of the most important influences in American history. The frontier bred a type of settlers who, in their struggle to subdue the wild forests and the wilder savages, became self-reliant, resourceful, and courageous. As it had little attraction for people of wealth or social distinction, it developed a stark democracy. One man was as good as another politically and socially. The real test was whether he could swing an ax, tame a horse, bring down a squirrel with his long-barreled rifle, meet the wily attack of the Indian, and keep steady under a load of corn whisky. When the

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE JACKSONIAN ERA

The New Democracy. The masses who hailed the advent of Andrew Jackson were not mistaken in their belief that a new type of democracy had come into power. The "revolution" of 1828 was more thorough than the "revolution" of 1800, because, while Jefferson held that the common man should be given the opportunity through education and training to fit himself to take part in the government, Jackson declared that such education and training were of trifling account. "The duties of all public officers are . . . so plain and simple," he said, "that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." Jefferson, the aristocratic Virginian scholar and statesman, believed that the competent should rule, subject always to the vigilant and free criticism of the people at large. Jackson, the assertive, self-made frontiersman, believed that government should be *by* the people as well as *for* the people, and hence that the offices should be "passed around," in order to give as many as possible a share. It was chiefly the growing influence of the new West that gave strength to the Jacksonian democracy. By 1828 nine of the twenty-four states of the Union lay west of the Allegheny Mountains, and they contained more than one third of the 12,600,000 inhabitants of the country. In these pioneer communities differences of social rank disappeared. The voice and opinion of the Western pioneer were worth as much as those of any aristocratic merchant or planter in Boston or Charleston. These Westerners were, in Professor Turner's phrase, "men with bark on." Though not one in a hundred had probably ever heard of Emerson, they would have readily agreed with his saying "Europe extends to the Alleghenies; America lies beyond."

The Labor Class. The West was not the only factor in the development of the new democracy, however. The growth of manufactures in the Eastern states since the second war with England had given rise to a laboring class (swelled by immigration from Europe) which was becoming conscious of its strength and was demanding legislation for its social and economic improvement. The factory system took away the independence of the worker and made him a cog in a great machine. He was no longer the master of his own tools but the servant of the expensive tools owned by the capitalists. He had to enter the factory gates when the whistle blew, and had to work from twelve to fifteen hours a day in such quarters and for such wages as the management provided. Women and children generally toiled beside the men to eke out a living. Women comprised half the operatives in the cotton mills of New England, and children of six or eight years of age worked from daylight to dark for a dollar a week, "growing up," as one pathetic petition put it, "as ignorant as Arabs of the desert."

Trade unions had existed for many years, and strikes had not been infrequent; but they were feeble and local affairs before the extension of the suffrage gave some political influence to the working class. In the very year of Jackson's election the trade unions of Philadelphia organized a Workingmen's party and put up candidates for local offices. What was more natural than that the class which was demanding higher wages, shorter hours of work, free public education, and more sanitary conditions in mills and factories should flock to the support of Andrew Jackson, the plain man of the people? It was their votes in the industrial section of the country that ensured his election. Without his votes from New York and Pennsylvania he would have been defeated.

Reform Movements. The age was marked also by a number of efforts for the improvement of the physical, moral, and mental condition of the people. Excessive drinking was a curse of American society in the early nineteenth century. Vast quantities of raw corn whisky were consumed by the Western frontiersmen, while rum, brandy, fiery punches, and strong wines were

ness." Once let men become herded in cities (the plague spots of civilization), they would degenerate into an idle, vicious, turbulent "proletariat" easily led by demagogues. Just the thing that Jefferson feared was beginning to take place in the Jacksonian era. The factory system was gathering hundreds of thousands of "hands" into the industrial centers of the North. Immigrants from Europe, attracted now not so much by the land as by the chance for a job in a mill, began to pour in by the tens of thousands to take the place of the Americans who preferred to go West rather than work for a boss.

These immigrants furnished a cheap labor supply, and, being rapidly naturalized and enfranchised, offered the politicians a rich harvest of votes. Politics, the science of government, came to be more and more the game of capturing the offices. The art of flattering the people rather than of instructing them was cultivated. All the tricks of political advertising — catchwords, cartoons, badges, banners, stump speeches, clubs, and rallies — were used to catch votes. And public office, when once attained, was looked on not so much as an honorable position of civic responsibility as a source of patronage with which to reward the faithful "party workers." William L. Marcy, of New York, in a debate in the United States Senate in 1832, made the remark "To the victors belong the spoils." This famous proverb, borrowed from the Romans, gave the name to the vicious "spoils system," which cursed our government for half a century after Jackson's accession. It meant that with every change of administration the civil servants of the defeated party, however long or faithful their service had been, were turned out of office to make way for adherents of the victorious party.

The New President. The man who was elected to the Presidency at this important time of ferment, which marked "the rise of the common man" in politics and industry and social planning, was a sharp contrast to his predecessors, not only in speech and manners but in his ideas of the nature of the first office in the land. Our former Presidents had considered themselves as "executives," to carry out the laws made by Congress. They respected the "checks and balances" of the Constitution,

Missouri, pushing their canoes into the creeks to reach the beaver lodges, and bringing down to St. Louis thousands of dollars' worth of furs for the markets in Europe. There was little attempt made to settle the region between the Missouri and the Rockies, which contained hardly a thousand white inhabitants by the middle of the nineteenth century. Except for the trails of the hunters and an occasional military exploring expedition, it was given over to the dense herds of bison and the fierce tribes of the Plains Indians. From the time of Monroe's administration our government had been moving the Indian tribes from the eastern side of the Mississippi to reservations across the river, where they were guaranteed the possession of their inferior lands "forever." [1] They were thought to be beyond the frontier of American settlement.

Major Stephen H. Long, returning to St. Louis from an expedition to the headwaters of the Platte and Arkansas rivers in 1820, reported the country as "almost wholly unfit for cultivation and, of course, uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. . . . The scarcity of wood and water, almost universally prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. . . . This region, however, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward"! Such pessimistic descriptions of a region now smiling with fields of wheat and corn served to retard for years the development of the Western plains and to cause them to be labeled on the maps of a century ago as "the Great American Desert."

The Santa Fe Trail. The year after Major Long made his discouraging report, exciting news came from the Southwest. Mexico joined the long list of Spanish-American colonies in the New World in throwing off the yoke of the mother country and

[1] The removal of the tribes was not always an easy matter. The Sacs and Foxes, under their remarkable chief Black Hawk, defended their lands in Illinois in a war in which Abraham Lincoln served as a captain (1832). The Seminoles in Florida resisted removal beyond the Mississippi for more than a decade.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE BUSINESSMAN'S PEACE

The New Far West. An area larger than the United States of 1783 or the Louisiana region purchased from Napoleon in 1803 was added to our territory between 1845 and 1848.[1] The land varied in value. Between the rich cotton areas of Texas and the smiling valleys of California lay the arid plateaus and majestic canyons of the Rockies. In Oregon fine timber and farm lands were awaiting the settler. The sudden acquisition of the Pacific coast from Puget Sound to San Diego opened upon our view the great western ocean and made us neighbors of China and Japan. The new region, though sparsely populated by white men, was still not entirely unknown; for ever since the days of Lewis and Clark's expedition adventurous explorers and emigrant trains had been beating into roads the Indian trails to Santa Fe, Oregon, and California. Groups of immigrants, obeying the American instinct for self-government, had set up little "republics" on the Columbia, the Sacramento, or the Rio Grande, waiting for the United States to take them under its protection. Now that the whole Far West was ours by formal treaties, it was incumbent upon the government at Washington to provide for its proper political organization. President Polk had already urged Congress in his message of December, 1846, to erect Oregon into a territory, and as soon as we acquired New Mexico and California he recommended a territorial government for these provinces also.

[1] AREA OF UNITED STATES BEFORE 1845

	Sq. Miles
Original area, 1783	(about) 830,000
Louisiana Purchase, 1803	" 875,000
Florida Purchase, 1819	" 65,000
	1,770,000

ADDITIONS, 1845–1848

	Sq. Miles
Texas, 1845	(about) 390,000
Oregon, 1846	" 290,000
Mexican Cession, 1848	" 520,000
	1,200,000

Cass, Douglas, Clay, and Webster talked of the destiny of the American flag to float over the whole continent from Hudson Bay to the Isthmus of Panama, and of the superiority of our free democratic government over the "effete monarchies" of the Old World. The failure of the potato crops in Ireland in 1845 and 1846, and the revolutions of 1848 which convulsed the leading states of continental Europe, sent to our shores hundreds of thousands of immigrants who were welcomed to the "land of liberty."

Our government was quick to express its sympathy for peoples struggling for their freedom from European despotism. In December, 1850, our Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, sent a defiant reply to the Austrian representative at Washington, who had complained of the sympathy we showed to Hungary in her struggle for freedom: "The power of this Republic at the present moment is spread over a region one of the richest and most fertile on the globe, and of an extent in comparison with which the possessions of the House of Hapsburg are but a patch on the earth's surface." When the Hungarian patriot, General Louis Kossuth, came to America the next year, he was received by Congress and the people with a welcome only less enthusiastic than that given to Lafayette a quarter of a century before.

In the summer of 1853 Douglas made a trip abroad and probably expressed the sentiment of a large proportion of his fellow countrymen when he wrote: "Europe is tottering to the verge of dissolution. When you visit her, the objects which enlist your attention are the relics of past greatness, the broken columns erected to departed power." And Henry Clay, on his deathbed, wrote to Kossuth that "for the cause of liberty, we should keep our lamp burning brightly on this western shore, as a light to all nations." The Americans of the mid-century were no more modest than was Woodrow Wilson at the time of the World War in their idea of the role of the United States as an example of justice to an erring world.

We Become Interested in an Isthmian Canal. The most imposing work of man in the Western Hemisphere is the Panama Canal, through whose locks and Gatun Lake and Culebra Cut

over two billion dollars' worth of bonds, most of which were in the hands of the bankers, who were permitted by law, as we have seen (p. 438), to use them as a basis for loans to the manufacturers, the railroad-builders, the oil-refiners, and the other "captains of industry."

Again, unrestricted immigration brought swarms of aliens to our shores after the war to supply "hands" for the new industries. A law of Congress passed in 1864 allowed the unlimited importation of laborers. In 1863 only 80,000 immigrants had come to America. The number rose to 320,000 in 1866, to 380,000 in 1870, and to 420,000 in 1873, before the great panic came to send the figures down below the 200,000 mark. In Philadelphia alone over 180 new manufacturing plants were established in the last two years of the war. The value of our manufactured products increased 200 per cent in the period from 1860 to 1880, and certain sections of the country became great centers of special industries, such as the steel region about Pittsburgh and the textile sections of southern New England.

The Standard Oil Company. It would take volumes to describe the formation and operation of these various combinations, or "trusts," in transportation, banking, and lumbering, and in the steel, coal, petroleum, leather, whisky, sugar, textile, and other industries. We may select the Standard Oil Company as one of the oldest and most typical of them. Toward the close of the Civil War, John D. Rockefeller, a successful young business man in Cleveland, Ohio, became interested in the possibilities of petroleum, which had begun to "gush" from wells drilled in western Pennsylvania in 1859. Rockefeller set out to control the petroleum business. In 1865 his Standard Oil Company of Cleveland was operating on the modest capital of one hundred thousand dollars. Five years later he organized the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, with a capital of one million dollars, and had control of most of the refining business of the state. Another five years and he had absorbed the important refineries in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and was controlling nearly 90 per cent of the refinery business of the country. In 1882 the great Standard Oil trust was incorporated

vigorous, and efficient administration. He insisted on fair terms to China in the act of 1882 for the restriction of Chinese immigration to the United States.[1] He tried to prevent the raid on the Treasury by his veto of "pork barrel" bills, which appropriated huge sums for small harbors and unnavigable rivers. He advocated a fair revision of the tariff. He laid the foundation for our modern navy of ironclads. Most significant of all, though he had been dismissed from the New York customhouse by Hayes for his abuse of the patronage, three years later he signed the act which has been called "the Magna Carta of Civil Service Reform."

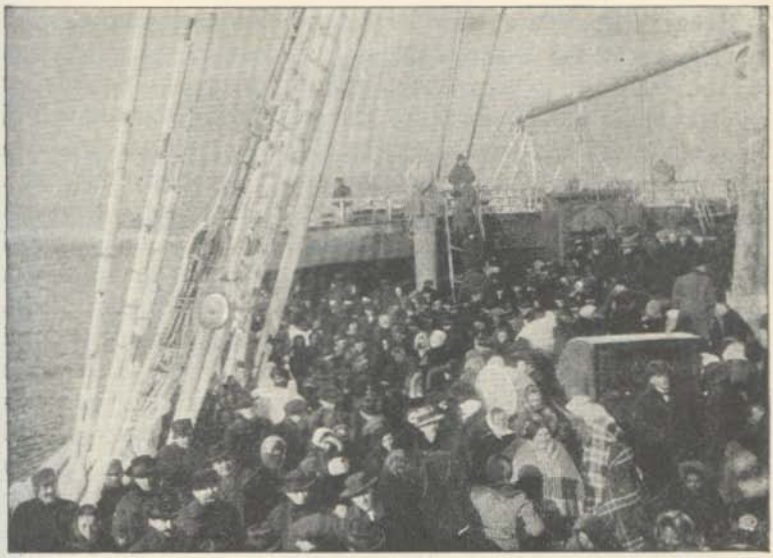
Guiteau's pistol shot had roused the country to a realization of the disgraceful state of the civil service. Following the recommendation of Arthur in his Presidential message of December, 1882, George H. Pendleton, a Democratic Senator from Ohio, introduced a bill providing for a commission to classify the grades of the civil service and devise a system of competitive examinations for the selection of the candidates. The bill also forbade political assessments, as well as removals from office for failure to make "voluntary" contributions to political campaigns. The bill was passed by large majorities in both houses and signed by Arthur (January 16, 1883). The President showed his sincerity in the cause by appointing an ardent reformer as chairman of the Civil Service Commission, promulgating a set of rules for the faithful execution of the act, and himself putting about fifteen thousand government employees into the classified service before he left office.

[1] Thousands of Chinese coolies had been imported to work on the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. By 1870 there were over seventy thousand Chinese in the country, nearly five sixths of them in California. Their low standard of living aroused the hostility of American labor, and there began a crusade against them, led by Dennis Kearney, the "sand lots" orator of San Francisco. "Four dollars a day and roast beef" and "The Chinese must go" were the slogans. President Hayes secured the consent of China to our "regulation, limitation, or suspension" of Chinese immigration, and on the basis of this agreement Congress forbade the entrance of Chinese laborers into the country for twenty years. Arthur vetoed the bill on the ground that the "suspension" of immigration for twenty years was equivalent to a prohibition of it. He forced Congress to reduce the period to ten years. But he might as well have signed the original bill, for at the close of the ten-year period Congress renewed the exclusion of the Chinese by the Geary Act.

Pension Bill which granted a pension of twelve dollars a month to every dependent soldier and sailor who had served three months, regardless of whether he had received any injury or had even participated in a battle. So great was the abuse heaped upon him by certain officers of the Grand Army of the Republic that he canceled his engagement to visit their encampment at St. Louis. Congress upheld his veto, however, and even the rank and file of the veterans at St. Louis approved it by a vote of 318 to 173.[1]

Labor Unrest. The middle years of the decade of the 1880's were vexed by so many conflicts between capital and organized labor that they have been called the period of "the great upheaval." Strikes increased from 485 in 1884 to 645 in 1885 and 1411 in 1886, involving in the latter year nearly ten thousand establishments and a half a million workers. The situation was made worse by the arrival of radical agitators in the flood of immigrants who came to our shores. The social revolutionists and anarchists of Chicago had formed the International Working People's Association in 1883, advocating violence in the class struggle. Their membership was largely recruited from the embittered revolutionaries of continental Europe. Of the eight anarchist newspapers published in the city, only one was printed in the English language. The labor strife culminated in a deed of horror on May 5, 1886. An open-air meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago, called by the anarchists to protest against the forcible repression of a strike in the McCormick reaper works and to demand an eight-hour day, was ordered by the police to disperse. The reply was the explosion of a dynamite bomb thrown into the midst of the police squad, killing one man instantly and mortally wounding seven others.

[1] Cleveland's unpopularity with the officials of the G. A. R. was increased by his "rebel-flag order" of April 30, 1887, instructing the Adjutant General to return to the Southern states a number of flags which had been captured from the Confederate armies and had been lying for years in the attic of the War Office building at Washington. The storm of protest that arose over this "recognition of the lost cause," and the realization, on further thought, that the disposition of the flags belonged to Congress and not to the President, led Cleveland to revoke the order. More than twenty years later a Republican Congress under Roosevelt voted unanimously to return the flags.



IMMIGRANTS FROM POLAND

The Western Land Boom. To understand that storm we must note the experience through which the agricultural West was passing in the decade of the 1880's. Encouraged by the homestead grants, the opening of new lines of railroads, the flood of immigrants from Europe, and the return of good times after the panic of 1873–1878, a stream of settlers had poured into the states west of the Missouri. The population of Kansas was 364,000 in 1870; by 1890 it had reached 1,427,000. Nebraska grew from 122,000 to 1,058,000; Dakota Territory, from 14,000 to 511,000. "A territory greater than the original area of the United States was peopled in half a dozen years," wrote Senator Peffer of Kansas in the *Forum* of December, 1889. A spirit of unbounded optimism seized upon the settlers. Mr. Bryce, who made a trip to the great wheat lands over the newly completed Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883, wrote: "The confidence of these Westerners is superb. Men seem to live in the future rather than in the present. . . . They see the country not merely as it is but as it will be twenty, fifty or a hundred years hence."

hood and began the process of converting the Caribbean Sea into an American lake.

The island republic of Santo Domingo had become bankrupt through successive revolutions. Its revenues were less than one third of the interest on its debt of thirty-two million dollars, and its European creditors threatened to collect by force unless the United States would guarantee the honest and efficient management of the finances of the republic. Roosevelt announced in his message of December, 1904, to Congress that in case of "chronic wrongdoing or impotence" on the part of a Latin-American state we were bound by the Monroe Doctrine to intervene, "however reluctantly," and to "exercise an international police power." With the consent of the president of Santo Domingo, he negotiated a treaty making the United States the receiver for the bankrupt republic and appointed an official to collect the revenues. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty; but Roosevelt went on with the policy under an "executive agreement" until the Senate gave way in 1907. Under our management of her finances the solvency of Santo Domingo was restored and her creditors were satisfied. Heretofore we had only forbidden Europe to interfere with the governments of the republics of the New World; now we stepped in ourselves. This exercise of the "police power" to prevent disturbances in Latin America is called "the Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine."

In the same year that the Senate ratified the Santo Domingo treaty, Roosevelt and President Diaz of Mexico co-operated in establishing the Central American Court of Justice, to which the five republics between Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama agreed to submit all their disputes with one another. In 1908 a further step toward the security of the Caribbean countries was taken in the creation of a Central American International Bureau to further the interests of education, trade, agriculture, and industry.

A Controversy with Japan. Serious trouble with Japan was threatened in 1906 when the board of education of San Francisco ordered Japanese, Chinese, and Korean children to attend

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Municipal Reform. As far back as the 1880's James Bryce called the government of our cities "the one conspicuous failure of American democracy," and twenty years later his severe judgment was echoed and confirmed in Lincoln Steffens's *Shame of the Cities*. The Industrial Revolution was so rapidly converting America into a land of city dwellers that by 1910 more than a third of our population lived in cities of over twenty-five thousand. Immigrants crowded into the slum districts of the great urban centers. The foreign-born formed only 7.5 per cent of the population in the country regions, but in the cities of five hundred thousand or over they comprised 33.6 per cent. They were sometimes naturalized at the rate of one a minute, and tens of thousands of ignorant voters (coming in ever-greater numbers from the poorer countries of southern and eastern Europe) remained in the large cities to become the easy prey of political bosses and a difficult problem for the agencies of Americanization.

three years of its existence the board averted strikes on forty-two Eastern railroads and adjusted over sixty labor controversies. A Seamen's Bill greatly improved the condition of the sailors in our merchant marine in respect to quarters, food, and wages. The Smith-Lever Act made an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars a year, to be divided equally among the states in aid of the "land grant" colleges, which had been established in 1862 for the promotion of education in agriculture and the mechanical arts. Congress also provided a civil government for the Panama Canal Zone, and repealed an act of 1912 which violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 (p. 567) by exempting American vessels in the coastwise trade from paying tolls for passage through the canal. Measures were introduced to aid the farmers by the construction of better roads, the establishment of farm-loan banks, and the extension of rural credits.

In August, 1914, the President wrote to Representative Underwood, "The American people have been served by this Congress as they have never been served before"; and ex-President Eliot of Harvard, reviewing the first year and a half of the administration in an article in *Harper's Weekly*, agreed with this judgment. At the same time, the very volume and variety of legislation aroused opposition, which, combined with criticism of Wilson's foreign policy (especially in regard to Mexico), led to a large gain for the Republicans in the mid-term election of November, 1914. The Democratic majority was reduced from 147 to 29 in the House, and the Republicans regained control of several of the state governments. This was due partly to the fact that many of the Progressives of 1912 were returning to the Republican ranks, the vote for Progressive candidates in 1914 being only 1,800,000 as against 4,126,000 cast for Roosevelt in 1912.

Diplomatic Problems. While he was holding Congress to its long task of reform legislation, the President had a number of difficulties to settle with foreign countries. In April, 1913, the Japanese ambassador, Baron Chinda, protested against the proposed law of the California legislature to exclude aliens from

FRANZ FERDINAND AND HIS WIFE AT SARAJEVO[1]

Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. The precarious structure of peace, built on the old doctrine of the "balance of power," fell like a house of cards. Bulgaria and Turkey joined the Central Powers; Japan and Italy came to the side of the Allies. Eventually, of all Europe only the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Spain, and Switzerland remained neutral.

Wilson's Proclamation of Neutrality. The United States, of course, had no part in the European rivalries, fears, and hatreds that had precipitated the war. We cared little whether Slav or Teuton controlled the Balkan Peninsula. Probably not one in ten thousand of our citizens could locate Bosnia or Baghdad on the map. Three thousand miles of "cooling ocean" lay between us and inflamed Europe. Moreover, our land was the hospitable refuge of immigrants from all the belligerent countries. Nearly 9,000,000 of our population were either of German birth or of German parentage. Russians, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and Irishmen worked side by side in our mines, mills, and factories. The very year of 1914 was the peak year of immigration, bringing 1,200,000 foreigners to our shores.

[1]Drawing by R. F. Heinrich based on a photograph by Wide World.

Two weeks later the Attorney-General went in person to Chicago and secured from a Federal judge an injunction forbidding the strikers to picket shops, to hinder the inspection or repair of locomotives or cars, to obstruct the movement of trains, to trespass on the premises of the railroads where repair work was going on, to intimidate any of the employees of the roads, or even to communicate by telegraph or telephone to encourage to strike. This "most sweeping injunction ever issued in the history of labor disputes in America" was assailed by labor as a violation of constitutional rights and an attempt to reduce the workers to a "condition of slavery." The strikers had committed no crime, said Mr. Gompers, in "quitting work when conditions became intolerable." But the courts upheld the injunction, as in the case of the Pullman strike of 1894. The shopmen's strike was quelled by this drastic action of the government. According to figures made public early in 1924 by the Department of Justice, it had caused nineteen deaths by violence, wrought the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of railroad property, reduced the income of the roads by 20 per cent in 1923, and cost the government nearly two million dollars for special deputies sworn in by the Attorney-General to preserve order.

The Immigration Laws. Because America has made it her boast to be a land of refuge for the oppressed and of opportunity for the seekers of new fortunes, our doors have until quite recently stood wide open to the immigrants from the Old World. In 1914 the high-water mark was reached, with a total of 1,218,480 immigrants, of whom more than 800,000 came from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, and 260,000 were illiterates of fourteen years of age or over. During the war the numbers of immigrants fell off; but when the war was over, there was danger that we might be flooded by refugees from the distressed countries of Europe. "The world is preparing to move to America," wrote the Commissioner of Immigration. The war had also revealed some alarming facts in regard to our foreign population. Many immigrants were neglecting to become naturalized American citizens, retaining their real allegiance to

the lands from which they had come. Radical labor agitators were suspected of "taking their orders from Moscow." Over one thousand newspapers in the United States were printed in foreign languages, and over 10 per cent of the people here could not speak English. American labor leaders were disturbed over the influx of hordes of foreigners who were accustomed to work for low wages, and patriotic citizens generally were alarmed at the numbers of newcomers who had no knowledge of American institutions or ideals. If we were not to become what Theodore Roosevelt called "an international boarding-house," some step must be taken to limit the unrestricted immigration of the prewar days.

The method adopted was the quota system. On May 19, 1921, President Harding signed the Emergency Quota Act, which limited the number of immigrants that any country could send to the United States in any given year to 3 per cent of its people who were here according to the census of 1910. But this law was unsatisfactory, because a large number of immigrants from the eastern and southern countries of Europe had come here before 1910 and hence had large quotas (Russia, 34,284; Poland, 25,827; Italy, 42,057). To turn the balance more in favor of the northern countries, such as the British Isles, Germany, Norway, and Sweden, which had sent us so many welcome immigrants in the nineteenth century, a new law was passed in 1924, fixing the quota at 2 per cent of the number of the nationals of each country in the United States according to the census of 1890. The new law cut down the Russian quota to 2248, the Italian to 3845, and the Polish to 5982, while it permitted 63,574 to come from the British Isles, 51,227 from Germany, and 9561 from Sweden. The new law also provided that after July 1, 1927, only 150,000 immigrants should be admitted annually, divided among the several countries in proportion to the numbers of their nationals here according to the census of 1920.

Because the act of 1924 forbade the entrance into our country of all aliens who were ineligible to citizenship, it drew from the Japanese ambassador at Washington a respectful but force-

even a small fraction of the huge indemnity. The British broke off diplomatic relations with Mexico, but Secretary Hull, especially to avoid discord during the coming Lima Conference, adopted the more patient way of notes of protest, hoping that Cárdenas would recede from his rash policy when he saw into what difficulties it was leading him. Mexico lacked the managerial talent to run the oil properties successfully, and the government had difficulty in marketing the "stolen oil," which was boycotted by Great Britain and some other European countries. In the year following the expropriation Mexican foreign trade fell off by 40 per cent, and her imports, over 60 per cent of which were from the United States, declined by $60,000,000. Finally, we had a trump card in our silver purchases from Mexico, the stoppage of which would embarrass her more than the loss of her oil market.

GIVING HIM SIX MONTHS TO THINK IT OVER[1]

Japanese-American Relations. Before the World War much anxiety was felt in our Pacific-coast states over the heavy Japanese immigration (see pages 576, 626, 774). But during and after the war the Japanese turned their attention to the mainland of China, to find an outlet for their crowded population and to extend their domination over that unfortunate country torn by civil war. Shortly before the advent of Roosevelt to the Presidency, Japan seized Manchuria and made it into the puppet

[1] From a cartoon by Ray in the *Kansas City Star*.