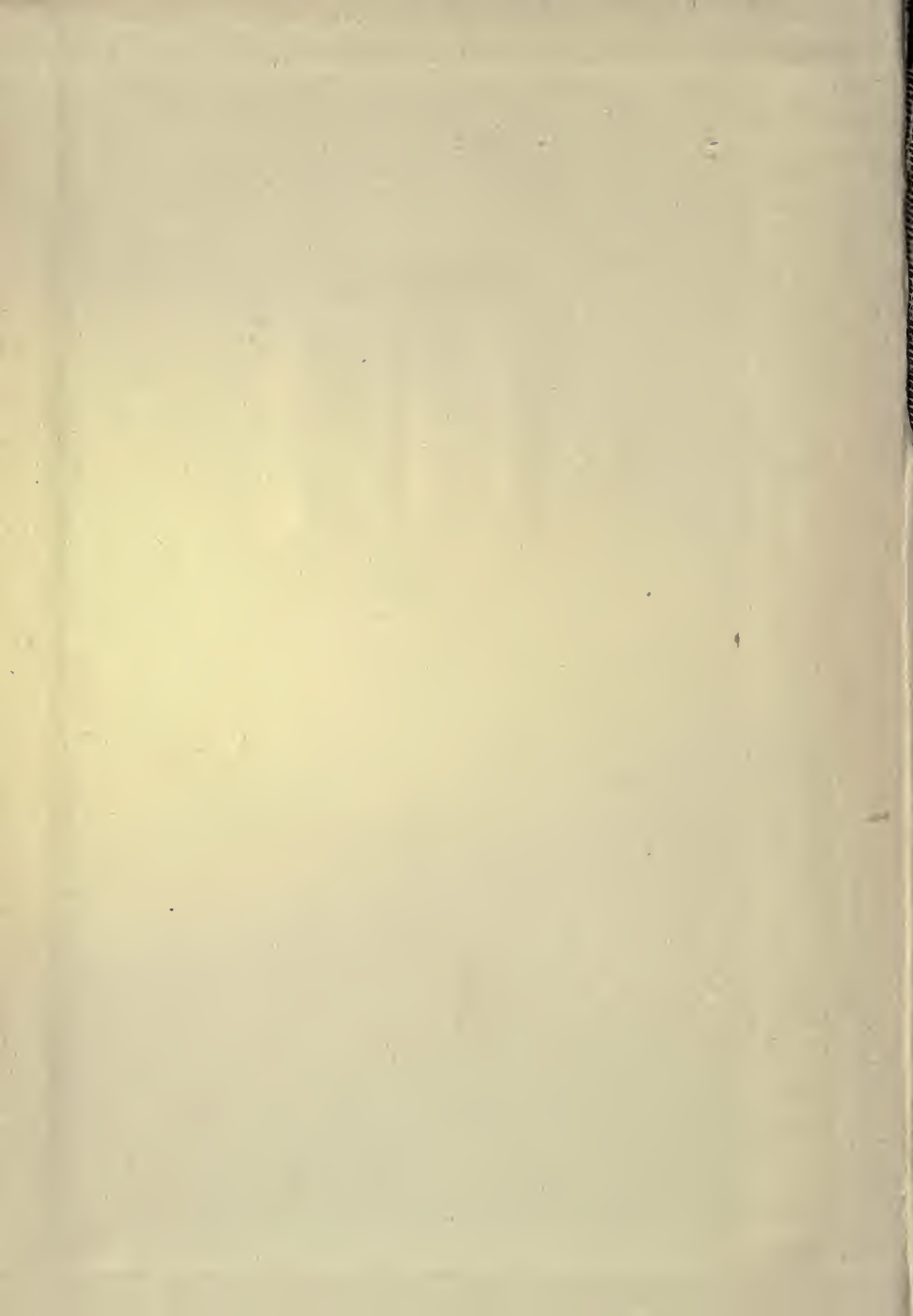


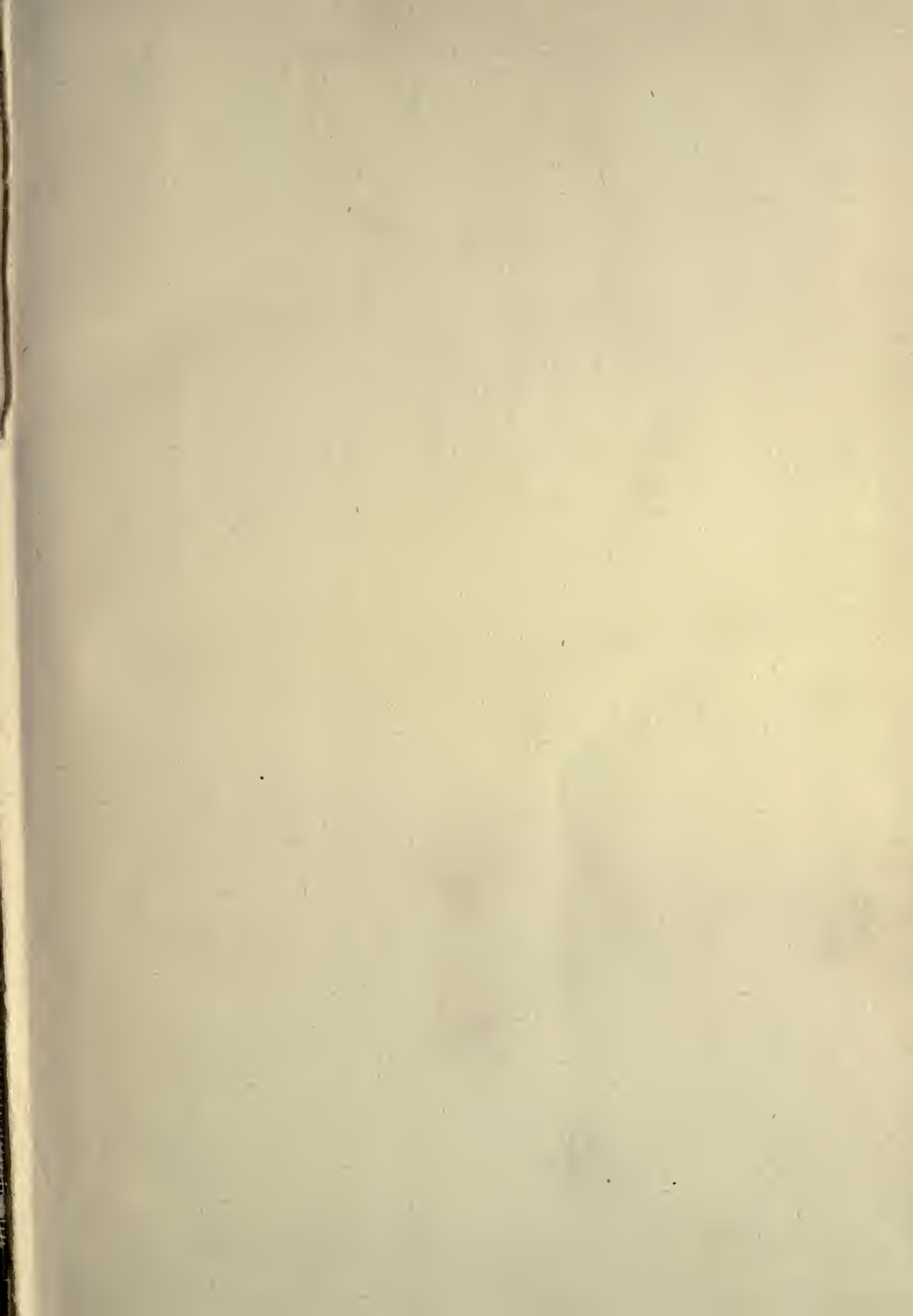
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THE UNITED STATES

THE WORLD'S BEST HISTORIES



UNITED STATES

FROM THE DISCOVERY
OF THE NORTH AMERICAN
CONTINENT UP TO THE
PRESENT TIME
IN NINE VOLUMES

BY

JULIAN HAWTHORNE
(— TO 1783)

JAMES SCHOULER
(1783 TO 1865)

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS
(1866 TO 1904)

ILLUSTRATED



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THE election of Grover Cleveland, the first Democrat to press the presidential chair after Buchanan left it in 1861, brought grief to millions of honest hearts. On assurance that Cleveland had really won, an old lady exclaimed: "Well, the poor won't have any work this winter, that's certain!" A college president discoursed lugubriously to his students

upon the Democratic victory, as portending he knew not what of ill. Many good souls thought the Government in effect at an end. Those of less pessimistic temper prophesied simply a financial panic. "The South is again in the saddle," still others said; "slavery will be restored." Most Republicans supposed that the new President would, at the very least, fill every office with a Democrat. The Democracy, with exceptions, was correspondingly jubilant. Over a hundred thousand people visited the capital to view the Inauguration Day ceremonies, and a quarter as many actually marched in the procession. Of this both colored troops and ex-Confederates formed part. The inaugural address was received with great enthusiasm, even Republican Senators and Representatives publicly expressing approval of its tone. The Cabinet was on every hand pronounced an able one, and nearly all the great diplomatic offices abroad were filled with first-rate men.

Those who predicted that the President would be inefficient proved false prophets. The Treasury he administered with economy. The development of our Navy was continued, systematized, and accelerated. No clean sweep of office-holders occurred, and where a colored man was displaced a colored man succeeded him, provided a good one could be found. Extensive land grants, shown to be fraudulent, were declared forfeited. Cattle kings were forced to remove their herds from Indian reservations. Federal troops kept "boomers" from public lands. A conspiracy by members of the railway postal service to strike was nipped in the bud and the conspirators discharged. When, on March 31, 1885, the Prestan rebels in Panama seized an American ship, marines were promptly landed on both sides of the isthmus to maintain the rights and dignity of this Republic. Such vigor in administration soon convinced all that the ship of state was safe with a Democrat at the helm. In the self-command, independence, and executive ability which he displayed, the President exceeded the expectations of his friends, and disappointed his enemies. He performed his

exacting duties with dignity and intelligence, was straightforward in his actions, and did not seek popularity by drifting with the current. Whatever else might be said against him, none could call him a demagogue. If in the exercise of his appointing and removing power he made some mistakes, the wonder was, all things considered, that he made so few. Though a Democrat, he was yet President of all the people. In manners he continued at Washington to be what he had been at Buffalo and at Albany—simple without any affectation of simplicity. Like Blaine, he wrote with his own hand his official papers. Even his wedding invitations were autographs.

A few weeks after his inauguration as President, was announced Mr. Cleveland's engagement to Miss Frances Folsom, the daughter of his friend and partner, Oscar Folsom, who had died in 1875. They were married on June 2, 1886, at the Executive Mansion. The old edifice had already been the scene of eight nuptial ceremonies, but all these had been very private. Now, however, the occasion could not but have public significance, since for the first time the President of the United States was a principal party. Ferns, azaleas and hydrangeas in the windows, choice cut flowers banked on the four mantels, smilax pendent from the chandeliers, foliage plants in the fireplace, and a cluster of tall palms near the east wall decorated the East Room, whose four garlanded columns bore each a floral shield in the national colors. The Blue Room, where the marriage ceremony took place, was transfigured to a bower: on the south side a tropical grove, groups of flowering plants at the main entrance and near the centre, and the fireplace glowing with a floral counterfeit of flames. Upon the east mantel the happy day was calendered in pansies. The opposite mantel bore a rose bank, shading off from light at the edges to a dark centre, in which was imbedded the monogram "C. F." in moss and white roses. A little before seven a small company were received in this apartment by the President's sisters, Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland. The Cabinet, save Attorney-General Garland,

were of the number, the rest, aside from the officiating clergyman and his wife, being intimate friends either of the bride or of the bridegroom. Miss Folsom entered the room on the President's arm, the company falling back in a semicircle, while the Marine Band, in resplendent uniforms, rendered Mendelssohn's Wedding March. The music was followed by a sovereign salute of twenty-one guns and the ringing of church bells in the city. Meanwhile the marriage ceremony was concluded, and Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland left Washington for the summer cottage they had taken.

Antagonistic as Cleveland and the Republicans were, some good laws passed the Forty-ninth Congress, among them the Inter-State Commerce Act, placing the great railroads of the country under the general government's supervision. This was meant to remedy the unfair discrimination in railway facilities and charges theretofore prevalent between different persons and different places. The "dead-head" system had grown alarmingly. Favored shippers obtained rates enabling them to crush their rivals by this advantage alone; and long-haul tariffs were far too low in comparison with those for short hauls. Shippers of freight from Rochester to San Francisco had found it profitable to pay transportation charges first to New York City, their goods then going straight back through Rochester again. The act of February 4, 1887, forbade special rates to special shippers. It provided that all charges for the transportation of passengers or property from State to State or from this to a foreign country should be "reasonable and just." Special rates, rebates, drawbacks, and unjust discriminations, also all undue and unreasonable preferences, were prohibited. Freight tariffs were ordered to be conspicuously and carefully published, and could not be advanced without ten days' public notice. The act raised an able Commission of five members to administer and enforce its provisions. Any person or corporation could complain to this Commission against any inter-State railway, whereupon the Commission must investigate the charges. The Commission was given large power over the railways

by direct prescription, command, or decree; and, besides, in case a railway disobeyed it, had a right to proceed against such railway by injunction or attachment in a United States Court. It required of the railways annual reports, uniform in book-keeping, each setting forth in detail the financial condition of the company. The act inhibited charging or receiving for the carriage of passengers or a given class of freight—conditions being the same—any greater compensation for a shorter than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction. The Commission might, however, in its discretion, suspend the operation of the short-haul clause in any case where its enforcement bade fair to work hardship, as by favoring Canadian against United States railways, or by throwing the entire traffic into the hands of carriers by water, thus forcing the railway deprived of long-haul profits into insolvency. The immense expense per mile attending local railway traffic on the transcontinental lines could not be matched in long-haul charges without depriving them entirely of their through freight business. Most of the provisions named worked well. Questionable, perhaps, was the interdiction of "pooling," which was almost universally evaded.

Another point of public policy about which the President and Congress substantially agreed was the building up of the navy. In 1881 the grand old frigate *Constitution*, her ensign at last hauled down, was put out of commission, dismantled, and placed beside the *Ticonderoga*, slowly to fall in pieces. This step had been contemplated a generation before, but the poet Holmes then procured for the venerable warrior a stay of execution by the plea beginning, "Aye, tear her tattered ensign down!" These rotting hulks typified our neglected and degenerate navy, with its thirty-seven cruisers, all but four of wood, its fourteen single-turreted monitors, built during the war, its guns all or nearly all muzzle-loading, and many of them smooth-bores. Hon. William E. Chandler, Secretary of the Navy under President Arthur, deserves the honor of being the first pungently to urge the building of a

new navy worthy the American nation. Mr. Arthur cordially indorsed the recommendation. Among the most meritorious deeds of Garfield's Administration was an order signed by Secretary Hunt, in 1881, appointing a Naval Advisory Board of able and experienced officers. In its later report it recommended a programme for the next eight years, which, while involving the vast outlay of \$30,000,000, would place in commission the twenty-one ironclads "absolutely needed," seventy unarmored cruisers, five rams, five torpedo gunboats, and twenty torpedo-boats. To make a beginning Congress authorized the construction of three unarmored cruisers, the *Atlanta*, the *Boston*, and the *Chicago*, and of the despatch-boat *Dolphin*.

The policy thus entered upon was to be permanent. The Cleveland years marked important forward steps in it, and thereafter progress was continuous, rapid, and splendid. To December 4, 1894, forty-seven vessels were either in commission or building, their cost varying from \$3,000,000 each for the battleships *Oregon*, *Massachusetts*, *Indiana*, and *Iowa*, to \$25,000 for the smallest torpedo-boat. The sea-going and fighting qualities of the new ships, and the comforts and even luxuries which they provided for their officers and crews, evoked admiration both at home and abroad. Their plate was an alloy of nickel and steel, superior to any yet produced in Europe. The old *Constitution* could, with her best guns, at 1,000 yards, pierce twenty-two inches of oak, about the thickness of her own hull at water-line. The $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch steel covering at the *Atlanta's* water-line had nearly the same resisting power as the *Constitution's* twenty-two inches of oak. The *Atlanta's* 6-inch guns would, at 1,000 yards, bore through a surface having twenty times the resisting power of her own or the *Constitution's* hull at water-line. At the same range her 8-inch guns could pierce fourteen inches of iron. Both were, technically, "frigates," a sort of naval cavalry, to accompany and assist battleships as scouts, or to convoy friendly commerce and destroy that of the enemy. This predatory rôle was indeed a cowardly one, like privateering, or like

land warfare upon civilians and their property; but so long as naval tactics admitted such barbarism ships able to perpetrate it could not but be prized. The *Atlanta* could riddle her like when hull down on the horizon, while battleships, like the immense *Iowa*, which displaced 11,300 tons, to make any serious impression on one another must approach to within at least 4,000 yards.

At the international naval *fête* in 1895, when the Kiel Canal was opened, our *New York* and *Columbia* were objects of utmost curiosity. The *Columbia* was a protected cruiser 412 feet long at the load water-line, 22 feet 6 inches in mean draught, 58 feet 2 inches in breadth, with 7,375 tons displacement. Her armament consisted of one 8-inch breech-loading rifle, two 6-inch and eight 4-inch rapid-fire guns, twelve 6-pounder and four 1-pounder rapid-fire guns, and four Gatlings. Built for a commerce destroyer, though closely resembling a merchantman, she could, like a wolf in sheep's clothing, draw fatally near her victim without exposing her true character. After the naval *fête* referred to, "La Patrie," of Paris, said: "What has struck France and all Europe with surprise mixed with fright is the speed of one of the vessels of the American fleet. The *Columbia* will be able to accept or refuse combat according to her wishes. She will thunder forth shot and shell or run away at will. She can with impunity cover the surface of the ocean with ruins and wrecks, or laugh at the avengers sent to pursue her. The European nation which should have the foresight to create a large number of these terrible cruisers would be unassailable, invulnerable, and invincible." Of her powers to overhaul most merchantmen or to run away from battleships, the *Columbia* soon gave signal proof, making the trip home from Southampton under natural draught and in spite of some heavy weather—though, it is said, using extra coal and exhausting her men—in 6 days, 23 hours, and 49 minutes, an average speed of 18.53 knots an hour, the best long-distance run ever made by a warship. For a shorter time she was good for over 22 knots. The *St. Louis*, an ocean greyhound then newly built, and the

swift *Auguste Victoria*, both starting just behind the *Columbia*, failed to catch her. Great was the jubilation when, on August 2, 1895, her snowy hull, stained with spots of rust, and her four buff smokestacks crystaled over with salt from the waves, approached her anchorage on this side. All the standing-room on the Battery and the North River front was full of people, whose cheers joined the diversified applause. "Such a chorus of screeches, grunts, toots, and shrieks is seldom heard in New York waters."

Notwithstanding this pleasant harmony of parties upon a few weighty matters, the opposition to Cleveland was resolute and bitter. Each doubtful act of his was exhibited in the worst possible light, and innumerable falsehoods forged to aggravate his discredit. If there appeared a direful portent in the sky or a deadly fever or tornado on the earth, there were not wanting persons ready to arraign the Administration therefor.

The first week of September, 1886, a destructive earthquake shook important portions of the United States. In lower New York City chandeliers were swayed and clocks stopped by the motion. Vibrations were felt from Cape Cod as far west as Chicago and Milwaukee and south to Jacksonville, Fla. The earth-dance was slight in Baltimore, alarming in Washington. The worst that occurred at other points was but a hint of the fearful fate which overtook Charleston, S. C. The horror broke upon the inhabitants in the dead of night, and so awful was the rocking and rumbling of the ground that women and children went insane. Drove of blacks rushed, frantic and half-clad, to the field and parks. A pious old negro in the midst of one dense throng, engaged in prayer. "Good Lawd," his petition ran, "*Come* and help us! Oh, come now! An' come *yo'self*, Lawd; 'tain't no time for boys!" The first shock occurred Tuesday night. On Friday night, when all, worn out, had sought slumber under such shelter as remained, suddenly came a new convulsion advertised by a deafening alarum like thunder. Once more the shrieking multitudes rushed to the open amid showers of bricks and

plaster, negroes making the night doubly hideous with their weird lamentations. Almost precisely twenty-four hours later came a third shock, milder, but sufficient to evict the people still again. The indication that the terrestrial ague was periodic put men awatch for another disturbance on Sunday night, and they were not disappointed. At the same hour as before, the demon came amid appalling throes. Fortunately, this fourth quaking was his adieu. When the telegraph lines were again in order, permitting the world to learn what had taken place, it was found that seven-eighths of Charleston's houses had been rendered unfit for habitation, scores of persons killed, and \$8,000,000 worth of property destroyed. The handsomest streets suffered most, desolation as from innumerable dynamite explosions being visible far up and down many of them. Railroad tracks were torn away, rifts and gullies gaping in all directions. For days all highways to the city were impassable, cutting off relief.

Many conjectures were uttered regarding the cause of the earthquake, none very satisfactory. Fancy, however, could hardly avoid connecting it somehow with the artificial earthquake of the preceding October, when, through a brilliant piece of engineering executed by General John Newton, the channel from East River to Long Island Sound was rid of the last Hellgate ledge which dangerously choked it. Since 1884 this bit of coast had been the subject of many futile experiments. Strong tides sweeping back and forth over the reefs had strewn the spot with wrecks; yet the necessities of commerce, especially of the coastwise trade, kept it a thoroughfare. Up to 1876 the expenditure of not much less than \$2,000,000 had resulted in the demolition of only a few outworks. The Scylla and Charybdis, Hallett's Point Reef and Flood Rock, remained. The reef was made ready for annihilation by the novel method of tunneling. The tunnels, corresponding to its semicircular form, radiated somewhat like the ribs of a fan, being connected with each other by concentric passages, the whole covering nearly three acres. Thus honeycombed, the rock was impregnated with

above thirteen thousand cartridges, containing something like twenty-five tons of powder, and all were connected with electric batteries.

The experiment was so unprecedented and devised on so large a scale, that in anticipation many people living near suffered terrors as if a disastrous convulsion of nature were at hand. That the mine should be set off on Sunday, as had been arranged, was also a source of distress. General Newton, however, was unwilling to imperil life by delay. At high-tide, therefore, on Sunday, September 24, 1876, his baby daughter was allowed to touch the electric key, and instantly the thirteen thousand potent germs were hatched. For three seconds the water foamed and tumbled at a height of forty or fifty feet, cowed in thick black smoke, and ejecting fragments of rock and mud. A shock was felt in New York City, attended by a low booming sound. The tremor extended as far to the northeast as Springfield, Mass. No damage whatever was suffered by neighboring property.

Flood Rock was next assailed. It was three times the size of Hallett's Point Reef, but the construction of the gridiron system of tunnels was now watched without alarm, the earlier achievement having set all qualms at rest. Dynamite was the explosive used. When all was ready, General Newton's daughter May, now eleven years of age, once more pressed the button, this time blowing about 300,000 cubic yards of reef into fragments—partly, indeed, into powder. "A tremendous volume of water rose to a height of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, masses of white foam shining in the sunlight, resembling the appearance of a fantastic iceberg lifted bodily upon a solid basis of dark frozen water. For five or six seconds it tumbled aloft, and then sank back into the river, where a yellow, sulphurous glow prevailed for a minute, after which the river resumed its wonted course."

We have seen that, spite of its little love toward him, Tammany almost unanimously voted for Cleveland. This had the unpleasant effect of leading such as inclined to be severe on him to lay all Tammany's sins at Cleveland's door.

And Tammany had not changed. The "boodle aldermen" scandal of 1886 emphasized the fact that the spirit of Tweed still haunted Manhattan Island. Jacob Sharp all but challenged admiration for the persistency of his assault upon the virtue of the New York City government. He secured from the aldermen his first franchise more than thirty years before (1851), in that case, too, over the Mayor's veto and in face of an injunction; with the result, however, of sending one alderman to jail in addition to the fine which he paid in common with his fellows. From that time Sharp had toiled unremittingly to secure at Albany such legislation as would enable him once more to begin hopeful conflict in New York City. Success waited upon him in 1884, after he had already become an old man, bringing him privileges for which a million dollars had been more than once offered. Charges were preferred against members of the Board of Aldermen for 1884, accusing them of having granted a charter to the Broadway Surface Railroad Company in consideration of \$300,000 divided equally among them. It appeared that thirteen members had combined for the purpose of selling their votes on important enterprises. Of these four were tried, convicted, and sentenced to years of imprisonment with heavy fines. The charter of the road was annulled by the Legislature, and Sharp prosecuted and tried for bribery. He was convicted but granted a new trial, before the conclusion of which, in the spring of 1888, his health broke down completely, and he died.

The President and the Senate first came to blows early in 1886 over the President's act in suspending from office, the preceding July, G. M. Duskin, District-Attorney for the Southern District of Alabama. When Congress reassembled, the Senate, proceeding upon the theory that the power of removal as well as that of appointment was committed to it jointly with the President, called on him to furnish the reasons for his action and the papers relating to the case. This demand Mr. Cleveland refused. In a vigorous message he held that for his acts of removal and suspension he was

responsible to the people alone, and that the papers asked for touching *Duskin* were of a private nature. Reluctantly the Senate acquiesced in this position. On March 3, 1887, a bill passed Congress repealing the old Tenure of Office Act, enacted in 1867, during the bitter feud between Congress and President Johnson, for the purpose of rendering Johnson unable to remove executive officers when they had been confirmed by the Senate. This repeal rendered explicit and unqualified the President's independent power to remove from office, making him as free in this as if the Tenure of Office Act had never been passed.

It seemed to be the Senate Republicans' purpose in this encounter to discredit Mr. Cleveland by showing him insincere in his avowals of sympathy with reform. His election was largely due to the stand he had taken in regard to the evil of Congressional patronage. He had given his word to abate this so far as lay in his power, and the conditions at his accession to office favored the accomplishment of that purpose. No strictly party vote had elevated him to the Presidency. Moreover, there were 15,000 offices, in which the Pendleton Act required vacancies to be filled by non-partisan tests, and that law authorized the President to extend this mode of appointment if he wished. The fact was that Mr. Cleveland had assumed a task greater than he anticipated. Democrats incessantly vociferated against continuing Republican monopoly of the offices, urging him, as a Democrat, to relinquish a policy which must disintegrate the party and lose him all its support. Not one recognized Democratic leader stood up for the policy. Congress betrayed no cordial sympathy with it. In June, 1886, an attempt was made practically to annul the Civil Service Law by refusing to make an appropriation for the Commissioners. Disappointing and disgusting a host of his friends, Mr. Cleveland gradually yielded. By June, 1887, nearly all the 2,359 Presidential postmasters had been replaced, as had 32 of the 33 foreign ministers, 16 of the 21 secretaries of legation, 138 of the 219 consuls, 84 of the 85 collectors of internal revenue, 8 of the

11 inspectors of steam vessels, 65 of the 70 district-attorneys, 64 of the 70 marshals, 22 of the 30 territorial judges, 16 of the 18 pension agents, and some 40,000 of the 52,609 fourth-class postmasters. Within three years from his inauguration the President had replaced not less than 75,000, perhaps 100,000, Republican office-holders by Democrats, considerably impairing the service. But, though roundly denounced as a hypocrite, he never recanted his profession of devotion to reform, and he faithfully executed the mandatory provisions of the law.

What hurt the President most with reformers was his aid to Senator Gorman, of Maryland, in 1887, seeming to be an effort to acquit himself of the charge, often preferred, that "he was no Democrat." A Democratic authority stated that in Baltimore election after election had been carried by bare-faced fraud; that to stop a ballot in an important ward murder was recognized as a political service; that ballot-boxes were continually looted, and that in one ward nineteen men of criminal record drew pay from the city for their evil activities. Yet Mr. Cleveland's aid and comfort to representative Democratic leaders came too slowly and grudgingly to win their support in return. They thought him meanly obsequious toward Independents, and declared that he was betraying his party.

Western Democrats in particular were never enthusiastic for Mr. Cleveland, owing partly to his views upon the civil service and partly to his hailing from New York. With them "Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana," had been the magic and drawing part of the ticket. What occurred on Inauguration Day indicated this. As the procession moved along Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol cheers for the President-elect were at points rather faint, but the appearance of Mr. Hendricks's carriage was the signal for a prolonged roar that testified to the love and confidence the people felt for him. Many thought that this obvious contrast piqued the President and ascribed to it a certain lack of cordiality on his part toward the Vice-President, kept up till

the latter's death. A month after the inauguration Mr. Hendricks had an interview with the President. On returning to his room at Willard's Hotel he seemed disappointed and said: "I hoped that Mr Cleveland would put the Democratic party in power in fact as well as in name, but he does not intend to do it." A Southern Congressman told his Democratic friends: "Gentlemen, we've got a big elephant on our hands. I fear there will be some disappointment about the offices." Too few Republicans were turned out to suit Democratic workers, yet enough continually to keep up office-seekers' hopes. Those disappointed after long suspense were doubly unforgiving. The President would have done well to remember Machiavelli's precept: "Matters of severity should be finished at one blow, that so they may give the less distaste and be the sooner forgotten."

Republican papers made all possible political capital out of the Pan-Electric "scandal," affecting Attorney-General Garland. One Rogers had received a patent on a telephone which he hoped would rival Bell's. He assigned his rights to Democratic Members of Congress, who transferred them to a certain "Pan-Electric Company," receiving stock in return. When the Democratic party came into power the Pan-Electric managers moved the Government to institute suit inquiring into the validity of the Bell patent. Though owning Pan-Electric stock which would rise in value a round million if the Bell patent were annulled, the Attorney-General did not forbid Solicitor-General Goode to attack that patent. This Goode did, though the Interior Department soon took the case off his hands. It was argued that Garland should not have allowed his subordinate to act in the matter, or, at any rate, should have divested himself of all interest in it by disposing of his stock. That he could at worst only *argue* the case and could not *decide* it, and that the Court would specially scrutinize his plea as that of an interested party, was by most people forgotten or ignored. A Congressional committee exonerated Garland, Goode, and Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, from all censurable action in the premises.

When Mr. Cleveland took office the pensioning of Union soldiers was too indiscriminate, neither party venturing to advocate an economy of expenditure or a scrutiny of claims by which veterans might suffer. The Treasury surplus presented an irresistible temptation to foolish and pauperizing liberality. Greedy pension attorneys loved the "swag" which the system offered. Ultra protectionists also connived at it out of a wish to keep the high tariff intact. At that time pension attorneys were given access to soldiers' records in the War Department. Knowing that the record in any case would be appealed to in verifying the claim, they would obtain an old soldier's leave and set up on his behalf a claim for every trouble shown in his record. One attorney issued a circular announcing "Desertion marks quietly removed," the adverb being canceled in ink. Innumerable fraudulent claims came to the bureau, too many of them successful. A New England merchant worth \$50,000, who never smelled powder or even served so much as three months, tried for a pension on the ground that his bad health was due to catarrh contracted in the army. An application was actually received at the bureau for injury by the chin of a comrade "while drilling on skates near Brattleboro, Vt." A wagoner who had lost his leg tumbling off a wagon when drunk obtained a pension. In several cases men who escaped service by shooting away their fingers got pensions for this disability.

To relieve those whom for any reason the bureau had denied, thousands of private bills were passed. The House of Representatives usually devoted one meeting each week to the passage of these personal bills, only a handful, far less than a quorum, being present. Bill after bill became law merely upon the recommendation of the Committee, without recording a vote and without discussion. The Senate was also slack. One day in April, 1886, it passed 500 pension bills in two hours. Instead of doubling watchfulness upon special legislation, our bicameral system seemed to halve it; each House shifting upon the other the onus of rejecting unworthy but influential claims; both, as a result, leaving

that useful but thankless task to the Executive. Little wonder that many unworthy claimants sought Presidential indorsement.

But they did not any longer receive this. While favoring, for the truly worthy, pensions even more bountiful than were then allowed by law, the President insisted, both as a matter of due economy and in justice to loyal and true pensioners, on careful discrimination in making up the pension list. Till Cleveland's time but one pension bill had been rejected by the Executive, but in 1886 he vetoed 101 out of the 747 which passed Congress. The veto-messages were bold and often caustic, giving the vetoed bills undue prominence in comparison with those which were approved. It was thus easy to represent the vetoes as betraying hostility, to old wearers of the blue, and Republican organs and orators were not slow to arraign the President thus. But although many attempts were made to pass pension bills over the veto, only one was successful. Hostility toward the President was immensely intensified when he negatived the Dependent Pension Bill, passed in 1887, which pensioned all dependent veterans who had served three months in the Union army, and also all dependent parents of such. The veto was, however, agreeable to not a few even among the Republicans, who had begun to look with dread upon the rising tide of paternalism in our Government, a tendency which found expression in the Blair Educational Bill, meant to give governmental support to certain State schools all over the South, and in the Texas Seed Bill, to aid needy farmers, passed by the House and Senate, but vetoed by the President.

More scathing yet was the condemnation visited upon Mr. Cleveland in consequence of his unfortunate "Rebel Flag" order. Hastily and without authority, he had given permission that the various Confederate flags in possession of the Government might be returned to the Southern States from which they were borne forth. The permission did not take effect, as these flags were public property and could be restored only by act of Congress, but the mischief was done.

The rank and file of the Grand Army of the Republic felt outraged, and post after post passed resolutions fiercely denouncing the order, some of them hinting at lack of patriotism in its author. General Sherman wrote: "Of course I know Drum, the Adjutant-General. He has no sympathy with the army which fought. He was a non-combatant. He never captured a flag and values it only at its commercial value. He did not think of the blood and torture of battle; nor can Endicott, the Secretary of War, or Mr. Cleveland." General Butler styled the order, "An attempt to mutilate the archives."

Just previous to the National Encampment at St. Louis, in 1887, a number of posts in western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio held a camp-fire at Wheeling. A banner had been suspended across the street on the line of their march, bearing the President's portrait with the inscription, "God Bless our President, Commander-in-Chief of Our Army and Navy." Most of the posts refused to pass under, marching through the gutters instead, with colors folded and reversed. The President had accepted an invitation to the St. Louis encampment, but owing to this extreme rancor toward him, felt constrained to decline attendance. "I should," he said, "bear with me there the people's highest office, the dignity of which I must protect, and I believe that neither the Grand Army of the Republic as an organization, nor anything like a majority of its members, would ever encourage any scandalous attack upon it. If, however, among the membership of this body there are some, as certainly seems to be the case, determined to denounce me and my official acts at the National Encampment, I believe that they should be permitted to do so unrestrained by my presence as a guest of their organization, or as a guest of the hospitable city in which their meeting is held."

Wonder was often expressed at the ease with which the Republican party, at first containing hosts of free-traders and not committed to any doctrine regarding the tariff, became transformed into a pronounced and devoted high-tariff

party, defending with all zeal, in time of profound peace, rates of protection imposed during the stress of war and meant by all to give way so soon as that temporary necessity should end. But the cause of this interesting metamorphosis was not far to seek. The growing demand for extreme protection was no mere United States affair. All the nations of the earth shared it. Even New South Wales, ever the free-trader's pride and shining example, in 1891 succumbed to this drift. The strengthening sentiment for protection marked the precise period, after 1873, during which general prices were falling. Owing to the decadence of prices, production grew extra hazardous and needed shelter. Less and less could be obtained for products, while all fixed charges, like taxes and mortgage-interest, remained the same. As the evil affected the entire consuming class, sales were fewer, even at the lessened rates. Whenever, therefore, prices in any line of manufacture threatened or began to fall, when stock depreciated upon manufacturers' hands, they inevitably struggled to avert these results and welcomed any resource which could aid. A number of gigantic industries met this crisis by forming themselves into "Trusts," but the majority could not at once do this. Unable to obtain relief in any other way, they everywhere agitated for high tariffs, and in nearly every country with success. Had prices after the war been stationary or only slowly advancing, the rise in United States tariff rates, culminating in the McKinley law, would in all probability never have been so much as thought of.

By no means all those crying for highest protection, whether here or in Europe, were addicted to protection as a general policy. Many such were, in theory, free-traders. Had general prices been stable or rising, they would decidedly have preferred low tariffs or free trade. Willingness to subject your country's industries to normal foreign competition was one thing; quite another was it to do so when your competitors were helped to beat you by a home bonus on exportation, such as favored all exporters from silver and paper lands

during the years under review. In France these "opportunist" protectionists were a powerful and growing party. Their logic was not at once understood in this country; but men mastered it more and more, and it carried over to the protectionist ranks armies of recruits in every Congressional and Presidential election.

The tariff problem was little discussed in the campaign of 1884. The platform on which Cleveland was elected did not speak strongly regarding it, and the Republicans had then by no means agreed upon the extreme form of protection embodied in the McKinley Act of 1890. When elected, Cleveland had no definite purpose concerning this subject, but the condition of the Treasury, present and prospective, soon drew his thoughts thereto. This History has already remarked that the Government's inability to pay its four-and-a-half per cent bonds before 1891, or its fours before 1907, was unfortunate, and that the threes of 1882 were happily made payable at the Government's option. A call for the last of these was issued on May 20, 1887, interest to cease on the next July 1st. After this time no bonds were subject to par payment at the Government's discretion, and surplus piled up ominously. December 1, 1887, after every possible Government obligation had been provided for, about \$50,000,000 remained—a sum increased by the end of that fiscal year, June 30, 1888, notwithstanding considerable purchases of long-term bonds at high rates, to \$103,000,000. There was no method at once legal and economical for paying this out. The Secretary could, of course, buy long bonds in the open market, and, in 1888, he to some extent did so; but, obviously, if entered upon in a large way, this course must carry up the price of those bonds considerably. The President could not but foresee that the question, how to keep the money of the country from becoming locked up in the Treasury and Sub-Treasuries of the United States, was destined to be grave.

In his message to Congress in December, 1885, he said: "The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs

of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. . . . The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people, for customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved. . . . Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such a manner as to protect the interests of American labor. . . . Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. . . . I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessities of life."

The Forty-ninth Congress did nothing to carry out these suggestions, but the Morrison and the Randall Bill, reported and discussed in the House, revealed among the Democrats a rapidly strengthening current of sentiment for lower duties. The President's convictions, meantime, became more pronounced. In his bold and candid message of 1887, he said, referring to the Treasury situation: "It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. . . . The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant, and the persistent claim made in some quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration of the public good. The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers."

This message recommended the taxing of luxuries, the free-listing of raw wool, the radical reduction of duties on all raw materials, and the lowering or total abrogation of the tariff on necessities. On the convening of the Fiftieth Con-

gress, surplus revenue being more and more a menace, the House felt forced to attempt a reduction of the Government's income. The Mills Bill resulted, hotly denounced and violently opposed by the Republicans as a free-trade measure. It was far from being this, though many of the arguments adduced in support of it would have been equally valid against all protection. The bill passed the House. In the Senate a Republican substitute was reported but never pushed.

The Senate sought to use the country's relations with China as a means of advantage over Mr. Cleveland. Both parties had expressed themselves as opposed to Chinese labor. A treaty with China had been signed on March 12, 1888, but subsequently amended by the Senate so as to exclude those Chinese laborers who had formerly been in the country, and had been given certificates of identification by the Government. It seemed probable that China would not accept this treaty. On September 7th the Senate took up and immediately passed an act which came from the House, excluding from the United States all Chinese laborers without distinction. The President was thus in a dilemma. If he vetoed the measure he would encounter popular displeasure, if he signed it he would be placed in hostile relations toward a friendly power. In the House the Committee on Foreign Affairs delayed sending the bill to the President until it was definitely known that China had refused to ratify the treaty, and the Exclusion Bill was signed October 1st.

While many happy events were cementing the old goodwill between us and the French Republic our relations with England were in danger of being strained over the inveterate Fisheries dispute, which had come down from the very birthday of the nation. Many remembered how, on Sunday, January 6, 1878, a number of American sailors engaged in taking herring in Long Harbor, Fortune Bay, Newfoundland, were attacked by the Newfoundlanders, who destroyed one of their seines and forced them to stop fishing. This incident was for years one of the international questions in dispute between England and America.

On July 1, 1885, the fishery clauses of the Treaty of Washington ceased to be operative. Canadian salt fish was now taxed by us, who, on the other hand, found, to our sorrow, the cruel provisions of the 1818 Treaty again legally binding and the Canadian authorities bent on their strict construction and enforcement. Our citizens could not now fish "within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, and harbors of her Britannic Majesty's dominion in North America." In determining this limit England "measured from the headlands or extreme points of land at the entrance of bays or indents of the coast," forbidding Americans to fish in such bays even if more than three miles from shore. American vessels could not enter Canadian ports for bait. During the season of 1886 numbers of our vessels were detained at Canadian ports, some of them under most aggravating circumstances, though but two were condemned. Crews were refused water on the ground that they had not conformed to certain port or customs regulations.

The American schooner *David J. Adams*, calling at the port of Digby, Nova Scotia, May 5, 1886, to procure bait, was seized by Captain Scott of the steamer *Lansdowne*. The captain of the *Adams* declared he had called to see friends and was released, but ran aground going out of the harbor. Since the truth had meanwhile been learned, the schooner was resealed, everything movable being sold at auction to cover expenses. The matter was long in dispute between England and the United States.

For weeks the dispute greatly excited our country. Threats of war with Canada were uttered and careful estimates made of the force we could throw across our northern border in case of need. In May Congress placed in the President's hands power to suspend commercial intercourse between ourselves and Canada. Later a bill was introduced in the House cutting off all commercial relations with Canada by land or water. The Senate advanced a more moderate proposition—to limit the proposed arrest of traffic to water commerce and to Canadian vessels, also to leave its enforce-

ment optional with the President. This became law on March 3, 1887. Under this legislation the President, on being assured that our fishing-masters or crews were used in Canadian ports any less favorably than masters or crews of trading vessels from the most favored nations, could, "in his discretion, by proclamation to that effect, deny vessels, their masters and crews, of the British dominions of North America any entrance into the waters, ports, or places of or within the United States."

The President did not think best at once to use this fearful power, likely enough to lead to war. He preferred to make another attempt at a peaceful settlement through a new treaty. This had constantly been the wish of the British Government. Accordingly, late in 1887, a joint commission, consisting of Secretary Bayard, President Angell, of Michigan University, and Hon. William L. Putnam, of Maine, on the part of the United States, and of Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, and Sir Lionel West, the British Minister, on the part of Great Britain, met at Washington. The Commission toiled nearly all winter, and passed to the President the result of its deliberations on February 16, 1888. The treaty which it drafted was necessarily a compromise. Canada thought the British Commissioners had yielded too much; many in the United States believed our Commissioners to have done the same. The document, approved by the President, went to the Senate, where, after long debate, it was refused ratification, August 21st.

The Commission had agreed upon a *modus vivendi*, to hold good, unless revoked by the Governor-General and Council of Canada, till February, 1890, under which our fishermen might obtain in Canadian ports, on payment of a license, the privileges of merchantmen. Many such licenses were taken out during the season of 1888. Most of the fishing-masters, however, did not seek licenses, and were averse to the new treaty, preferring the terms of 1818 to granting their rivals any further rights in our markets.

Fresh fish, including frozen and slack-salted, was already free in our ports, competing sharply with our own catch. No one longer cared to fish inside, or, except in emergencies, to provision at Canadian towns.

Convenient as would be the power to obtain bait near the fishing-grounds and to transship fish home in bond, neither was indispensable. Cod were still caught with trawls and baited hooks. The best bait was squid, whose abundance upon the banks was what caused the cod so to frequent them. The squid could be had freshest as well as cheapest from the peasantry of the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia coasts; but clams carried from home were found to do nearly as well. Accordingly, few collisions occurred in 1888, and as the season of that year closed there was a prospect that, even without a new convention, no necessity for American retaliation would arise.

Besides the Northeastern fisheries imbroglio, the seal fisheries of the Northwest gave trouble. The occasion was as follows: Shortly after our acquisition of Alaska, Congress passed stringent laws against killing fur-bearing animals in Alaska or the adjacent waters. In 1870 the Pribylov or Seal islands were leased to the Alaska Commercial Co., under regulations designed to preserve the seal life, rapidly becoming extinct everywhere else. Poaching was frequent and reckless. To punish and prevent it the Treasury Department in 1886 attempted to treat Bering Sea as a *mare clausum*, assuming that the United States had jurisdiction over it all, whereas British sealers claimed the right to hunt seals wherever they pleased if over three miles from land. In 1886, the British schooners *Carolina*, *Onward*, and *Thornton*, though beyond the three-mile limit, were seized, taken to Sitka, condemned, their skins confiscated, and their masters fined. The British Government demanded the release of the prisoners and vessels and an indemnity of \$160,000. The release was ordered by President Cleveland in January, 1887, though the order was not immediately executed. In the summer of 1887 other British vessels, together with

American seal-poachers, were taken from thirty to seventy miles out at sea. On August 19, 1887, Secretary Bayard sent circular letters to the United States Ministers in England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and Sweden, directing representations to be made to these Governments that action was desirable for the better protection of the seals in Bering Sea. All the powers appealed to, except Sweden, began conference with the United States in the interest named, and for the present no more British vessels were seized. In March, 1892, a treaty was ratified, submitting the questions that had arisen between the United States and Great Britain touching Bering Sea affairs to arbitration by seven commissioners, one each from Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, France, and Italy, and two, Justice Harlan and Senator Morgan, from the United States.

On the five questions submitted to it, the Board decided as follows: (1) By the treaty of 1824 with the United States and by that of 1825 with Great Britain, Russia abandoned the right of exclusive jurisdiction beyond cannon-shot from shore, and never from that time till the cession of Alaska exercised it. (2) Great Britain never recognized Russian claims to exclusive jurisdiction outside territorial waters. (3) In the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825 the term "Pacific Ocean" included Bering Sea. (4) At the cession all Russia's rights passed to the United States without impairment or increase. (5) The United States had no right to the protection of or to property in seals outside the ordinary three-mile limit. Points (3) and (4) were decided unanimously; from all the rest Senator Morgan and from (5) Justice Harlan dissented. The Board made happy provisions for a joint police of Bering Sea by Great Britain and the United States, for an open and closed fishing season, and for the careful licensing of sealing vessels. Finally special recommendations were offered to the respective Governments touching measures for more efficiently protecting the seals, each within its own undoubted jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL GRANT'S FUNERAL—ANARCHISM IN CHICAGO
—STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

Cleveland's Letter to Mrs. Grant—Grant's End—The Private Funeral—The Body in State at Albany—In New York City—Crowds at City Hall—Catafalque and Guard of Honor—Distinguished Men in Procession—"Let Us Have Peace"—At and Near the Tomb—The Procession Arrives—The Hero at Rest—The Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World—Origin and Development of the Scheme—The Site Provided—Arrival of the Statue in New York Harbor—The Procession—Reception at City Hall—The Statue in Situ—The Unveiling—The Great Southwestern Railway Strike—Origin—Violence—Effects—Martin Irons—The Old Story—Anarchists in Chicago—Meeting in Haymarket Square—Fielden's Speech—His Arrest—Bombs—Their Deadly Work—Bravery of the Police—Seven Men Indicted—*The Alarm*—The Trial and the Sentences—Were the Condemned Guilty?—Governor Altgeld's Pardon—His Argument Therefor—Henry George Runs for Mayor of New York—Revision of State Constitutions—Geography of This—Characteristics of the New Instruments—Legislatures Bridled and the Executive Given Increased Power—Corporations—The Jury System—Tendency Toward Government by Administration—The Australian Ballot—Spirit of Suffrage Laws—Disfranchisement of Blacks at the South—Alabama Democracy Wins by Aid of Negroes—The Mississippi Constitution of 1890—Its Suffrage Provisions—Upheld in Court—Increase of Negroes Qualified to Vote—The Struggle in South Carolina—Wade Hampton—Registration Act of 1882—Judge Goff's Injunction—Dissolved—The Convention—The New Constitution.

THE elect of the Solid South, and determined to give that section its rights, Mr. Cleveland yet took every occasion to recognize the results of the war, and to honor those who had made it successful. On learning of General Grant's death, he, on July 23, 1885, wrote Mrs. Grant:

"MY DEAR MADAM: Obeying the dictates of my personal feelings, and in accord with what I am sure is the universal sentiment of his fellow-countrymen toward your

late husband, I am solicitous that every tribute of respect and affection should be duly rendered, and with constant consideration of your personal wishes on the subject. Adjutant-General Richard C. Drum is charged with the delivery of this note, and will receive and convey to me any intimation of the wishes of yourself and your children in respect to the selection of the place of burial and conduct of the funeral ceremonies, and the part which may be borne by those charged with the administration of the government. With sincere condolence,

“Your friend and servant,

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

For months, intense suffering had been General Grant's lot, but he bore it in a hero's way. Never before had his character seemed so admirable as in this battle with disease, in which he was doomed to fall. No word of complaint escaped him. Work upon his “Memoirs,” whose sale—such his poverty—he expected to be his family's sole source of support when he was gone, he persistently kept up till four days before the end. His protracted affliction made the Silent Man seem each one's next of kin. All that had been out of order in his administration of the Presidency was forgotten, men's thoughts gliding kindly back to the days of his immortal deeds in the field. When it was known that he was gone, the entire nation bent over his bier in tears, every household in the land, North and South, feeling itself bereaved. Southern cities half-masted their flags in Grant's honor, Southern legislatures passed resolutions speaking his praises and adjourned out of respect for him. Even Jefferson Davis unbent for a moment, uttering about the deceased commander a greater number of kindly words than the public had heard from him before in twenty-five years.

The death had occurred at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga. The private funeral services were performed at that place on August 4th; and the same day a heavily draped railway train without bell or whistle bore the remains to

Albany, where, from the evening of August 4th till 10.30 A.M., August 5th, the body lay in state at the Capitol. It was here viewed by over seventy-seven thousand persons. The public funeral took place in New York City on August 8th—the most imposing spectacle of the kind ever seen in America. Business was suspended. Crowds poured in from all the neighboring States, every train and steamer being packed to its utmost capacity. Positions convenient for surveying the procession sold for as much as fifty dollars apiece. City Hall, the immense pillars and winding stairs of its vestibule impressively draped in black, received the coffin, and through its iron portals for hours flowed a steady stream in double columns of twos. It was thought that from the opening to the closing of the gates, nearly or quite three hundred thousand people gazed upon the corpse.

As day broke, August 8th, was heard the first of the dirges that till sunset were at no moment intermitted. The sound came nearer and nearer, till five hundred veterans of Meade Post, Grand Army of the Republic, came in sight. Soon old Trinity's grave chimes pealed forth. At seven, notes of mourning from all distances and directions rose, floating up to the barred gates behind which lay the remains. At 8.50 General Hancock and staff slowly entered the plaza, first presenting front to City Hall in honor of the dead, and then facing Broadway, prepared to lead the solemn march. At 9.35 the funeral car approached, drawn by twenty-four jet-black horses, a colored man at each bridle. Twelve soldiers, who had formed the Guard of Honor at Mount McGregor, reverently lifted the casket upon the car, which, as it moved, was flanked by veterans.

The procession, eight miles long, wended up Broadway between lines of old soldiers—flags veiled, drums muffled, and arms reversed. The Grant family, except Mrs. Grant, who was unable to be present, followed in four carriages, succeeded by the General's old staff, his Cabinet officers, and detachments from Grand Army Posts. Members of the Aztec Club, survivors of the Mexican War, formed a group.

President Cleveland rode with Secretary Bayard, and they were followed by the Vice-President and the Cabinet, the Supreme Court Justices, United States Senators, and a Committee of the House. Governor Hill and his suite and a Committee of the State Legislature were of the *cortège*, also gentlemen who had occupied diplomatic and consular offices under Grant while President. Besides all these were official guests filling a hundred and fifty carriages. Over the ashes of the man who had said, "Let us have peace," all bitter memories were forgotten. Speaker Carlisle and ex-Speaker Randall rode with Congressmen Hiscock and Reed, Senator Morrill with Senator Cockrell, Sherman with Ransom, Ingalls with Harris. Famous Confederates, distinguishable by their gray silk sashes, fraternized with Federal chieftains. Generals Joe Johnston and Buckner officiated with Sherman, Sheridan, and Logan among the pallbearers. Three other gallant Southerners, Wade Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee, and Gordon, were also present at the funeral.

The tomb had been prepared in the upper city, near the North River and within sight of the Palisades. Directly opposite it that day lay the *Despatch*, bearing the Rear-Admiral's pennant; near her the *Powhatan*, guns gazing from her ports; also the *Omaha*, the *Swatara*, and the *Alliance*. The vessels had their yards "a-cockbill"—obliquely set in token of mourning. Their brass and steel fittings, their holystoned decks, and the accoutrements of their marines shone in the bright sun. On land, too, wherever you looked, were brilliant uniforms and trappings, plumed cavalymen and artillerymen, burnished cannon, and bodies of infantry with rifles stacked in sheaves.

Shortly after two, trumpets heralded General Hancock and staff. Sweeping past the tomb, they drew rein beneath trees a hundred yards north. Soon a thunder-peal from the *Powhatan* shook the bluff, being returned, multiplied, from the Jersey shore. The salute was repeated at intervals. A little after four another strain of trumpets was heard; then the sound of muffled drums, announcing the approach of the

catafalque. Infantry companies which had escorted it formed a hollow square between it and the tomb, and to the middle of this the body about to be laid away was transferred. The family mourners, alighting, stood nearest, then General Hancock, with President Cleveland, Vice-President Hendricks, and members of the Cabinet. Close to the head of the bier were Generals Sherman and Sheridan, ex-Presidents Arthur and Hayes, Admiral Porter, General Fitzhugh Lee, General Gordon, and General Buckner. Representatives from Meade Post circled the casket and went through the Grand Army ritual, after which came the burial service of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the close of this "Tattoo" was sounded, ending the ceremonies, save that three volleys of musketry and as many of artillery were let off while the Grant family re-entered their carriages.

The burial of ex-President Grant had been immediately preceded by a pleasant event of international interest. June 19, 1885, the New York Aldermanic Chamber, late witness of the presidential count, might have been seen tricked out with our red, white, and blue, and with the French tricolor, to welcome the bringers of Bartholdi's statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, presented by Frenchmen to the people of America. M. Bartholdi had conceived this enterprise before the Second Empire fell. Obeying a hint of M. Laboulaye touching American love for Lafayette, he wished that French and American effort might erect a monument typical at once of American independence and of liberty itself. Soon after the re-establishment of the Republic, a French-American Union was formed in France to realize this idea. Bartholdi's plan being approved, a popular subscription from 100,000 Frenchmen brought in more than \$200,000, the cost of the statue, to which Americans added \$300,000 for base and pedestal. The United States set apart as the site of the statue Bedloe's Island, now Liberty Island, in New York Harbor, occupied since early in the century by the star fort which forms so suitable a part of the base beneath the statue. Upon the soil of the island was laid a solid block

of concrete, the largest in the world, 90 feet square at the bottom, 65 at the top, and 52 feet high, and this was surrounded by a concrete arch covered with turf. Above rose the masonry of the pedestal proper, with huge, rough-hewn quoins.

The work of art was formally made over to our Minister in Paris on July 4th. When the *Isère*, bearing it, approached our shores, Senator Evarts, chairman of the Pedestal Committee, Mayor Grace, the French Consuls of New York and Chicago, with many invited guests, steamed down to meet her. The naval progress up the harbor was led by the *Despatch*, with Secretary Whitney on board. Other American men-of-war followed, behind them the French frigate *Flore*, and then the *Isère*, with an American vessel on each side. Over a hundred excursion boats, big and little, sail and steam, brought up the rear. Clouds of smoke and incessant thunder from the forts reminded one of the Yorktown celebration. This noise gave place to a bedlam of shrill steam whistles when the fleet reached Bedloe's Island. Here the American Committee and their French guests landed, while French choral societies of three hundred voices sang the "Marseillaise" and "Hail Columbia." All then crossed to the Battery, whence a grand procession moved to City Hall. Three regiments of the New York State Guard, sixteen hundred strong, mounted policemen, delegations from the Chamber of Commerce and other New York bodies, prominent residents, the aldermen, with Admiral Lacombe, Captain De Saune, and other guests of honor, were formally of the procession, while thousands upon thousands of onlookers moved as it moved. Roofs and windows along the line were densely filled. In the Governor's Room at City Hall a lunch was served to the guests. Over the old-fashioned desk once used by Washington was his full-length portrait, *vis-à-vis* with that of Lafayette. The table bore a model of the *Isère*, also one of the statue on its pedestal, and an emblematic figure of France wearing a tricolor cap and bearing a French flag. At the formal reception, in the chambers, a number of addresses were made.

The goddess was not unveiled till October, 1886. When in place she stood 151 feet high, the tip of her torch extending 305 feet above low water. Her weight was 440,000 pounds. Beside her the Colossus of Rhodes would seem a good-sized boy. The statue's only rivals in size were certain figures in India cut from the living rock, but they were hardly works of art or of engineering. The frame consisted of four heavy corner-posts, joined by horizontal and diagonal braces. The contour was approximated by similarly braced struts, with a flying truss to support the arm. The cuticle was of copper plates 3-32 inches thick, strengthened by iron strips on the inside.

In contrast with the bright June day of her arrival, the day for the unveiling was chilly and drizzling, mud smearing the streets and mist lying over the harbor. From a shelterless platform at Madison Square, President Cleveland and his Cabinet reviewed a procession twenty thousand strong as it marched to the Battery. The sidewalks were packed with humanity in two solid columns. Simultaneously with this pageant a grand naval parade of nearly three hundred vessels, led by French and American men-of-war, wended toward Bedloe's Island, where at last, though with face still hidden, stood the goddess, beautiful indeed. Afternoon saw the island crowded with distinguished guests. The head of the French Cabinet, the Minister of Public Instruction, members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and the Vice-President of the Paris Municipal Council were of the number. Comte de Lesseps spoke for France, when Senator Evarts, in a more extended address, delivered the statue to the President as representing the people. When M. Bartholdi removed the veil cannon roared on every side. President Cleveland in a few words accepted the gift. Addresses by M. Lefèvre and Hon. Chauncey M. Depew followed. Unfortunately the weather prevented the intended pyrotechnic display in the evening, though the harbor craft were all illumined.

The year 1886 brought several labor movements, which

had grave political and social significance. The Texas Pacific Railroad was a bankrupt corporation in the custody of the United States Courts. Its receiver having refused to re-employ a dismissed foreman, the Executive of the Knights of Labor, in March, ordered the employees to quit work. The strike rapidly spread over the entire Gould system in the Southwest, Missouri Pacific employees making common cause with the original strikers. St. Louis was the storm-centre. Here violence and terrorism were rife, and United States troops had to be sent to restore and keep the peace. April 7th and 9th bloody riots occurred, fatal to several and destroying vast amounts of property. A crowd of three or four hundred persons gathered on a bridge near the Louisville and Nashville Railroad crossing, which was guarded by eight special deputies brought from distant points. Taunts were freely thrown at them, especially at one who was conspicuous on account of his tall figure, surmounted by a shock of red hair. He was counseled to go shoot himself. Instead, he advanced and dragged forth his tormentor, whereupon a tumult ensued, and all the small boys set up the cry of "Rats!" The other deputies, furious, all followed the example of the red-haired one, when he leveled his gun at the crowd. Some one called out, "Don't shoot!" but the response was a volley that felled five men and a woman. Now panic-stricken in their turn, the deputies sought safety in the jail, one in his flight killing still another man. The wrathful populace dispersed to secure arms, and, once more assembling, were about to advance upon the jail. This violence was avoided and many lives saved by the leaders of the Knights of Labor, who hastened to the spot and implored the people to make no unlawful demonstrations. That evening, however, some \$50,000 worth of property was destroyed by incendiarism. Perishable goods spoiled, the St. Louis flour industry was stopped, and the price of provisions greatly increased. When coal rose from \$5.50 to \$40 a ton, factories of all descriptions had to shut down.

At last, some agreement being reached, General Master

Workman Powderly, of the Knights, ordered work resumed; but feeling had become so bitter that in St. Louis his mandate was disobeyed. Martin Irons, head of the St. Louis Knights, assumed the leadership and kept the conflict raging for some time. Congress raised a committee to investigate the strike, and before this, in the course of time, Irons came. He had been born in Scotland in 1832, arriving in America when fourteen. For years he was a rover, but at length settled at Sedalia, Mo., near Jesse James's old camping ground. His ultra policies, much more than his ability, had made him a labor leader. It was "a weak, irresolute, half-cunning, half-frightened face that he turned toward the committee. He wore a dirty white shirt and a dirty white collar held in its place by a brass stud. An imitation diamond relieved the discolored area of his shirt-front, and a heavy brass watch-chain dangled from his unbuttoned vest. His first act after taking his seat was to draw a spittoon toward him and take a huge quid of tobacco, which he chewed heavily while he listened to Chairman Curtin's opening address to him." Irons and many more were examined. It was the old story: hot heads of a lax labor organization making rash demands; stiff capitalists readier to die than yield a point. The strike worse than failed of its purpose, at least of its immediate purpose. It was estimated that the strikers lost \$900,000 in wages, and non-striking employees deprived of work not less than \$500,000. The Missouri Pacific, it was thought, lost nearly \$3,000,000.

Serious as was this disturbance, it was temporarily forgotten in the more sombre event which occurred in Chicago on the very evening when the Southwestern strike terminated. Chicago labor organizations had recently started a movement to secure the adoption of an eight-hour labor day. Forty thousand workmen struck to enforce the demand, in efforts to withstand which some workmen had been shot by police and by Pinkerton detectives. On the evening of May 3d was announced a public indignation meeting for next day in Haymarket Square, which "good speakers" would address. On

Tuesday some 1,400 workmen assembled. Most of the addresses were comparatively mild in tone, but about ten o'clock, after the Mayor had gone and part of the audience dispersed, Samuel Fielden gave utterance to vehement incendiary remarks: "John Brown, Jefferson, Washington, Patrick Henry, and Hopkins said to the people: 'The law is your enemy. We are rebels against it.' The skirmish lines have met. The people have been shot. You have been robbed, and you will be starved into a worse condition." At this point a body of about 180 policemen marched up. Halting within a few feet of the speaker, Captain Ward said: "I command you, in the name of the People of the State of Illinois, to immediately and peaceably disperse." Fielden said, "We are peaceable." He was arrested.

As the police were carrying him off a gleaming missile was seen to curve in the air and fall among them. A deafening explosion ensued, and a third of their number fell writhing, seven being fatally wounded. "Fall in; close up!" The officers still on their feet obeyed instantly, and, not knowing the extent of the disaster or whether the cowardly attack would be repeated, dashed against the mob, of whom over fifty fell, the rest fleeing. Such magnificent courage in the presence of a sudden, mysterious, and horrible danger, of a nature specially calculated to breed panic, won for the Chicago police force admiration at home and abroad. Army-disciplined *gendarmarie* or regular troops could have behaved no better. The Chicago people did well to commemorate the deed with a monument.

A storm of wrath fell upon the Anarchists, who had thus for the first time tried their methods in America. The actual thrower of the bomb was probably Rudolph Schnaubelt; but by shaving off his beard immediately after the event he avoided identification, though twice arrested, and finally escaped to unknown parts. Excitement was increased by the discovery in Cincinnati of Anarchists to the number of 600, organized and armed with rifles. Efforts were redoubled to bring the heads of the Chicago conspiracy to justice. The

bomb used was probably the production of Louis Lingg, who all the afternoon before the riot had, with his assistants, been filling bombs similar to the one thrown. Besides Lingg seven other men were indicted, connected with two Anarchist sheets, "The Alarm," Albert R. Parsons's paper, and the "Arbeiter Zeitung," conducted by Augustus Spies. An extract from the "Alarm" read as follows: "DYNAMITE! Of all the good stuff, this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe (gas or water pipe), plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. A most cheerful and gratifying result will follow. The dear stuff can be carried around in the pocket without danger, while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police, or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the plundered slaves. A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow, and don't you forget it." When this passage was read in court the accused seemed greatly amused at the wit of it.

It was mainly upon such extracts from Anarchist papers that the prosecution was based. As accessories before the fact, equally guilty with the unknown principal, having by speech and print advised the commission of murder, Augustus Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg were, on August 20, 1886, sentenced to death. Oscar Neebe was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor. With the approval of Judge Gary and District Attorney Grinnell, Governor Oglesby commuted Schwab's and Fielden's sentence to life imprisonment. Lingg escaped the gallows by suicide, or, as his friends maintained, by murder at the hands of the police, a bomb, his chosen weapon, being exploded in his mouth. Four more bombs were found in his cell. Engel failed in an attempt to kill himself by poison. In November, 1887, Engel, Parsons, Fischer, and Spies were hanged, remaining defiant to the last. Their bodies were buried two days later.

A procession of Anarchists followed them to the grave, singing the "Marseillaise" and disporting red ribbons.

There were people of intelligence, standing, patriotism, and high courage who, then and later, differed from the prevailing opinion touching the proper method for dealing with the convicted. Some believed that Anarchy would be discouraged by mildness more effectively than by severity; others thought that all the condemned, though guilty, were proper objects of Executive clemency; still others were convinced that the seven were unjustly convicted. One of the ablest practitioners at the Chicago bar, thoroughly conversant with all the proceedings and evidence, years after the event, when all passion had subsided, using the utmost emphasis, declared it a perfectly clear and indubitable as well as a most sad and disgraceful case of judicial murder. Henry D. Lloyd, of Chicago, Mr. Howells, and many others thought that there might have been guilt, but strongly favored clemency. Even Judge Gary, who presided at the trial, wrote: "In copying these fierce denunciations, these recitals of alleged tyranny and oppression, these seemingly pitying descriptions of the hardships and wrongs of the humble and the poor, written with apparent sincerity and real intellectual ability, I have occasionally lost sight of the atrocity of the advice given by the Anarchists, and felt a sort of sympathy with the rioters who would have praised my assassination as a virtuous act." Mr. Black, of the counsel for the defence, was deeply touched by what he considered the wrongs of his clients. Speaking at the graves of the executed, he confessed that he "loved these men" when he came to know "of their love for the people, of their patience, gentleness, and courage."

Between eight and nine years after the Haymarket riot, Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, pardoned the three Anarchists still in the penitentiary, bringing upon himself unmeasured and lasting condemnation, increased by the fact that he chose for his act the day of the dedication of a monument to the dead Anarchists. His Excellency declared that the pardon was not mercy, for which there was no place, but tardy jus-

tice. He said: "If the defendants had a fair trial, and nothing has developed since to show that they are not guilty of the crime charged in the indictments, then there ought to be no Executive interference, for no punishment under our law could then be too severe. Government must defend itself, life and property must be protected, and law and order maintained. Murder must be punished, and, if the defendants are guilty of murder, either committed with their own hands or by some one else acting on their advice, then, if they have had a fair trial, there should be in this case no Executive interference." He insisted that the men had not been legally convicted. Their conviction proceeded solely upon the ground that they had in a general way, by speech and print, advised classes, not particular individuals, to commit murder, and that, in consequence of such advice, *somebody not known* threw the bomb. There was no evidence whatever that any of the accused threw it, or that the one doing so, whoever he was, ever read or heard a word that proceeded from the mouth or pen of any of the accused. Governor Altgeld was thought by many to have established the facts that the jury was prejudiced, and that their admission to the panel, as also the principle upon which conviction was had, was a legal novelty. He charged that the jury was packed, and the judge not judicial in conducting the trial or in delivering sentence. He suggested that the murder was not upon the seditious advice of those obscure Anarchist sheets, but was an act of personal retaliation for some of the several instances of police or Pinkerton shooting and brutality which he alleged.

In 1886, labor strife stirred New York City as well as Chicago. Here, in June, Johann Most and three other Anarchists were convicted of inciting to riot and imprisoned. Several members of labor unions were also sentenced for boycotting. The same year Henry George ran as Labor candidate for the office of Mayor, polling nearly seventy thousand votes. In this campaign the foreign element for once deserted Tammany. To stem such adverse tide the braves nominated Abram S. Hewitt, a gentleman of courage, ability, and integ-

riety. It thus came to pass that one of the best mayors New York ever had was the official choice of Tammany Hall. Never previously had he been in even ostensible alliance with that body, and he was not so afterward. Indeed, he was one of the famous 1894 Committee of Seventy, of whose work the reader will learn later.

The exigencies of the race war at the South, various new forms of civil disorder everywhere, and the useless and archaic nature of many provisions in the old instruments, led to a pretty general revision of State Constitutions.¹ The New

¹ STATE CONSTITUTION-MAKING SINCE 1861.

	Provisional Government entered upon	Reconstruction Act adopted	Present Constitution adopted
Alabama	1865	1867	1875
Arkansas	1864	1868	1874
Florida	1865	1868	1885
Georgia	1865	1868	1877
Louisiana	1864	1868	—
Mississippi	—	1868	1890
North Carolina.....	—	1868	1876
South Carolina.....	1865	1868	1895
Texas	1866	1868	1876
Virginia	1864	1870	—

None of the eight Provisional Constitutions was recognized by Congress. Doings of Secession Conventions are not considered here. Usually, aside from the article of secession, they made merely verbal changes in existing instruments and did not submit the altered Constitutions to the people. Texas did this, however. Maryland adopted Constitutions in 1864 and 1867. Missouri ratified anti-secession amendments in 1861-63; renewed her Constitution in 1865 and 1875. West Virginia made her first separate State Constitution in 1861-63; her present one in 1872. Tennessee, in convention, ratified the anti-secession amendment in 1865; made her present Constitution in 1870. Kentucky adopted her present ground-law in 1891.

Northern and Western States have, since 1861, made fundamental laws as follows, those marked with an asterisk being first constitutions of New States: Nevada in 1864;* Nebraska in 1867* and 1875; Illinois in 1870; Pennsylvania in 1873; Colorado in 1876;* California in 1879; Montana in 1889;* North Dakota in 1889;* South Dakota in 1889;* Washington in 1889;* Idaho in 1889;* Wyoming in 1889;* Utah in 1895.*

The following States were still (1896) under constitutions adopted before 1861: Connecticut's document hailed from 1818, Delaware's from

England States, indeed, continued to live under constitutions adopted before the Civil War, modified, however in most instances, by extensive amendments. Delaware, New Jersey, and New York were equally conservative, as also the group of noble States next to the westward—Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Of the more westerly States only Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and Oregon remained content with ante-bellum instruments. Between 1864 and 1866 eight of the Southern States inaugurated provisional governments, which, however, were not recognized by Congress. These were succeeded by governments under the reconstruction acts. Alabama underwent this change in 1867; Virginia in 1870; the rest in 1868. After the death of the carpet-bag governments eight of the ten reconstruction constitutions were overthrown by 1896. During the thirty-five years surveyed in this History eleven new States entered the Union, of which all but West Virginia and Nebraska retained their first bases of government. In some of these cases amendments made were so pervasive as to render the constitutions in effect new documents. Among constitutional conventions the most important were two in New Hampshire, 1876 and 1889, one in New York, 1894, and one each in Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

1831. This State was to hold a convention, Dec. 1, 1896. Indiana's Constitution dated from 1851; Iowa's from 1846; that of Kansas from 1859; that of Maine from 1820; that of Massachusetts from 1780; that of Michigan from 1850; that of Minnesota from 1857. This State proposed, on November 3, 1896, to vote on the question of holding a revising convention. New Hampshire's Convention had come down from 1792; but conventions for amendments were held in 1876 and 1889. New Jersey's Constitution was made in 1844. New York State held an able Constitutional Convention in 1894, which passed many amendments. Ohio enacted her great document in 1851; Oregon did the same in 1857; Rhode Island in 1842; Vermont in 1793; Wisconsin in 1848.

It appears from the above that from the opening of the Civil War to 1896 the ten Secession States passed twenty-six constitutions; five other Southern States eight; and certain Northern and Western States fourteen more, making forty-eight new constitutions in all. Of this total eleven were first constitutions; one of these Southern (W. Va.) and ten Western.

Generally speaking, the new State constitutions reserved to the people large powers formerly granted to one or more among the three departments of government. They displayed a very strong tendency to hold the legislature in check by more minute directions and restrictions than were formerly usual. The new constitutions were much longer than earlier ones, dealing with many subjects previously left to statutes. Popular distrust of legislatures was further shown by provisions shortening the length of sessions, making sessions biennial, forbidding the pledging of the public credit, inhibiting all private or special legislation, items being usually specified, and fixing a maximum for the rate of taxation, for State debts, and for State expenditures. Many new requirements were laid down to be observed in the passing of laws, such as printing the bills, reading them thrice, the yeas and nays on every bill, an absolute majority voting yea, inhibition of "log-rolling," or the joining of two or more subjects under one title, and enactments against legislative bribery, lobbying, and "riders." It was the legislative rather than the executive branch of the government that was snubbed. The Revolutionary distrust of the Executive had vanished. Indeed, there had appeared a quite positive tendency to concentrate responsibility in the Executive, causing the powers of Governors on the whole considerably to increase. In consequence the Governor now enjoyed a longer term, and could veto items or sections of bills, but he commonly shared his pardoning power with a board. By the ten latest constitutions all other executive officers as well as the Governor were created directly by the people, neither appointed by the Governor nor elected by the legislature.

The newer constitutions and constitutional amendments paid great attention to the regulation of corporations, especially of railroads. Commissions were created or provided for to deal with railroads, insurance, agriculture, lands, prisons, and charities. Restrictions were laid upon trusts, monopolies, and lotteries. Numerous modifications of the old jury system were introduced. Juries were made optional in

civil cases, and not always obligatory in criminal. A number less than twelve was sometimes allowed, and a unanimous vote sometimes not required. Restrictions were enacted respecting the hours of labor, the regulation of factories, the alien ownership of land. The old latitude of giving and receiving by inheritance was trenched upon by means of inheritance taxes. The curbing of the legislature, the popular election of executive officials, civil service reform, and the consequent creation of a body of administrative officials with clearly defined duties, all seemed to betray a strong tendency toward the development of an administrative system.

A chief stronghold of political corruption was assaulted from 1888 to 1894 by an energetic and hopeful measure known as the "Australian" or secret ballot. It took many forms in different States; yet the essence of the device everywhere was the provision, in case of every voter, of opportunity to prepare and fold his ballot in a stall by himself, so that no one could dictate or determine whom he should vote for, or, unless freely told by him, know, subsequently, whom he had voted for. The State of Massachusetts and the City of Louisville, Ky., employed the new system in 1888. Next year ten States enacted similar laws. In 1890 four more followed, and in 1891 fourteen more. By 1894, when the impulse had largely spent itself, thirty-seven States, making all the members of the Union but seven, practiced the Australian ballot system. Of these seven, six were Southern States, which framed their election laws mainly with the view of securing white domination.

Antagonists of the reform dubbed it "penal colony reform" and "Kangaroo voting," but failed to render it unpopular, although some States weakened its good effects by imperfect or ill-enforced regulations. An official ballot replaced the privately—often dishonestly—prepared party ballots formerly hawked all about each polling place by workers of the various political parties. This new ballot was a "blanket." It formed a conspectus of all the candidates before the people, whether by regular nomination or by

the petition of a required percentage of the voters. The arrangement of candidates' names varied in different States. One ticket was so constructed as to make it easy for the illiterate or the straight-out party man to mark or stamp his will at the head of a column of party candidates. Another made voting a heavy labor for the ignorant, but a delight to the discriminating independent.

It was painful to observe that the new method of balloting failed to produce by any means the excellent results expected of it. The connivance of election officials and of corrupt voters often annulled its virtue by devices growing in variety and ingenuity as ward politicians became better acquainted with the reform measure which had been forced upon them.

In the North and West the tendency of the new fundamental laws was to widen the suffrage, making it, for males over twenty-one years of age, almost universal, except in voting on financial bills. The right of women to vote, especially upon local matters, was more and more recognized. In Wyoming and Utah women equally with men exercised the suffrage upon all matters. There was also some drift toward accepting national citizenship as a basis for State citizenship. Much agitation occurred in favor of minority representation, and inclination appeared in certain quarters to adopt it more or less completely.

All over the South was manifested an irresistible movement toward the disfranchisement of the blacks. At first the cause was advanced illegally, by force, fraud, and corruption; later, legal means, decent constitutional and statutory subterfuges, were tried. In North Carolina and Louisiana local colored majorities were rendered impotent by weakening local self-government. In Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and in Virginia till 1882, proof of payment of taxes, notably of poll-taxes, was made an indispensable prerequisite to voting, either alone or as an alternative for an educational qualification. Such as had not paid, or, having paid, had failed to preserve or to bring to the polls their receipts, were cut off. Alabama, Arkansas,

Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, Virginia, and South Carolina surrounded registration and voting with complex enactments. An educational qualification, often very elastic, sometimes the voter's alternative for a tax-receipt, was resorted to by Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

White solidarity yielding with time to party factions, there were heard in North and South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana loud allegations that this side or that had availed itself of negro votes to make up a deficit, or had turned the enginery of vote-suppression against its opponents' white supporters. A populist cartoon in a St. Louis comic paper pictured the Democratic "trump card" in Alabama as the "ace of spades," the device on the card being the face of an unsightly denizen of "the black belt." There was no doubt whatever that, at the election referred to, the Democracy was saved from defeat solely by the agency of colored votes.

Nowhere was the color line more sharply drawn than in Mississippi. The blacks were numerous there, and, unless controlled, would rule and ruin the State, themselves with it. It was easy for the whites to keep them in check, as they had done for years, by bribery and threats, supplemented, when necessary, by the use of flogging and the shotgun. But this policy gave to the rising generation of white men the worst possible sort of a political education. What meaning could free institutions have for young voters who had never in all their lives seen an election carried save by these vicious means! The system was too barbarous to continue. A new constitution which should legally eliminate most of the negro vote was the alternative. Pursuant to an act of the preceding legislature a constitutional convention of 131 Democrats, 2 Republicans, and 1 Greenbacker, deliberated in Mississippi from August 12 to November 1, 1890. Its main problem was to steer between the Scylla of the Fifteenth Amendment and the Charybdis of negro domination, in other words, legally to abridge the negro vote so as to ensure Caucasian supremacy at the polls.

The new "Mississippi plan" finally evolved for its main features a registry tax and an educational qualification, all adjustable to practical exigencies. Each voter must, by the February preceding election, pay a poll-tax of at least \$2, never to exceed \$3, for school purposes, and must produce to the officers conducting the election satisfactory evidence of having paid said poll-tax and all other legal taxes. The voter must be registered "as provided by law." He "must be able to read any section of the Constitution of the State, to understand the same when read to him, or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof." In municipal elections electors were required to have "such additional qualifications as might be prescribed by law." The Constitution was not submitted to the people for ratification. On this ground, and as violating the Act of Congress readmitting Mississippi, the instrument's validity was attacked, but decisively sustained by the State Supreme Court in 1892.

South Carolina followed Mississippi in efforts to secure a reasonable Constitution, holding for this purpose a convention in 1895. As a stimulus to education the Mississippi Constitution had worked well. A negro member of the South Carolina Convention, protesting against the disfranchisement of his race, after remarking that the scandals of the reconstruction era no more proved the incapacity of the negro for self-government than the scandals of the Tweed *régime* proved the incapacity of the whites, said: "Other States have marched on to prosperity while you are trying to keep down the negro. You may as well make up your minds that the negro will rise. He will not be crushed. The negro will rise sooner or later, crush us as you may. He can not be kept down forever. It is not in the nature of human affairs."

Events in Mississippi in a measure confirmed these words. The Mississippi negroes who got their names on the voting list rose in number from 9,036 in 1892 to 16,965 in 1895. This result of the "plan" displeased some South Carolina statesmen. Said one, in the 1895 Convention: "If the white men of South Carolina undertake to have fair elections they will

be left. They will all be ruined. I do not want fair elections and I do not propose to vote for anything which would disfranchise any white man. As to the educational qualification, the black man is learning faster than the white man, and under it the first thing we know we will all be left. I am utterly opposed to giving the Republicans one manager of elections. We've got to throw 'em out. In my county there are five or six negroes to one white. If this law is passed we'll be left, in Berkeley."

The shade of negro domination which Mississippi conjured away by her new Constitution haunted South Carolina the more the more her ordinary white population got control and the "Bourbons" were set aside. The progressive Democracy of the State, led by the enterprising Captain Benjamin R. Tillman, who became Governor and then Senator, early determined to pursue, touching the race imbroglio, the Mississippi path. A few Bourbons protested, but in vain. Consistently with his record Wade Hampton wrote in 1895: "I, for one, am willing to trust the negroes. They ask only the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States and that of our own State. 'Corruption wins not more than honesty'; I advocate perfect honesty, for defeat on that line is better than victory by fraud." The ex-Governor probably did not herein voice the opinion of a majority even of the aristocracy, who had retained control till the '90's, though all were disgusted with the dangerous paradox of having to support honest government by a makeshift of fraud, perjury, and murder.

At any rate, he was hopelessly out of accord with the progressive elements of the Democracy. So early as 1882 a registration act was passed, which, amended in 1893 and 1894, compelled registration some four months before ordinary elections and required the registry certificate to be produced at the polls. Other laws made the road to the ballot-box a labyrinth, wherein not only most negroes but also some whites were lost. The multiple ballot-boxes alone were a Chinese puzzle. The registration act, however, was especially

attacked as repugnant to the State and to the Federal Constitutions. It imposed electoral qualifications not provided for or contemplated in the State Constitution and contrary to its express provisions. It was alleged to antagonize the Federal Constitution (1) in fixing by statute, instead of by State constitutions, the qualifications for electors of Federal representatives, (2) in virtually abridging the rights of United States citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and (3) in establishing a white oligarchy in place of a republican form of government. Judge Goff, of the United States Circuit Court, at Columbus, S. C., on May 8, 1895, declared this registration law unconstitutional and enjoined the State from taking any further action under the same. This seemed effectually to block the way to the Constitutional Convention, which was confidently looked to to place the State on the same electoral platform with Mississippi. But all things come to those who wait.

In June the Court of Appeals overruled Judge Goff, and the injunction was dissolved. Very little interest was taken in the election of delegates, some polls not even being opened; from others five-sixths of the voters stayed away. The Conservatives held that the proposition had been voted down in the fall of 1894, but the Tillmanites, being in authority, proclaimed it carried. The Convention, which assembled on September 10th, was in the hands of Tillman's followers, many of them ready to go greater lengths than he. Tillman said in the Convention, "I am willing to give the good deserving white man and black man who can not read or write, and who has not \$300 worth of property, two years within which to be registered and become a qualified voter. I shall use every effort within my power to banish illiteracy from the land, but let us make this law fixed and beyond the possibility of fraud, so that after January 1, 1898, every honest and intelligent white man and negro can vote, if he can read or write, or has \$300 worth of property." It was over Tillman's protest that Republicans were excluded from the registration boards. The Greenville "News" said the object of the Conven-

tion was to "provide a system of elections which would give a white majority of from 20,000 to 40,000 without disfranchising anybody and without requiring officers of election to be experts in perjury, fraud, and cheating." The Charleston "News and Courier" said: "The Constitutional Convention has been called to accomplish in a constitutional way the overthrow of negro suffrage. Nobody tries to conceal it, nobody seeks to excuse it. It is not meant to disfranchise every negro in this State—there are some of them who are qualified by education and property to vote—but it is intended that every colored voter who can be disfranchised without violating the higher law of the United States Constitution shall be deprived of the right to vote. On the other hand, it is meant to disfranchise no white man, except for crime, if any way can be found to avoid it without violating the United States Constitution." The Philadelphia "Bulletin," a Republican paper, noting the fact that there was a time when such utterances in Mississippi or South Carolina would have set the Republican party ablaze, proceeded: "The plain truth is that the Republicans generally have come to the conclusion that universal negro suffrage has been a failure and that the desire of the South to free itself from the evils of a great mass of ignorance, stupidity, and superstition at the ballot-box is largely pardonable."

The Convention adjourned on December 4, 1895. By the new Constitution the Mississippi plan was to be followed until January 1, 1898. Any male citizen could be registered who was able to read a section of the Constitution, or to satisfy the election officers that he understood it when read to him. Those thus registered were to remain voters for life. After the date named applicants for registry must be able both to read and to write any section of the Constitution, or to show tax-receipts for poll-tax and for taxes on at least \$300 worth of property. The property and the intelligence qualification each met with strenuous opposition, but it was thought that neither alone would serve the purpose. Any person denied registration might appeal to the courts.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NEO-REPUBLICAN ASCENDENCY.

Presidential Candidates in 1888—Benjamin Harrison—Nominated on the Eighth Ballot—The Campaign Little Personal—Clubs Republican and Democratic—Causes of Cleveland's Defeat—Federal Patronage—Civil Service Reformers Desert Cleveland—Democratic Blunders—The Murchison Letter—Sackville-West's Reply—"See Lamont at Once"—The British Minister Given His Passports—Cleveland's Action Criticised—Ohio Ballot-Box Forgery—The Tariff Issue—Blaine—Democratic Attitude—"British Free Trade"—Harrison and Hill in New York State—Corrupt Practices in Indiana—Floaters in "Blocks of Five"—The Republicans Victorious—Harrison's Inaugural—Restriction of Emigration—Consular Reports on This—Centennial Anniversary of Washington's Inauguration—McKinley, Lodge, and Reed the Republican Leaders—Three Great Republican Measures—"Czar" Reed in the House—A Force Bill Passes the House—But Dies in the Senate—Dependent Pensions Act—Evolution of the Pension System—The Bonded Debt—What to do with Surplus Revenue—The McKinley Bill—The New Orleans Mafia—Chief Hennessy Murdered—Mass Meeting—"Who Killa de Chief?"—Massacre of the Prisoners—Complications with Italy—The Settlement—The United States and Chile—The Barrundia Case—Democratic "Landslide" of 1890—Causes—International Copyright Bill.

APPROACHING the Presidential campaign of 1888 the Democrats found their programme ready-made. Cleveland's administration, silencing his enemies within the party, made him the inevitable nominee, while his bold advocacy of reform in our fiscal policy determined the line on which the campaign must be won or lost. To humor the West and to show that it was a Democratic, not a Mugwump, ticket, Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was named for Vice-President. The Republicans' path was less clear. That they must lift the banner of high protection was certain; but who should be the bearer of it was in doubt till after the Convention sat.

The balloting began with John Sherman far in the lead,

polling 229 votes. Gresham had 111, Depew 99, Alger 84, Harrison only 80, and Blaine only 35. After the third ballot Depew withdrew his name, and on the fourth ballot New York and Wisconsin joined the Harrison forces. A stampede of the Convention for Blaine was expected, but it did not come, being hindered in part by the halting tenor of despatches received from the Plumed Knight, far away. After the fifth ballot two telegrams were received from Blaine requesting his friends to discontinue voting for him. Two ballots more having been taken, Allison, who had been receiving a considerable vote, withdrew. The eighth ballot nominated Harrison, and the name of Levi P. Morton, of New York, was at once placed beneath his on the ticket.

Mr. Harrison was the grandson of President William Henry Harrison, therefore great-grandson of Governor Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, the ardent Revolutionary patriot, signer of the Declaration of Independence. An older scion of the family had served as major-general in Cromwell's army, and been put to death in 1660 for signing the death-warrant of King Charles I. Thoroughly educated and already a successful lawyer, Mr. Harrison was, in 1860, made Reporter of Decisions to the Indiana Supreme Court. When the war came on, obeying the spirit that in his grandfather had won at Tippecanoe and the Thames, he volunteered and was appointed colonel. Gallant services under Sherman at Resaca and Peach Tree Creek made him a brevet brigadier. Owing to his character, his lineage, his fine war record, his power as a speaker, and his popularity in a pivotal State, he was a prominent figure in politics not only in Indiana, but, more and more, nationally. Defeated for the Indiana Governorship in 1876, by a small margin, he was afterward elected United States Senator, serving from 1881 to 1887. In 1880, Indiana presented him to the Republican National Convention as her favorite son, and from this time, particularly in the West, he was thought of as a Presidential possibility. Eclipsed by Blaine, in 1884, he came forward again in 1888, this time to win.

In the campaign which succeeded personalities had no place. After his arrival from Europe, August 10th, Mr. Blaine was, on the Republican side, far the most prominent campaigner. The West and the East both heard him on nearly every question entering into the canvass, and every speech of his was widely quoted and commented on. Harrison's ability was much underrated in the East, for which reason, it was thought, the managers kept him mainly near home. But his reputation was above reproach; while, fortunately for the party, no Republicans cared to revive the mean charges against Cleveland so assiduously circulated four years before. Instead of defamation, both sides resorted to a cleaner and more useful device, the political club, whose evolution was a feature of this campaign. By August, 1887, 6,500 Republican clubs were reported, claiming a membership of a million voters. Before the election Indiana had 1,100 Republican clubs, New York 1,400. The Democrats, less successful than their opponents, yet organized about three thousand clubs, which were combined in a National Association, to correspond to the Republican League of the United States. Numerous reform and tariff reform clubs, different from the clubs just mentioned, worked for Democratic success. This, for most of the campaign, seemed assured, and the reverse outcome surprised many in both parties. The causes of it, however, were not far to seek.

The Federal patronage, as always, benumbed the activities of the Administration and whetted the Opposition. The office-holder army, of course, toiled and contributed for the Democracy's success; but, operating as counter-weights to office-holders were an equal or greater number of soured office-seekers, each with his little following, who had been "turned down" by the Administration. The Opposition, on the other hand, commanded a force of earnest and harmonious workers, some impelled by patriotism, more, perhaps, by hopes of "recognition" in case their cause won. Thus the craving of both sides for political "swag" worked against the Democratic party. Though the tone of the campaign gave little hope of

improvement should Harrison be elected, a large number of civil service reformers indignantly deserted Cleveland owing to his practical renunciation of their faith. The public at large resented the loss which the service had suffered through changes in office-holders. Democratic blunders thrust the sectional issue needlessly to the fore. The Rebel flag incident, Mr. Cleveland's fishing trip on Memorial Day, the choice of Mr. Mills, a Southerner, to lead the tariff fight in Congress, and the prominence of Southerners among the Democratic campaign orators at the North, were themes of countless diatribes.

Not all the Republican speakers of the campaign did so much to make people think Mr. Cleveland "un-American" as was accomplished by means of the so-called "Murchison Letter." This clever Republican document, written by Mr. George Osgoodby, of Pomona, California, was dated at Pomona, September 4, 1838, and directed to the British Minister at Washington, D. C. The text of it follows:

"SIR—The gravity of the political situation here, and the duties of those voters who are of English birth, but still consider England the motherland, constitutes the apology I hereby offer for intruding for information. Mr. Cleveland's message to Congress on the fishery question justly excites our alarm and compels us to seek further knowledge before finally casting our votes for him as we intended to do. Many English citizens have for years refrained from being naturalized, as they thought no good would accrue from the act, but Mr. Cleveland's Administration had been so favorable and friendly toward England, so kind in not enforcing the retaliatory act passed by Congress, so sound on the free-trade question and so hostile to the dynamite schools of Ireland, that, by the hundreds—yes, by the thousands—they have become naturalized for the express purpose of helping to elect him over again, the one above all of American politicians they considered their own and their country's best friend. I am one of these unfortunates with a right to vote for President in No-

vember. I am unable to understand for whom I shall cast my ballot, when but one month ago I was sure that Mr. Cleveland was the man. If Cleveland was pursuing a new policy toward Canada, temporarily only and for the sake of obtaining popularity and continuation of his office four years more, but intends to cease his policy when his re-election in November is secured, and again favor England's interest, then I should have no further doubt, but go forward and vote for him. I know of no one better able to direct me, sir, and I most respectfully ask your advice in the matter. I will further add, that the two men, Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, are very evenly matched, and a few votes might elect either one. Mr. Harrison is a high-tariff man, a believer on the American side of all questions, and undoubtedly an enemy to British interests generally. This State is equally divided between the parties, and a mere handful of our naturalized countrymen can turn it either way. When it is remembered that a small State (Colorado) defeated Mr. Tilden in 1876, and elected Hayes, the Republican, the importance of California is at once apparent to all.

“As you are the fountain-head of knowledge on the question, and know whether Mr. Cleveland's policy is temporary only, and whether he will, as soon as he secures another term of four years in the Presidency, suspend it for one of friendship and free trade, I apply to you privately and confidentially for information which shall in turn be treated as entirely secret. Such information would put me at rest myself, and if favorable to Mr. Cleveland enable me on my own responsibility to assure many of my countrymen that they would do England a service by voting for Cleveland and against the Republican system of tariff. As I before observed, we know not what to do, but look for more light on a mysterious subject, which the sooner it comes will better serve true Englishmen in casting their votes.

“Yours, very respectfully,

“CHARLES F. MURCHISON.”

The Minister replied :

“SIR—I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. and beg to say that I fully appreciate the difficulty in which you find yourself in casting your vote. You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of the fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and still desirous of settling all questions with Canada which have been, unfortunately, reopened since the retraction of the treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate and by the President’s message to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election thus created. It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in the matter of retaliation should he be elected; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his message. I inclose an article from the New York ‘Times’ of August 22d, and remain yours faithfully,

“L. S. SACKVILLE-WEST.”

This correspondence was published on October 24th, and instantly took effect. Sir Sackville-West was famous. His photographs were in demand, and a dime museum manager offered him \$2,000 a week to hold two *levées* daily in his “palatial museum.” The President at first inclined to ignore the incident, but changed when a member of the Cabinet received from the Democratic National Committee the following: “Does the President know that the Irish vote is slipping out of our hands because of diplomatic shilly-shallying? See Lamont at once. Something ought to be done to-day.” Something was done. On October 30th the Minister was notified that he was a *persona non grata*. His recall was asked for but refused, whereupon his passports were delivered to him.

The English Government resented this, and refused to fill the vacancy during the remaining months of Cleveland's Administration. An influential newspaper friendly to the President, said: "If President Cleveland had resisted the clamor he could not have suffered any more complete defeat than that which he was called upon to endure, while he would have had the consciousness of having acted in a manly, upright, and courageous manner, with full appreciation of the courtesy which one friendly Government should extend to another. But this was one of the instances in President Cleveland's career in which the cunning of the politician outweighed the judgment of the statesman, and he caused the recall of Minister Sackville for reasons and in a manner that will always stand in history as an instance of contemptible personal weakness. The other side played a demagogic trick to capture the Irish vote; the President of the United States tried to outwit them by a piece of trickery of even larger dimensions, and, as in this instance he deserved, failed of his purpose."

Another artifice attracted some notice in this campaign, particularly in Ohio. It was directed against the popular Democrat, Hon. J. E. Campbell, of that State, whom the evident design was to brand as corrupt, as using his political office and influence for the purpose of personal gain.

In September, 1888, one Richard G. Wood delivered to Governor Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, the following paper:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1888.

"We, the undersigned, agree to pay the amounts set opposite, or any part thereof, whenever requested so to do by John R. McLean, upon 'Contract No. 1,000,' a copy of which is to be given to each subscriber upon payment of any part of the money hereby subscribed. It is understood that each subscription of five thousand dollars shall entitle the subscriber thereof to a one-twentieth interest in said contract."

First among "the undersigned" names stood that of Governor Campbell, who was down for \$15,000 in all. John

Sherman, William McKinley, W. C. P. Breckenridge, and other prominent men of both the great political parties were also among the apparent subscribers. "Contract No. 1,000" was an arrangement to make and market the Hall and Wood ballot-box, a patent concern to prevent fraudulent voting. On July 23, shortly after the date of the asserted agreement, Mr. Campbell introduced a bill in the national Congress which required the purchase of the boxes by the Government, and their use where it had the authority.

In a little over a fortnight Foraker handed a copy of the alleged contract to the editor of the Cincinnati "Commercial Gazette," which came out on October 4th with a *facsimile* thereof, to which, however, only Campbell's name was attached. Gossip supplemented the astute silence of the press. Other alleged signers got knowledge of the paper and denounced it as a forgery. Campbell vindicated himself completely and at once. Just a week after publishing the contract, the "Commercial Gazette" gave out a statement by Mr. Murat Halstead, the editor, to the effect that he was satisfied that Campbell's signature was false, but he still omitted to mention any other names. Foraker as well as Halstead had been deceived touching the genuineness of the contract, but the Governor seemed in no haste to rectify the harm which his error had led him to inflict. Sherman always deemed it strange that Foraker, having in his possession a paper which implicated Butterworth, McKinley, and Sherman himself, in what all men would regard a dishonorable transaction, did not inform those gentlemen and give them an opportunity to deny, affirm, or explain their alleged signatures. Inquiry from him would at once have elicited the facts. "No doubt," said Sherman, "Foraker believed the signatures genuine, but that should not have deterred him from making inquiry."

The whole matter was at last thoroughly aired in Congress and the contract, with all the names, published in *facsimile*. A Committee of the House found that Wood and two confederates were responsible for the forgery, and that

Foraker and Halstead unwittingly aided in uttering the same. The Congressmen concerned were wholly exonerated.

The election, after all, turned mainly upon the tariff issue. Smarting under his defeat in 1884, Mr. Blaine had written: "I was not sustained in the canvass by many who had personally a far greater stake than I. They are likely to have leisure for reflection and for a cool calculation of the small sums they were asked in vain to contribute." This prophecy came true. In 1888 the Republicans screamed that protection was on trial for its life. Many Democrats held the same view of the contest, inveighing against protection as pure robbery. They accused the tariff of causing Trusts, against which several bills had recently been introduced in Congress. At the opening of the campaign Blaine declared such combinations largely private affairs "with which neither President Cleveland nor any private citizen had any particular right to interfere."

Democratic organs diligently used this utterance to prove that Republicans slavishly served the rich and were always glad to grind the faces of the poor. Moderate Democrats, taking cue from Mr. Cleveland's 1887 tariff message, urged simply a reduction in protective rates; but they usually did this with arguments which would have served equally well in a plea for out and out free trade. The Mills Bill was to a great extent constructed on the tariff-for-revenue theory, dutying at snug rates good revenue articles that needed no protection, and at low rates many which, it was alleged, could not be produced in the United States without protection. Wool, lumber, and salt it placed upon the free list. Henry George, who wished every custom-house in the land leveled, took the stump for Cleveland. Republican orators and organs pictured "British free trade" as the sure consequence of a victory for Cleveland. "British goods would flood us; our manufactures, the Home Market gone, would be driven to a competition—in which they must fail—with the pauper-made products of Europe; farming would be our sole great industry; wages would vastly fall or cease altogether."

Whether solid argument, or sophistry which a longer campaign of education would have dispelled, these considerations had powerful effect. Startled at prospects so terrible, people voted to uphold the "American System." The worst tug of war occurred in New York State. "I am a Democrat," said Governor Hill on every occasion; yet he and his friends disliked the Administration and were widely believed to connive at the trading of Democratic votes for Harrison in return for Republican votes for Hill. "Harrison and Hill" flags waved over liquor-saloons in nearly every city and large town of the State. Many a Democratic meeting was addressed by one speaker who extolled the President but would not say a word for the Governor; then by another who eloquently lauded the Governor but ignored the President.

To all the above it is unfortunately necessary to add that the 1888 election was among the most corrupt in our history. The campaign was estimated to have cost the two parties \$6,000,000. Assessments on office-holders were largely relied upon to replenish the Democrats' campaign treasury, though goodly subsidies came in from other sources. But with "soap," recurring to President Arthur's figure, the Republicans were better supplied than their rivals. The manufacturers of the country regarded their interests and even their honor as assailed, and contributed generously as often as the Republican hat went round. Special store of "the needful" was laid out in Indiana, where no resource which could assist the Republican victory was left untried.

The National Republican Committee wrote the party managers in that State: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away, and that all vote our ticket." William W. Dudley, Treasurer of the Committee, was alleged to have written this. After election a complaint was brought against him for bribery, but the grand jury found no indictment. The mandate to the State workers was obeyed. In one place, on "the

night before election, more than a hundred of the 'floaters' had been collected in various buildings, with sentries to guard them against surprise by the foe." Wagon-loads of them were taken into the surrounding country, ready to be rushed to the polls at sunrise before they could fall into the hands of the enemy. In this particular market the price of votes had risen since 1880 from \$2 to about \$15. Experts referred the advance not to diminution in the supply of purchasable voters, but rather to increase in the demand for them occasioned by the importance of Indiana's vote. At the election more than eleven million ballots were cast, yet so closely balanced were the parties that a change of ten thousand in Indiana and New York, both of which went for Harrison, would have re-elected Cleveland. As it was, his popular vote, of 5,540,000, exceeded Harrison's of 5,400,000, by 140,000. The Republicans held the Senate and won a face majority of ten in the House, somewhat increased by unseating and seating subsequently. In New York, because, apparently, of the trading referred to, Hill was re-elected Governor. Connecticut gave a Democratic plurality of 336, and New Jersey one of 7,149. The Republicans were also victorious in the Congressional elections, the House at the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, first session, having 170 Republican members to 160 Democrats. The Republicans were thus in control of all branches of the general government, in condition to carry out the principles laid down in the Chicago platform.

The new President's inaugural address reaffirmed the Republican principle of Protection and supported Civil Service Reform. It recommended the increase of the Navy, and advocated steamship subsidies. A reform of the electoral and of the immigration laws was likewise urged. This recommendation had in view the exclusion of undesirable foreigners from our shores, already referred to in this History. The first movement in this direction dated back to 1882, when, on August 3d, an act was passed prohibiting the landing of any convict, lunatic, idiot, or person unable to take

care of himself. On March 3, 1887, a supplementary act was passed, but its provisions were found to be entirely inadequate to prevent the coming of improper persons to our shores. In December of the same year an unsuccessful bill was introduced into the Senate authorizing the Secretary of State to establish rules and issue instructions to consuls of the United States tending to prevent undesirable immigration, by granting certificates only to suitable persons. In 1888 Congress made an investigation into the matter, but nothing definite was accomplished.

The extent to which the evil had grown was well set forth by an address of one hundred American consuls to the general Government at Washington in 1888. In this address the Consul at Palermo said: "Emigration is here considered a mere matter of business so far as steamship companies are concerned, and it is stimulated by them in the same sense that trade in merchandise is when they desire a cargo, or to complete one, for their vessel, as the company desire that all space in their vessels shall be occupied; and, in order to accomplish this, they employ emigrant brokers or agents, to whom they pay from three to five dollars for each emigrant. The brokers are a low, lying, dishonorable set, who will swear to anything to induce the poor, ignorant people to emigrate, and thus earn their fees." The Consul at Venice said: "Emigrants are recruited from those people whom, as a rule, their native country does not wish to maintain. They are no more fitted to perform the duties of citizenship than slaves newly released from bondage." The immigration question had entered to a slight extent into the campaign, having been agitated principally by the American party, which held a convention at Washington, D. C., August 14th and 15th, nominating for the Presidency James L. Curtis, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency James R. Greer, of Tennessee.

Shortly after his inauguration, President Harrison was the central figure in one of the most unique and imposing demonstrations ever witnessed in America. This was the

celebration of the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of General Washington as President, in the city of New York, on April 30, 1789. The celebration lasted for three days, beginning on the morning of the 29th of April, when Mr. Harrison was entertained by the Governor of New Jersey, as Washington had been just one hundred years before. From the residence of Governor Green, President Harrison viewed a military procession, after which he proceeded to Elizabethport, where he was received by the revenue cutter *Despatch* and conveyed to the foot of Wall Street. Here he disembarked at the spot at which Washington had landed on his journey to take the oath of office. The *Despatch*, convoyed by three large steamboats, was greeted on her journey by the warships of the United States Navy, drawn up in line in the North River and upper bay, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from each vessel.

The naval procession which followed the *Despatch* was on a grand and imposing scale. After landing in the city, the President proceeded to the Lawyers' Club, in the Equitable Building on Broadway, where a reception was given him, followed by a public reception in the Governor's Room in the City Hall. In the evening of the 29th a grand ball occurred at the Metropolitan Opera House. On the second day of the celebration, President Harrison was escorted to St. Paul's Church, Broadway, where the Chief Magistrate occupied the same pew which Washington had occupied on the day of his inauguration. Here the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York, officiated, as did Bishop Samuel Provost in 1789. On a platform erected around a bronze statue of Washington at the granite steps of the sub-Treasury building, the site of Federal Hall, where the first President took his oath of office, the Literary Exercises of the second day occurred. John Greenleaf Whittier read a poem and Chauncey M. Depew delivered an oration. President Harrison also addressed the throng. These exercises being concluded, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan pronounced the benediction. Then followed a grand military procession,

with Major-General Schofield as Chief Marshal. This was reviewed by the President and other dignitaries at Madison Square. In the procession marched over 50,000 men. At the conclusion of the second day's pageant the Metropolitan Opera House was the scene of a brilliant banquet. The third day witnessed an industrial parade with more than 100,000 men in line.

Mr. Blaine was now the most eminent of the older statesmen surviving, and President Harrison could not do otherwise than make him Secretary of State; but even he was hardly so conspicuous as the younger leaders, McKinley, Lodge, and Reed. This became noticeable when the Republicans in the House began to initiate their policy. This policy was mainly embodied in three measures, the Federal Elections Bill, the Dependent Pensions Bill, and the McKinley Tariff Bill. Only the last two became laws, and but one of these long survived.

To enact any of those bills required certain parliamentary innovations, which were triumphantly carried through by the Speaker of the House in the Fifty-first Congress, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. One of them was this Speaker's practice of declining to entertain dilatory motions; another, more important, his order to the clerk to register, as "present and not voting," those whom he saw endeavoring by stubborn silence to break a quorum. The Constitution provides that a majority of either House shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. Although the Sergeant-at-Arms was empowered to compel the presence of members, yet, hitherto, unless a majority of the House answered to their names, no majority was recorded as "present," and legislation could be blocked. As the traditional safeguard of minorities and as a compressed air-brake on majority action, silence was indeed golden. Under the Reed theory, since adopted, that the House may, through the Speaker, determine the presence of a quorum in its own way, the Speaker's or the Clerk's eye was substituted for the voice of any recalcitrant member in demonstrating the member's presence. The most strenuous oppo-

sition met the attempt to enforce this new rule. On the "Yeas and Nays" or at any roll-call some Democrats would dodge out of sight, others start to rush from the Chamber, to be confronted by closed doors. Once Mr. Kilgore, of Texas, kicked down a door to make good his escape. Till resistance proved vain the minority would at each test rave round the Chamber like so many caged tigers, furious but powerless to claw the "tyrant from his throne." Yet, having calculated the scope of his authority, Mr. Reed coolly continued to count and declare quorums whenever such were present. The Democratic majority of 1893 somewhat qualified the newly discovered prerogative of the Speaker, giving it, when possible, to tellers from both parties. Now and then they employed it as a piece of Democratic artillery to fire at Mr. Reed himself; but he each time received the shot with smiles.

The cause which the Reed "tyranny" was in 1890 meant to support made it doubly odious to Democrats. For years negroes in parts of the South had been practically disfranchised. To restore them the suffrage, the Republicans proposed Federal supervision of Federal elections, supported, in last resort, by Federal arms. A "Force Bill" being introduced into Congress, sectional bitterness reawoke. The South grew alarmed and angry. One State refused to be represented at the Chicago Fair, a United States Marshal was murdered in Florida, and a Grand Army Post was mobbed at Whitesville, Ky., on Memorial Day. A proposal for a Southern boycott of Northern merchandise had influential support. Against the threatened legislation Northern phlegm co-operated with Southern heat. Many who were not Democrats viewed the situation at the South as the Republicans' just retribution for enfranchising ignorance and incompetence, and preferred white domination there to a return of carpet-bag times. Others dreaded the measure as sure to perpetuate the Solid South. The House passed the bill, but in the Senate it encountered obdurate opposition. Forced over to the second session, where its passage depended on some form of *clôture*, it was finally lost through a coalition of free-

silver Republican Senators with Senators from the South, standing out against so radical a change in the Senate rules.

The Republican majority in the Fifty-first Congress found the overflowing Treasury at once embarrassing and tempting. Their policy touching it, involving vast expenditures, won for this Congress the title of the "Billion Dollar Congress." The most prominent and permanent among its huge appropriations was entailed by the Dependent Pensions Act, approved June 27, 1890, which was substantially the same as the one vetoed by President Cleveland three years before. In it culminated a course of legislation. Our well-meant pension system had its evil side. The original intention of it was easily perverted. In 1820 our less than 10,000,000 people were alarmed that pensions to Revolutionary soldiers aggregated \$2,700,000. "The Revolutionary claimant never dies," became the proverb. Investigation revealed that one-third of the admitted claims were fraudulent. This was the result of a Dependent Pensions Act, for the relief of all indigent Revolutionary veterans who had served nine months. History repeated itself.

The numerous pensionable cases originated by the Civil War raised up a powerful class of pension attorneys, able to control, to a great extent, public opinion and legislation. Their agency was at the root of the demand which induced Congress in 1880 to endow each pensioner with a back pension equal to what his pension would have been had he applied on the date of receiving his injury. Unsuccessful in the Forty-fourth Congress, the bill was in 1880 sent with all speed to President Hayes, who gave it his approval, in spite of the vastly increased expenditure which the act must entail. Outgo for pensions under the old law had reached its maximum in 1871. It was then \$34,443,894.88. In 1878 this item of our national expenditure was only \$27,137,019.08. The next two years doubled the amount. In 1883 it exceeded \$66,000,000; in 1889 it was \$87,624,000. But the act of 1890 was the most sweeping yet, pensioning all Unionists who had served in the war ninety days, provided they were inca-

pacitated for manual labor, and the widows, children, and dependent parents of such. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1891-92, the Commissioner of Pensions informed the chiefs of division in his office that he wished one thousand pensions a day issued for each working day of the year; 311,567 pension certificates were issued that year. Rejected claimants by no means abandoned hope, but assaulted the breastworks again and again, many at last succeeding on some sort of "new evidence." Stirred up by attorneys, old pensioners could not rest content, but put in pleas for increase. Thus impelled the pension figure shot up to \$106,493,890 in 1890; \$118,548,960 in 1891; and to about \$159,000,000 in 1893. The maximum seemed thus to have been reached, for the pension outgo for the fiscal year ending with June, 1894, was but \$141,000,000.

June 30, 1890, \$109,015,750 in the four and a half per cent bonds, redeemable September 1, 1891, were still outstanding. By April 1, 1891, they had, by redemption or purchase, been reduced to \$53,854,250, of which one-half in value was held by national banks to sustain their circulation. To avoid contracting this circulation, the Secretary of the Treasury permitted holders of these bonds to retain them and receive interest at two per cent. About \$25,364,500 was so continued. Interest on the remainder ceased at their maturity, and nearly all were soon paid off. The bonds continuing at two per cent were all along quoted at par, though payable at the will of the Government, revealing a national credit never excelled in history. On July 1, 1894, after an increase during the previous fiscal year of \$60,000,000, the debt less cash in the Treasury stood at \$899,313,381. By this time, surplus of revenues, which, in October, 1888, stood at about \$97,000,000, had ceased to trouble the Administration, but at Mr. Harrison's accession it occasioned extreme anxiety.

Under Cleveland's leadership the Democrats would have reduced the revenue by lowering tariff imports. The Republicans proposed to reach the same end by a method precisely the reverse, pushing up each tariff rate toward or to the pro-

hibitive point. This was the policy embodied in the McKinley Bill, which became law October 1, 1890. Sugar, a lucrative revenue article, was made free, and a bounty given to sugar producers in this country, together with a discriminating duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugar imported hither from countries which paid a bounty upon sugar exportation. The reciprocity feature of this bill proved its most popular grace, though it was flouted in the House, and not enacted in the form in which its best-known advocate, Mr. Blaine, conceived it. Reciprocity treaties were concluded with several countries, considerably extending our trade. Those with Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy resulted in relieving American pork from the embargo placed upon it in those lands. These successes did not wholly reconcile Mr. Blaine to the bill. By his hostility to the McKinley phase of protection and by his opposition to the idea of a Force Bill, the Secretary of State stood for the time in opposition to the younger Republican leaders, though he probably had with him a majority of his party.

Long schooled to appeal from bad law to what seemed righteous disorder, in the spring of 1891 the State of Louisiana was confronted with an occasion for such appeal that would have sorely tempted the most orderly population in the world. Certain Italians, accused of shooting some of their countrymen, had been convicted by false swearing. A second trial being secured, the New Orleans Chief of Police, David C. Hennessy, busied himself with tracing the record of their accusers, who were Sicilians. He was surprised to find evidence that the "Mafia," an oath-bound secret society indigent to Sicily, had thriving branches in New Orleans, New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco. This dreaded organization was wont to demand of its victims sums of money, \$500, \$1,000, or \$2,000 each, the mandate in every case naming some secluded spot for the deposit. Few dared refuse.

Engrossed in his search, the Chief of Police had no idea that he was watched. He probably knew nothing of a certain Italian neighbor of his, Monasterio by name, lately ar-

rived from abroad, occupying a shanty fifty yards from his house. It was nearly time for the trap to be sprung and full exposure made, when, late one evening, Hennessy drew near his home. A boy ran in front of him and gave a peculiar whistle. Next moment the chief was a dying man. Bullets tore three cruel rents in his chest and abdomen, his right knee and his left hand were shot through, and his face, arms, and neck were shockingly mutilated. Though he languished till the next morning, the only explanation that passed his lips was the whispered word, "Dagoes." Within ten minutes of the shooting the immigrant was seized in his shanty. Others were arrested later, but only eleven were held and only nine finally presented. The trial proved that Hennessy's assassins hid in Monasterio's hut, and that an Italian boy was posted to notify them of Hennessy's approach. The deadly weapons were found, six shotguns, five with barrels sawed off and stocks hinged so that they could be doubled up and carried under the clothing.

Verdict was rendered on Friday, March 13, 1891. The judge, usually imperturbable, was observed, when the paper was handed him, to look at it for a moment in stupefaction. No wonder. Six of the culprits were acquitted; in the case of three the jury disagreed; not one was convicted. "Bribery," said some. Others whispered "Intimidation." All agreed that such a fiasco was an "outrage." Awaiting trial upon a second indictment, and joyfully reckoning upon a similar result next time, the accused were again locked in their cells. At the moment the doors closed behind them a vigilance committee of well-known citizens were writing and sending to the various newspaper offices the following notice:

"Mass Meeting.

"All good citizens are invited to attend a mass meeting on Saturday, March 14th, at ten o'clock A.M., at Clay Statue, to take steps to remedy the failure of justice in the Hennessy case. Come prepared for action."

The assembly at the statue blocked the street-cars and climbed on top of them. Neighboring balconies were peopled

With store of ladies, whose bright eyes rain'd influence.

Words from some influential man in the crowd voiced the unanimous view: "When the law is powerless the rights delegated by the people are relegated back to the people, and they are justified in doing what the law has failed to do." The speaker charged that the jury was corrupted and asked if the people were ready to follow him. The response was favorable, loud, and unanimous. The prison occupied a whole square, its main iron gates frowning upon Orleans Street. From within the deputy sheriff observed a crowd, larger and larger each moment, drifting toward the building. This, with the mass meeting at the Clay statue, warned him what to expect. The Italian prisoners, too, had heard of the meeting, and trembled. Carpenters barricading the side entrance were jeered. The small boys in the crowd set up a shout: "Who killa de chief? Who killa de chief?" Then followed the Mafia whistle, but what a new meaning it bore to its authors now! More portentous than the chattering of those gamins was the hush long maintained by the multitude. At last this gave way to rolling volleys of applause, growing louder and louder as there was heard the steady cadence of Hennessy's avengers marching hither from the meeting at the statue. A neighboring wood-pile furnished battering rams, and the work of demolishing the front gates was soon finished, a burly negro aiding with a huge stone. The vigilance committee admitted to the prison not more than sixty men, posting sentries at all exits to shoot down escaping prisoners. The Italians had been set free within the prison, to escape, if they could, by hiding. The boy who had warned them of the chief's approach on the night of the murder was found beating at the cell doors and begging to be let in. He was spared. Three poor wretches stood in line behind a pillar as the lynchers approached. Peeping from his shelter, one was shot through the head; the second stumbled over the corpse and

was at once riddled; the third seized an Indian club, and in desperation beat at a door where he hoped for egress, just as a crowd from the other direction broke in. A shot in the forehead failed to fell or dishearten him. Thinking to parry a charge aimed at his shoulder, he lost his hand. The next moment a rifle was pressed to his breast and fired. He sank, and the crowd passed on over him. In the women's yard six more, huddled in an attitude of supplication, were despatched, one body receiving forty-two bullets. Two others were hanged outside the prison. One of these had gone insane, and was kicked to the lamp-post, muttering to himself. At the first attempt to string him up the rope broke; the second time he clutched it and drew himself hand over hand to the cross-piece, but was beaten back to the ground; the third time he repeated the attempt with the same result. When he was successfully hanged deafening cheers went up. The wretch's clothing was stripped from him and torn in pieces, to be distributed as souvenirs.

The crowd was now satisfied with the work done, and walked quietly back to the Clay statue, whence they dispersed.

This incident opened grave international complications, which Mr. Blaine handled with skill. Three of the murdered men had been subjects of King Humbert. Our treaty with Italy, ratified in the early seventies, provided that "the citizens of each of the high contracting parties should receive in the States and territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as were, or should be, granted to the natives." The Italian Consul at New Orleans stated that while some of the victims were bad men, many of the charges against these were without foundation; that the violence was foreseen, and could have been prevented; that he had in vain requested military protection for the prisoners; and that at the massacre he and his secretary had been assaulted and mobbed.

On the very day when the prisoners were killed, Italy

sent her protest to Mr. Blaine, who expressed his horror at the deed. He at the same time urged Governor Nicholls to see the guilty brought to justice. The Italian Premier, Marquis di Rudini, insisted on indemnity for the murdered men's families, and on the instant punishment of the assassins. Mr. Blaine did not regard indemnity as a right which the Italian Government could maintain, though intimating that the United States would not refuse it in this case. Demand for the summary punishment of the offenders he declared unreasonable, since the utmost that could be done at once was to institute judicial proceedings, and this function, he explained, could not be assumed by the United States, but belonged exclusively to the State of Louisiana. "The foreign resident," said he, "must be content in such cases to share the same redress that is offered by the law to the citizen, and has no just cause of complaint or right to ask the interposition of his country if the courts are equally open to him for the redress of his injuries."

The Italian public thought this equivocation a mean truckling to the American prejudice against Italian immigrants. Baron Fava, the Italian Minister at Washington, could not see why Italian subjects in America should not receive the same protection accorded to Americans in Italy. In vain did Mr. Blaine set forth that by our Federal system foreign residents, however shielded by treaty, can not, any more than citizens, claim protection from the national authority direct. Baron Fava was ordered, failing to obtain assurance of indemnity and of immediate and impartial judicial proceedings, to "affirm the inutility of his presence near a Government that had no power to guarantee such justice as in Italy is administered equally in favor of citizens of all nationalities." Mr. Blaine replied that the Italian Premier was endeavoring to hurry him in a manner contrary to diplomatic usage, and that he could announce no decision until the cases of the massacred Italian subjects had been investigated. "I do not," said he, "recognize the right of any Government to tell the United States what it shall do; we have

never received orders from any foreign power and shall not begin now." It was to him "a matter of indifference what persons in Italy think of our institutions. . . . I can not change them, still less violate them." Such judicial proceedings as could be had against the lynchers broke down completely. The Italian Minister withdrew, but his Government was finally persuaded to accept \$25,000, to be distributed among the families of the murdered men.

When Mr. Blaine was for the second time made Secretary of State, a Chilian paper spoke of him as "that Foreign Minister who made us so much trouble." Aided by his own unfortunate choice of a minister thither, Chile now became a cause of trouble to Mr. Blaine. The country was in the throes of a civil war between the "Presidential party"—adherents of President Balmaceda—and the "Congressional party." Mr. Egan eagerly espoused Balmaceda's cause, alienating the Congressional party and a majority of the people. The misunderstanding was aggravated by the *Itata* incident. On May 6, 1891, the *Itata*, a Chilian cruiser in the service of the Congressionalists, was, at the request of the Chilian Minister, seized at San Diego by the United States marshal, on the ground that she was about to carry a cargo of arms to the Revolutionists. The next day she put to sea, defying the marshal's injunction. Two days after the cruiser *Charleston* set out in pursuit, but reached Callao without having seen her quarry. On June 4th, the offender surrendered to the United States squadron at Iquique. Congressionalists in Chile were angry at us for meddling with the *Itata*, the President's party for not making our intervention effective. Excitement ran so high in Chile that it was unsafe for Americans to be recognized anywhere on Chilian territory. On October 17th, some sailors from the *Baltimore* were attacked in Valparaiso, two being killed and eighteen hurt. To Secretary Blaine's demand for an explanation, the Chilian Foreign Office replied on October 28th. Later was furnished a satisfactory indemnity.

Another incident attracting some attention, in 1890, re-

ferred to General Barrundia, a political refugee from Guatemala, who took passage on the Pacific Mail steamer *Acapulco*, for Salvador. The captain, Pitts, assured Barrundia that, though the steamer was to call at several Guatemalan ports, he would not be delivered to the Guatemalan authorities. These, nevertheless, sought to arrest him at Champerico, and again at San José de Guatemala. The United States Minister, Mr. Mizner, Consul-General Hosmer and Commander Reiter, of the United States ship of war *Ranger*, then present in the port of San José, believed that Guatemala had a right to do this, as the *Acapulco* lay in Guatemala's territorial waters. They so advised Captain Pitts, who then, though with the utmost reluctance, permitted the arresting party to board the *Acapulco*. Barrundia resisted capture and was killed. Mizner's action was severely censured by Secretary Blaine, and he was called home. Commander Reiter, also, for not interfering to prevent the arrest, was deprived of his command, receiving, moreover, a sharp letter from the Secretary of the Navy. The officer complained that this letter "conveyed a severe public reprimand—a punishment which could be inflicted legally only by the sentence of a general court-martial." He was afterward restored, but to another command. Our Government's attitude in this affair, seeking to set up a doctrine of asylum on merchant ships, was, in international law, wholly untenable. The two officials were cruelly punished for having acted with admirable judgment and done each his exact duty.

In the Congressional campaign of 1890, issue upon the neo-Republican policy was squarely joined. The Republicans had interpreted Harrison's victory as a popular mandate giving *carte blanche*, and had legislated as if never to be called to account. The 1890 election, a "landslide" unprecedented in our political history, revealed their error. The House of Representatives was now overwhelmingly Democratic. Pennsylvania once more elected Pattison Governor, and also gave the Democrats three new seats in Congress. In this State the turn of the tide was partly due to the Re-

publican dislike of Senator Quay. Early in 1890, Mr. H. C. Lea, of Philadelphia, had made charges, reiterated in leading journals with wealth of detail, to the effect that as State Treasurer Quay had been guilty of peculation. Honorable Robert P. Kennedy, a Republican member from Ohio, speaking in the House of Representatives, impeached Quay on the same ground. Kennedy's indictment was expunged from the record, which widened rather than narrowed its influence.

The political change was far from local. The Pacific Slope aside, huge Democratic gains occurred everywhere. The defeated referred their fall to "off-year" apathy, but that was not its sole or its main cause. The Billion Dollars gone, the Force Bill, and to a less extent the McKinley tariff, had aroused popular resentment. The new law so disliked at home was naturally odious abroad. France, Germany, and Austria talked of reprisals. So did Great Britain. By the tirades against him there, McKinley was for a time better known in Europe than any other American. Yet so long as the sun shone Europe diligently made hay. Just as the advanced rates were about to go into effect ocean greyhounds came racing hither to bring in, under the old duties, all the goods they could. The *Etruria's* speed, saving a few seconds, was said to have won the owners of her cargo no less than \$1,000,000 in this way. Vast as was its preponderance of Democrats, the new House could, of course, carry no low-tariff measure against Harrison and the Senate; but it passed a number of "pop-gun bills" for free raw materials, as if to make "coming events cast their shadows before."

The International Copyright Bill of the McKinley Congress was one of the most conspicuous of its enactments, the more conspicuous in that it drew the favorable comment of the "literary." In 1886, an international conference, from which Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the United States were absent, resulted in a treaty for international copyright. Two years later the United States Senate passed a bill, which failed in the House, intended to reconcile our law with that

idea. In 1890, the House in turn passed a bill with similar intent, but involving severe provisions against importing foreign books. The Senate amended these features so as to permit the importation of foreign-made books like other foreign articles. The bill ultimately passed, approved by the President on March 3, 1891, provided for United States copyright for any foreign author, designer, artist, or dramatist, provided "that in case of a book, photograph, chromo, or lithograph, the two copies of the same required to be delivered or deposited with the Librarian of Congress shall be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom, or from negatives or drawings on stone made within the limits of the United States or from transfers therefrom." Foreign authors, like native or naturalized, could renew their United States copyrights; and penalties were prescribed in the new law to protect these rights from infringement.

CHAPTER XX.

IMPORTANT EVENTS MAINLY NON-POLITICAL DURING HARRISON'S TERM.

Signs of a New Time—Henry W. Grady—Bad Temper Over Jeff. Davis—Zachariah Chandler Arraigns Davis—Gen. Sherman Does the Same—Oklahoma—The “Boomers”—Growth of the Territory—The “Messiah Craze” Among the Indians—Its Alleged Origin—Another Account—End of Sitting Bull—Related Manifestations of the Delusion—The Johnstown Flood—Devastation and Death—Relief Work—The Seattle Fire—Fatal Conflagration in Secretary Tracy's Washington Home—The Louisiana Lottery—Its Fight for Life—Its Defeat and Banishment—Mormonism—Anti-Polygamy Laws—The Mountain Meadows Massacre—Execution of John D. Lee—The Edmunds Law—Its Rigor—The Highest Court Sustains It—A “Revelation” Against Polygamy—Amnesty and Pardon—Utah a State—Geary Anti-Chinese Law—The United States in Samoa—Hurricane There—Escape of the *Calliope*—Admiral Kimberly to Captain Kane—Russian Famine of 1892—Thought of Relief from America—Minneapolis in the Lead—Desperate Situation in Russia—Russians' Own Generosity—The Supplies from America—Wisdom Shown in Distributing Them—Philadelphia Contributes—Good Effects of the Relief Movement—Political “Tidal Waves” of 1892 and 1894.

IN 1890 and 1891 an old cycle appeared distinctly merging into a new. Memorials rising on every hand shocked one with the sense that familiar figures and recent issues were already of the past. These two years saw monuments raised to Horace Greeley, Robert E. Lee, Henry Ward Beecher, Stonewall Jackson, Garfield, and Grant. The year of Grant's death was also that of Hendricks's, to whom a statue was speedily erected in Indianapolis. The next year Logan, Arthur, and Hancock departed. General Sheridan died in 1888. In 1891, General Sherman and Admiral Porter fell within a day of each other. General Johnston, who had been a pall-bearer at the funeral of each, rejoined them in

a little over a month. All these heroes of the war followed Grant to the tomb in 1885, and had now followed him beyond it. A monument just reared at Atlanta was a reminder of Henry W. Grady's recent death, in which the morning star of the New South faded from our sky. The fraternal strife ending in 1865 began to seem a far memory. The locality of Lee's monument at Richmond, amid streets and avenues, was farmland at the time Lee and his army were protecting the city. The unveiling in May, 1890, was indeed no little of a Confederate occasion. Fitzhugh Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Jubal Early, Longstreet, and Gordon were all in attendance and warmly received. The Lost Cause was mentioned, but little was said or done to indicate that any regretted its loss. The Confederate flag was displayed, but not in derogation of the Stars and Stripes.

Grady's death was lamented nowhere more sincerely than at the North. His clever speeches at the New England Society's New York dinner, in 1886, and at the Merchants' Club dinner in Boston, shortly before his death, December 23, 1889, had brought him fame. He was born in Athens, Ga., in 1851. His father, a man of wealth and a colonel, was killed in the Confederate service. At the universities of Georgia and Virginia he had been a universal favorite, celebrated for a brilliancy akin to genius. Brought up at the feet of Robert Toombs, the youth acquired the old fire-eater's ardor without his venom. After 1876 he wrote for the New York "Herald" and other Northern papers, and his letters made a strong impression. After he, in 1880, became interested in the Atlanta "Constitution," that sheet was widely read all over the North, doing much to allay sectional animosity.

The last angry outbreak of this related to the ex-President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. Northerners might with great satisfaction to themselves, and with justice, speak of their triumph in the war as a victory of and for the Constitution; and they could not but indulge the natural inclination to question the motives of Southern leaders. But

Southerners, however loyal, now, to the Union, with equal inevitableness took the position that at the time when secession occurred the question of the nature of the Union had not been settled; that, therefore, Mr. Davis and the rest might attempt secession not as foes of the Union, but as, at heart, its most loyal friends and defenders.

In the early morning hours of March 3, 1879, ingenious chemists of the Republican party had concocted in the Senate an acrid and effervescent parliamentary mixture, giving a foretaste of the Bloody Shirt campaign tactics of 1880. The question of suitable pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican War being under debate, matters suddenly took a partisan turn, evoking bitter controversy, when Senator Hoar moved an amendment to except Jefferson Davis from the benefits of the act, a move which some years before, in the hands of James G. Blaine in the House of Representatives, had met with brilliant success in connection with an amnesty bill. General Shields did not wish further to exalt Mr. Davis by such a distinction. Senator Thurman opposed making Davis a vicarious sacrifice. Exasperated by the invidious import of the amendment and by remarks from the Republican side, Southern Senators launched into extravagant eulogies of Mr. Davis, as indiscreet as they were well meant. Senator Garland said: "His services are upon the record of this country, and while they may not surpass, yet they will equal in history all Grecian fame and all Roman glory." Though it was not yet daylight, sleepy Senators came pressing into the Chamber, while the galleries were recruited from unknown sources.

The debate had proceeded in this strain for some time, when Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, arose. His huge frame, loud voice, and earnest manner always made his speech effective, but it was particularly so now:

"Mr. President," said he, "twenty-three years ago to-morrow, in the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with

Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore that I would support the Constitution of the United States."

After narrating Davis's secession and his opposition to the flag, notwithstanding the oath he had taken, Chandler continued: "I remained here, sir, during the whole of that terrible rebellion. I saw our brave soldiers by thousands and hundreds of thousands, ay, I might say millions, pass through to the theatre of war, and I saw their shattered ranks return; I saw steamboat after steamboat and railroad train after railroad train arrive with the maimed and the wounded; I was with my friend from Rhode Island, General Burnside, when he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and saw piles of legs and arms that made humanity shudder; I saw the widow and the orphan in their homes, and heard the weeping and wailing of those who had lost their dearest and their best. Mr. President, I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate of the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized on the floor of the Senate of the United States! Sir, I am amazed to hear it; and I can tell the gentlemen on the other side, that they little know the spirit of the North when they come here at this day and, with bravado on their lips, utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman, and child in the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to the Government."

The presiding officer was unable to repress the applause that ran round the galleries. The speech was quoted with approval all over the North, indicating the state of the public mind at the time. The Hoar amendment was carried; but even so the pension proposal did not commend itself to the Senate, presumably because so many Mexican War veterans were also ex-Confederates.

The question whether or not Jefferson Davis was a traitor came up in the Senate again in 1885. At a Camp Fire of the Grand Army of the Republic at St. Louis, General W. T. Sherman made the assertion that Davis, insincere in his secession doctrines, had, in 1865, written threatening to re-

sist "separate State action on the part of Southern States, even if he had to turn Lee's army against it." Davis made rejoinder, calling for the production of the letter. General Sherman could not reproduce the document, but filed in the War Department a statement meant to constitute evidence of his assertion or to show where such could be found. Controversy over Davis was precipitated in the Senate by a resolution of Senator Hawley calling for General Sherman's statement. The debate waxing bitter, Senator John Sherman sought to justify his brother. He said:

"Sir, whenever, in my presence, in a public assemblage, Jefferson Davis shall be treated as a patriot, I must enter my solemn protest. Whenever the motives and causes of the war, the beginning and the end of which I have seen, are brought in question, I must stand, as I have always stood, upon the firm conviction that it was a causeless rebellion, made with bad motives, and that all the men who led in that movement were traitors to their country."

Senator Lamar answered with some heat, closing: "We, of the South, have surrendered upon all the questions which divided the two sides in that controversy. We have given up the right of the people to secede from this Union; we have given up the right of each State to judge for itself of the infractions of the Constitution and the mode of redress; we have given up the right to control our own domestic institutions. We fought for all these, and we lost in that controversy; but no man shall, in my presence, call Jefferson Davis a traitor, without my responding with a stern and emphatic denial."

The growth of population still continued to force back the barriers of the Indian reservations. Pressure was now hardest against that part of Indian Territory known as Oklahoma. This consisted of a large tract which shortly after the Civil War the Seminole Indians sold to the Government with the understanding that no white man but only colonies of Indians and freedmen should settle there. Nevertheless, the great cattle kings had inclosed large tracts of the terri-

tory. This imposition, helped by the eviction of small prospectors, raised up the species known as Oklahoma "boomers" or "raiders," who incessantly clamored that this land be opened for settlement. Western nomads called "movers" rallied to every filibustering enterprise into the reservations. One David L. Payn was the first and most famous of the "Oklahoma raiders." He and his allies made repeated forays into the forbidden region, but were each time driven off at the tails of their carts. Kansas real estate men found business dull and added their voices to the cry that Oklahoma must be opened; but they sought their end by legislation rather than by raids.

It at length became obvious that the conditions on which the lands had been bought could not be complied with, and in 1888-89 Congress gladly appropriated \$4,000,000 to obtain a fee simple. The sluice-gates were opened one after another by proclamation. The first one was appointed to give way on April 22, 1889. The incidental advertising which preceded the event spread excitement from Denver to New York. The General Land-Office and the Post-Office Department made hasty preparations for the rush, which involved five times as many people as could obtain foothold. In spite of utmost efforts on the part of the military the woods and valleys of Oklahoma were full of "sooners" before the opening day; but the vast majority lined up on the borders awaiting the bugle-call at noon of April 22d. When it sounded there was a sudden cloud of dust and a wild scurry of hoofs, wheels and feet, spreading out frontward like a fan. It was said that one man on foot, carrying his kit, ran six miles in sixty minutes to reach his choice claim, where he fell down exhausted. Those in or rushing in at the opening, were followed later by heavily loaded trains from a distance. All went armed, and bloodshed was prevented only with difficulty. Liquor-selling within the territory had to be totally prohibited. At noon on the eventful day Guthrie was only a town site; at nightfall it was a city of 10,000 and had taken steps toward forming a municipal govern-

ment. Oklahoma City grew less rapidly, but perhaps more solidly. By June business blocks and residences had risen there, the wonder of all residents. On so short notice the Promised Land had gotten ready for the pilgrims no milk or honey—not even water, though a yellow brackish fluid by that name was peddled on the streets. Sandwiches were hawked for twenty-five cents each, and in the restaurants a plate of pork and beans sold for seventy-five cents. In a day or two the vast majority of the rushers left in disgust at the dust, heat, and hardships, many of them being on the point of starving. Yet by December the territory was estimated to hold 60,000 people, who boasted eleven schools, nine churches, three daily and five weekly newspapers. Guthrie had 8,000 and Oklahoma City 5,000 souls, both towns being governed by voluntary acquiescence in the ordinances. Under acts of Congress proclamations from time to time opened other tracts, when in each case similar scenes were enacted. The Sioux reservation in South Dakota was unlocked on February 10, 1890. From the towns of Chamberlain and Pierre troops of boomers galloped and ran to locate claims. Carts and wagons loaded with building materials were hurried forward. In one case a house on wheels was dragged across a river on the ice.

In this settlement of their old hunting-grounds Indians saw a new imposition by the whites. Their lands had been seized piece by piece and their attempts to get justice or revenge had only added to their misery. Many savages passed the winter of 1890 on the verge of starvation because of the Government's failure to provide rations. In South Dakota twelve hundred were in this condition. In such extremity many tribes ordinarily hostile to each other together gave up to the so-called "Messiah craze." Six thousand fighting men in North Dakota and as many more in the Indian Territory were infected. Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Osage, Missouri, and Seminole Indians participated in the ghost dances, which formed an invariable part of the new cult. There were several accounts of the delusion, all

possibly authentic, and all in some way involving the belief that the Great Spirit or his Representative would soon appear with a high hand and an outstretched arm to deliver the red men from their white oppressors. They were perhaps versions of Christ's second coming brought to the Indians by missionaries, which fanatics or charlatans had distorted and mixed with vulgar spiritualism.

According to what was said to be the original story, a young Indian dreamed that the Messiah appeared to him, bidding him take other youth of good habits and set out by a way revealed through an unknown country to the Great Sea. At each camping place on the journey they found a spring supplying just enough water for them to drink. Arrived at the shore of the Great Sea, amid a strong light which shone ever brighter and brighter, they saw in dim outline the Son of the Great Spirit coming toward them over the water. The prints of the nails were visible in his hands and feet and the spear-marks in his side. He bade them come out to him, but they dared not, and he drew close to the shore. Avowing a long-time sympathy with the red men, he taught them that this earth was merely their temporary home and that those who were faithful to him would after death be taken to a better country. He advised them touching the way to live, warning them above all things not to attempt a war against the whites. Finally he said, "Return to your homes, tell your friends what you have seen, and assure them of my interest in them." Ere they could thank him the Son of the Great Spirit had gone and they saw and heard nothing but the dashing waves of the Great Sea.

Certain of the prophets had it that the Mighty Spirit promised to put all the Indians behind him and all the whites in front, then bury the whites with their tallest works deep underground, while the prairie would thunder with the tramp of buffalo and the gallop of wild horses. To others the Messiah appeared and said: "I will teach you a dance, and I want you to dance it." They obeyed, uttering weird chants and cries of "The buffaloes are coming!" General Miles thought

that this strange hallucination, spreading so steadily and far, indicated "a more comprehensive plot than anything inspired by Tecumseh or even Pontiac."

Here and there an Indian was above the superstition. Red Cloud prophesied: "If it (the new gospel) is true it will spread all over the world; if not it will melt like snow under the hot sun." Little Wound said they would dance till spring, but stop if the Messiah did not then appear. Sitting Bull, the whites' inveterate enemy, the old schemer who had stayed behind and made medicine during the Custer fight, now had a characteristic interview with the Indian Messiah, who wished to know what he would like. He replied that he would take a little buffalo meat, as he had not had any for a long time. In response, as he reported, a herd of buffaloes appeared, when, shooting one, he cooked and ate its hump. Elated by the confidence of the Superior Power, Sitting Bull grew troublesome. In December the Indian police arrested him with others, and in attempting to escape he was killed. Fortunately, the craze became less intense and dangerous as it spread. The Southern negroes in sections lent a ready ear to "voodoo doctors," and soon ghost dances were common also among them. Even the scattered Aztecs of Mexico gathered by hundreds around the ruins of their ancient temple at Cholula. There they performed mystic rites and looked for a Messiah who should cause Popocatepetl to inundate the country with lava till all but the Aztecs were destroyed, and should then raise them again to their pristine glory.

On May 31, 1889, western Pennsylvania was visited by one of the most awful catastrophes ever chronicled. A flood from a burst reservoir annihilated the city of Johnstown with its numerous suburbs, destroying thousands of lives and \$10,000,000 worth of property. The reservoir was two and a half miles in length, one and a half broad at places, one hundred feet deep in places, and situated two hundred and seventy-five feet above the level of Johnstown. Heavy rains had fallen and the dam was known to be weak; yet the peo-

ple below, who were repeatedly warned during the day, took no alarm. When, starting just before the break, about 3 P.M., Engineer Park galloped down the valley shouting to all to run for their lives, it was too late. Hard behind him came thundering along at a speed of two and a half miles a minute, a mountain of water fifty feet high, thirty feet wide at first, and widening to half a mile, bearing upon its angry crest, whole or in fragments, houses, factories, bridges, and at length villages, and growing wilder, higher, swifter, deadlier, and more powerful as it moved. Trees, brush, furniture, bowlders, pig and railway iron, corpses, machinery, miles and miles of barbed wire, and an indescribable mass of miscellaneous wreckage, all inextricably mixed, also freighted the torrent. Immense mills were knocked from their foundations and whirled down stream like children's block-work. Pig-iron by the hundred tons was borne away, the bars subsequently strewn for miles down the valley. Engines weighing twenty tons were tossed up and on as if the law of gravity had been repealed. One locomotive was carried a mile. At Johnstown, where the shape of the valley generated an enormous whirlpool, the roar of the waters and the grinding together of the wreckage rent the air like lost spirits groaning in chorus.

Hundreds who had clambered to the roofs of houses floated about on that boiling sea all the afternoon and night, shot hither and thither by the crazy flood. Most who met death were, we may hope, instantly drowned, but many clung to fragments, falling into the waters only when their strength gave way, their limbs were broken or their brains dashed out. A telegraph operator at Sanghollow saw one hundred and nineteen bodies, living or dead, float by in an hour. Early next morning two corpses had reached Pittsburg, seventy-eight miles distant. A little boy was rescued who, with his parents, a brother, and two sisters, had sailed down from Johnstown in a small house. This went to pieces in going over the bridge, and all were drowned but him. A raft formed from part of a floor held a young man and two women, prob-

ably his wife and mother. As they neared Bolivar bridge a rope was lowered to rescue them, and the man was observed to be instructing the women how to catch and hold it. Himself succeeded in clutching it, but they failed, whereupon he purposely let go and regained the raft as it lurched under the bridge. Later it struck a tree, into which, with preternatural skill and strength, he helped his *protégées* to climb; but a great wreck soon struck the tree, instantly overwhelming the trio in the seething tide. Fate reached the acme of its malignity next day, June 1st, after the flood had begun to subside. Then the immense boom of *débris* gathered at the railway bridge just below Johnstown—an eighth of a mile wide and long, from thirty to fifty feet deep, and rammed so solid that dynamite was at last required to rend it—took fire. The flames raged for twelve hours. No effort was spared to recover the living imprisoned in the pile. Fifty or more were taken out, but it is feared that no fewer than five hundred perished.

Relief work began at once, commendably systematic and thorough, and on a scale commensurate with the disaster. In less than twenty-four hours, spite of washed-out tracks and ruptured telegraph-wires, Pittsburg had trainloads of provisions in Johnstown, and a body of nearly three hundred active men, who comforted, fed, clothed, and housed the distressed people until relieved by the Flood Relief Commission on June 12th. Pittsburg contributed \$252,000 in money, \$64,000 of it being subscribed in an hour. Philadelphia contributed half a million dollars to the relief fund; New York the same. Nearly every city in the Union aided. President Harrison was chairman of a meeting in Washington where \$30,000 was pledged. Several sums were telegraphed from abroad, among them one of \$1,000 from Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The total of contributions reached \$3,000,000. Trainloads of supplies rolled in. The Red Cross Society, with physicians, nurses, tents, disinfectants, medicines, food, and clothing was promptly on the ground. Rigid sanitary provisions were enforced, made specially necessary by the

length of time inevitably elapsing before all the dead could be interred. Ere the gloom proceeding from this event was lifted, during the same month of June, the public was horrified afresh by an awful fire in Seattle, Wash., destroying many million dollars' worth of property, and demolishing almost the entire business part of the city. Happily, few lives were lost.

In the evening of February 3, 1890, the library of Secretary Tracy's Washington house caught fire. A colored man rang the bell and informed the astonished servant, who threw open the doors of the library, whereupon the fire rushed into the hall, driving him from the house. The flames spread swiftly. Mrs. Wilmerding, the Secretary's daughter, and his granddaughter were saved by leaping from the front windows. A servant girl perished in her room; another servant was rescued from the cornice. At the risk of suffocation men rushed to the Secretary's room. At the door they found the body of his other daughter, whose life had been lost in the attempt to arouse her parents. Inside, Mr. Tracy was stretched unconscious and was with great difficulty restored. His wife, who had vainly tried to move him to the window, now, at the moment of rescue, became bewildered and suffered a fatal fall to the stone area below. At the President's desire the remains of Mrs. and Miss Tracy were removed to the White House, whence they were in due time carried to a place of temporary interment.

The Federal power helped relieve the South from a worse blight than the enactment of the Force Bill would have been. The Louisiana Lottery Company was incorporated in 1868, as a monopoly to last twenty-five years. In 1879 the charter was repealed, but this action was rendered invalid by a judicial decision. A Constitutional Convention which soon followed reinstated the charter, providing that after its expiration all lotteries should be prohibited in the State. By 1890 the lottery had assumed towering proportions. It was estimated to receive one-third of the whole mail matter coming to New Orleans, and it cashed postal notes and money,

orders to the amount of \$30,000 a day. The press was won to its service and new papers started in its interest. As the year 1893, the term of its charter, drew near, the monster bestirred itself to secure a new lease of life, but it now felt the strength of the Federal arm. In September, 1890, an anti-lottery bill passed Congress, by which, being satisfied that any person or company was conducting a lottery, the Postmaster-General might cause to be returned all registered letters addressed to such person or company, and payment to be refused on postal money orders drawn in favor of such. As the express companies, however, still tolerated its patronage, the business of the lottery was safe so long as its native State, Louisiana, continued it in existence. Its fight for life therefore was on Louisiana soil. In return for an amendment to the State Constitution enfranchising the lottery for twenty-five years, the impoverished State was offered \$1,250,000 per year, \$350,000 of this sum to maintain the levees, \$350,000 for charitable purposes, \$50,000 for Confederate pensions, \$100,000 for drainage in New Orleans, and \$250,000 for the general fund of the State. In connection with this proposal, it was ingeniously suggested that only seven per cent of the lottery's revenue came from Louisiana itself.

A bill introduced in the Legislature to give effect to this bargain passed by a two-thirds majority in each House, but was promptly vetoed by Governor Nicholls. Liberal bribes to legislators were supposed to have supplemented the \$1,250,000 per year offered the State; yet in attempting to override this veto, voicing as it truly did the sentiment of thousands, the lottery company feared opposition in the Senate. After pushing the bill once more through the House, its promoters changed front and sent it directly to the Secretary of State for promulgation, on the ground that a proposal for a constitutional amendment, though in form a bill, did not require the Governor's signature. The Secretary of State refused to take this view, but it was sustained by the Supreme Court, three to two. Let a majority of the people now vote "aye" on the proposed amendment, and the lottery was saved. Or, if

the Democratic nomination, ordinarily equivalent to an election, fell to lottery candidates, the amendment could again be put upon its passage. The "pro" Democrats carried New Orleans, but most of the country parishes were swept by a fusion of "anti"-Democrats and Farmers' Alliance men. The number of contesting delegations, however, placed the result in doubt. Two rival Democratic conventions met at Baton Rouge, each claiming a majority of the delegates elected. The convention of the "antis" nominated Murphy J. Foster for Governor; that of the "pros" ex-Governor McEnery, whose vote as Supreme Judge had been one of the three to sustain the lottery's contention. The "pro" convention having been presided over by the chairman of the State committee, thus giving that faction a show of special legitimacy, the "pro" leaders now made the party-whip sing. Politicians little different from carpet-baggers shouted for harmony, denouncing the "antis" as a third party working to disrupt the Democracy and restore Republican rule. The election, which occurred in April, 1892, negatived the lottery amendment and made Foster Governor. The fight for a constitutional amendment was given up. Not only so, but Foster, while Governor, was permitted to sign an act "prohibiting the sale of lottery tickets and lottery drawings or schemes in the State of Louisiana after December 31, 1893." In January, 1894, the lottery company betook itself to exile on the island of Cuanaja, in the Bay of Honduras, a seat which the Honduras Government had granted it, together with a monopoly of the lottery business for fifty years.

The same year, 1890, formed a crisis in the history of Mormonism in America. The Book of Mormon was published in 1830, professing by divine revelation to give an account of the Western Hemisphere, as the Scriptures dealt with the Eastern. Next year not a few converts rallied around the author, Joseph Smith, among them Brigham Young, a granite Vermonter, whose energy soon pervaded the new Church. Though missionaries gathered in armies of recruits from far regions, and though polygamy was not at first

avowed by them as part of their creed or practice, the Mormons seem always to have been unpopular, even odious, with their Gentile neighbors. They were driven from place to place, yet incessantly thriving, till in 1844 their prophet, Joseph Smith, was shot by a mob. Brigham Young now easily and naturally assumed command of the demoralized hosts, leading them with military precision and masterly skill across the Great American Desert to Utah. There for many years he was able, by diplomacy and other means, to reign supreme among the "Saints," and to snub the far-off "States" to his heart's content.

In 1855, in 1859, and in 1862 anti-polygamy bills were introduced in Congress. The last, fathered by Senator Morrill, who, like Brigham Young himself, was a Vermonter, became a law, but was enforced only fitfully and to a trifling extent. The invasion of the railroad, and the proclaimed discovery of precious metal mines—a discovery against which Young struggled in vain—destroyed the isolation of the peculiar people, though the Mormon majority could still be maintained by assisted immigration from Mormon colonies abroad.

In 1871 Brigham Young and other leaders were arrested under the 1862 law, and some of them convicted. Others were arrested on charges of murdering Gentiles, a crime of which the Mormons were more than once suspected after the frightful Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, though Mormon juries failed to convict those indicted. In 1874 the Poland Act introduced reforms in impaneling juries, when John D. Lee was once more arraigned for complicity in the Mountain Meadows tragedy, and convicted. In March, 1877, twenty years after the commission of the crime wherein he had been leader, this monster was taken to the scene of it. There a cairn and a rude cedar cross rose above the mingled bones of the 120 victims, who had, after surrendering their arms, been murdered in cold blood. The curse of the Almighty seemed to have blasted the vegetation and dried the springs about the hideous site. There Lee seated himself

upon his coffin, the sharp report of a volley was heard, and tardy justice was at last meted out.

The measure of 1862 providing inoperative, Senator Edmunds, still another man from Vermont, introduced a bill, which became law March 22, 1882. By it bigamy, polygamy, or the cohabitation of a man with more than one woman in any Territory of the United States was made punishable by a fine of not more than \$500 and imprisonment for not more than three years. A person convicted, moreover, could neither vote nor hold any position of public trust or emolument. The children of such illicit relations were to be deemed illegitimate. Jurymen who were living or had lived in these practices, or believed them right, were disqualified.

Some of these provisions resembled the "thorough" reconstruction treatment administered to the South after the war. A test-oath was imposed upon voters. Elections were supervised, returns canvassed, and certificates supplied by a commission of five persons, three of whom might be of the same political party. If the Commission reminded one of the Returning Boards, there were not wanting in Utah officeholders who seemed to the Mormons nothing but carpet-baggers. Southern statesmen were prominent in opposing the bill as unconstitutional, impolitic, and sectional, referring to the easy and frequent divorces in many Northern and Western States as more immoral than aught occurring in Utah.

Nevertheless, the law was rigidly enforced. In two years twelve thousand Mormons were disfranchised, though monogamous as well as polygamous Mormons made common cause against the law. When convicted persons promised to obey the laws of the land in future they were set free, but few availed themselves of the chance. On May 19, 1890, and again on December 19, the next year, the Supreme Court declared the law constitutional, thus taking away the last hope of the Mormon hierarchy. This attitude of the court, combined with the influx of Gentile population and the desire that Utah should become a State, which would be impossible while polygamy continued, led, in October, 1890, to a "reve-

lation," which thenceforth made polygamy morally wrong, as it had before been legally. After that date convicts under the Edmunds Law with one accord promised to obey it in future, and were without exception set free, sentence being suspended. In December, 1891, the officials, pledging the obedience of the Church membership to the laws against plural marriages and unlawful cohabitation, petitioned for amnesty for past offences, which petition was indorsed by the Utah Commission reporting next year. President Harrison, on January 4, 1893, granted "a full amnesty and pardon to all persons liable to the penalties of said act by reason of unlawful cohabitation under the color of polygamous or plural marriage, who had since November 1, 1890, abstained from such unlawful cohabitation; but upon the express condition that they should in the future faithfully obey the laws of the United States hereinbefore named."

On July 17, 1894, President Cleveland signed a bill providing for a Utah Constitutional Convention in March, 1895, and the constitution framed by that body for the proposed State of Utah was ratified by the people in November, 1895. Utah became a State on January 4, 1896.

In 1888 the anti-Chinese act passed during President Arthur's Administration was amended so as to prohibit the return of Chinese laborers who had once departed from this country. In the spring of 1892 Mr. Geary, of California, introduced a still more drastic measure, called after his name. It re-enacted for ten more years all laws regulating and prohibiting Chinese immigration. It provided for the fining, imprisonment, and subsequent deportation of all Chinamen who did not within a year obtain certificates from the Government proving their right to be here. Under advice of eminent counsel Chinese laborers generally disobeyed the act, but ten days after the limit expired its constitutionality was affirmed by the Supreme Court. The Executive, however, did not enforce its provisions, owing to a shortage of appropriation. It would have required at least \$5,000,000 to deport all infractors, and only \$100,000 had been provided for the

purpose. Congress, therefore, in 1893 extended the time of certification for six months.

In 1878 the United States obtained by treaty the Samoan harbor of Pago Pago, the finest in Polynesia, for a coaling station. The English and Germans had in the islands commercial interests far more important than ours. Later the German and British consuls signed a convention to secure good local government in the town and neighborhood of Apia. The American consul co-operated in this endeavor, but was not a party to the convention. Within six years German influence secured from King Malietoa Laupepe control of the islands, and a little later the German flag was raised over them. Persuaded by the Samoans, the United States consul assumed a protectorate in opposition, but his action was promptly disavowed at home. Our Secretary of State suggested that a conference of German, British, and United States commissioners devise a plan for the election by the natives of a ruler who should be sustained by all three. After several bootless sittings at Washington the conference adjourned, with the express understanding that the *status quo*, Malietoa still king, should be maintained pending further deliberations. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of British and American protest, Bismarck made unreasonable demands upon Malietoa, which, not being complied with in a few hours, were followed by his summary dethronement and the elevation of the German creature, Tamasese.

Early in the spring of 1889, seven warships occupied the harbor of Upolu, near Apia, a body of water barred from the open ocean by a circular coral reef, with a gap in the front centre for the entrance and exit of ships. Three of the vessels were American, the *Trenton*, flagship, Rear-Admiral Kimberly commanding, the *Vandalia*, and the *Nipsic*. As many were German, the *Adler*, the *Eber*, and the *Olga*. One, the *Calliope*, was British, Captain Kane in command. On March 15th falling barometers indicated the approach of a storm, yet none of the warships made for the clear sea. By daylight of the 16th the typhoon was on, the wind blowing

inshore with fearful velocity, rolling mountainous billows into the harbor. The vessels dragged their anchors and several collisions occurred. One vessel lost her smokestack, another her bowsprit, but these were comparatively small injuries. Early in the morning the *Eber* crashed against the coral and sank. The *Nipsic* struck sand instead of coral, and lay stranded, but in safety. The *Adler* was also dragged to the reef, and the next wave would have been her ruin too; but just as she scaled the water-mountain the seamen slipped her moorings, so that she was lifted up and thrown on the reef "like a schoolboy's cap upon a shelf." No longer thinking of Germans as foes, the Samoans nobly helped to rescue the survivors, being foremost in that good work all day.

There remained the *Trenton* in the harbor mouth, and the *Calliope* further in, threatened now on one side by the *Olga*, now on the other by the *Vandalia*, and in the rear continually by the reef. The harbor was death, the high seas salvation, and Captain Kane determined upon a desperate effort to get out. Her furnace walls red-hot and her boilers strained nearly to bursting, the *Calliope* matched her engines against the awful tornado. For a time she stood stationary, then crawled or rather sidled to the gap in the outside reef, close by the *Trenton*, which was pitching at anchor, with fires drowned and wheel and rudder gone. As the Englishman at last came to the wind outside a rousing cheer went up from the American flagship, returned with a will by the British tars. The *Vandalia*, trying to beach herself beside the *Nipsic*, missed her aim, struck the reef and slowly settled to her tops, which were crowded with men. Then the *Trenton* parted her cables and drifted, helpless as an iceberg, into collision with the *Olga*. The two ships struck once or twice, when the German craft slipped her moorings and escaped, having the *Nipsic's* good fortune to light upon sand instead of hard reef. Impelled by the wind and by some mysterious current, the *Trenton* now bore slowly, but surely upon the populous tops of the *Vandalia*, rescuing in her approach the clinging seamen by throwing them lines. Soon she struck and stopped. By

next morning she had settled to the gun-deck, but those of her men and the *Vandalia's* who survived successfully reached shore. Admiral Kimberly gathered the shipwrecked Americans about him, and, parading the band of the *Trenton*, had it strike up "Hail Columbia." The *Calliope* returned on the 19th to find all the other warships ruined. Captain Kane hastened to acknowledge the parting cheer sent after him as he put to sea. Our Admiral replied: "My dear Captain: Your kind note received. You went out splendidly and we all felt from our hearts for you, and our cheers came with sincerity and admiration for the able manner in which you handled your ship. We could not have been gladder if it had been one of our ships, for in a time like that I can say truly, with old Admiral Josiah Tatnall, that 'blood is thicker than water.'"¹

Thoughts of war were banished by the havoc Nature had wrought. The conference, renewed in Berlin, ended by a practical back-down on Bismarck's part. Tamasese was deposed, the exiled Malietoa restored. The three Powers agreed that after his death the natives should elect a successor. This triangular authority did not work well. It was an annoyance to the Powers and a grievous exasperation to the natives, who regarded the weak Malietoa as merely the scalawag creature of white carpet-baggers. One rebellion, headed by Mataafa, was cut off, and the leaders deported to an island in the Marshall group. Then the younger Tamasese rose, gathering the disaffected Samoans about him. The war-vessels of the Powers were compelled to co-operate in suppressing this rebellion, which, after all, continued to smoulder.

Of all the Old World's troubles few ever aroused among Americans more interest or generosity than the Russian famine of 1891-92. It was a time when, throughout immense reaches of that far empire, children and the aged were suffering and dying on every hand, no cow or goat for milk, not a horse left strong enough to draw a hearse, old grain

¹The description of the storm is abridged from R. L. Stevenson's.

stores exhausted, crops a failure, the land a waste, life itself a blackness and a curse. Loud cry for help was raised from every hut in the vast famine region. The cry was not in vain; it was heard on this side of the Atlantic.

The credit of first turning public attention to the duty of relieving Russia was probably due to "The Northwestern Miller," a Minneapolis journal devoted to the great flour interests of the Northwest. On December 4, 1891, having previously ascertained from the Russian Government that such a gift would be acceptable, this paper published an appeal to the millers of the United States to unite in sending a cargo of flour to the starving Russians. The Minneapolis millers, the great Pillsbury firm at their head, began generous donations of flour. Interest spread rapidly through Minnesota, the energetic Governor Merriam ardently assisting, and thence to other States, millers all over the country nobly responding.

Terrible, indeed, was the necessity. Famine was no new thing for great, weak, pitiable Russia; but a famine which brought suffering to thirty millions of people, through twenty provinces, comprising 475,000 square miles of eastern, central, and southern Russia, was exceptional even there.

Under ordinary circumstances the Russian peasant was not so far below other peasants as many travelers had affirmed. Dressed in his unkempt sheepskin, dirty and slovenly, lacking in ambition and the power to help himself rise, he was yet sturdy, industrious, and reliable. The provinces visited had once been the most fertile in Russia, but their soil had become impoverished by a bad system of communal landholding, so that peasants found themselves no better off than before 1861, when they were serfs. Drought, floods, enormous taxes, and cruelties by Government officers added to their miseries.

The niggardliness of nature would scarcely have caused famine had the exportation of cereals fallen off in proportion to their production, but this was not the case. In 1891, after the exports had been made, there was a deficit of about

eighteen pounds per inhabitant in the usual corn supply. Since supply was never evenly distributed, this deficit meant starvation for many. The Russian peasant's dwelling was at best a forlorn, foul-smelling hovel, where his whole family, and often his domestic animals, lived huddled in a single room not over fifteen or twenty feet square. When famine came to such homes the results were terrible. In some districts the annual death-rate increased from thirty-five to two hundred in the thousand. Well had it been could hunger have wrought its fatal results directly instead of invoking those awful means, the typhus, the scurvy, and the small-pox, by which it prefers to bring death; but this, like every famine, was made more awful by those accompaniments.

Russia herself gave generously, though distributing in clumsy ways. It was estimated that to June, 1892, the Government of that country spent from seventy-five to one hundred millions of dollars in the famine district. A large portion of this was in loans, administered by the county councils, made directly to the most needy. Taxes were remitted and the poor given public work. The higher classes showed a kindly spirit. Many a one of the old landed proprietors took his villagers back under his care and fed them as in serfdom days. Not a few followed the course of the novelist, Leo Tolstoi, who, with his family, carried on a great relief work in Samara, the centre of the famine tract, establishing free eating-rooms and sending out soup and bread, at times feeding as many as twenty thousand a day.

Most of the supplies for Tolstoi's work, and much of the provision dispensed in other sections, came from the United States of America. No other nation outside of Russia equaled us in this splendid philanthropy. Besides individual gifts sent with characteristic open-handedness, our people despatched four shiploads of supplies, whose value must have reached hundreds of thousands. Large gifts by the Chamber of Commerce gave New York the first place among the contributors. Minnesota proved a close second. Nebraska came third, her donations including two trainloads

of corn-meal, which proved very popular in Russia. In all, twenty-five States joined in making up the cargoes. Railroads carried the grain to tide-water free of charge, and the necessary telegraphing, storage, and other expenses connected with the enterprise were all gratuitous.

By the first of March, 1892, nearly five and a half million pounds of flour and meal had been gathered at New York ready for transportation. A generous donation was made by the American Transport Line, which offered its fine steamer *Missouri* to carry the food across the ocean. This generosity was the more appreciated, as a bill to have the American Government transport the flour had been defeated in Congress. The *Missouri* sailed from New York March 16th. She arrived at the Russian port of Libau on April 3d. After an enthusiastic welcome from the Russians there, her cargo was sent forward in two hundred and forty-one carloads to thirteen provinces in the heart of the famine-country. Through the careful planning of our Minister to Russia, Hon. Charles Emory Smith, every pound of the American flour was sent to responsible distributors, by whose hands it reached the hungriest poor. Mr. Smith's enlightened advice was followed in selecting all the American relief stores, as well as in dispensing them on their arrival in Russia. Many Americans had declared the sending of a flour cargo a foolish display, urging that a generous bill of exchange from America cashable in Russia would do more good in less time. This was an error. The amount of money which the *Missouri's* cargo represented, besides being harder to obtain in the first place, would have been able to purchase much less food in Russia, where famine prices ruled, and would therefore have accomplished far less benefit.

This charity of the American millers, while the most popular and widely known, was by no means America's only relief agency for Russia. Early in the winter the citizens of Philadelphia appointed a relief commission, which worked with such energy, that by February 22d the stanch old *Indiana*, a Philadelphia ship, could steam down the Delaware

bearing a plentiful and well-chosen relief cargo. This, like the *Missouri's*, consisted chiefly of flour, but it contained various other food supplies, and also some lumber. The vessel arrived at Libau March 24th. Directed by our Minister at St. Petersburg, the cargo went straight to the centre of the famine-stricken population. The good effect of these two cargoes was at once apparent. On their arrival in the region about Samara, the price of breadstuffs fell fifty per cent.

By the middle of April a third ship from America, the *Conemaugh*, was ready to sail from Philadelphia. The last week in April the *Tynehead* also sailed, laden with stores gotten together by the energy and perseverance of many women's committees. In this effort Iowa women led, their donations of money, corn, and flour representing two-thirds of the value of the cargo. The expense of this steamer's voyage was generously borne by City of Washington people. This expedition also represented the Red Cross Society. In the steamer went a party of women who supplemented America's other relief work by the aid which they rendered the Red Cross agents of Russia itself.

Apart from the immediate good it did, the Russian relief movement had the valuable result of cementing and increasing Russia's friendliness for the United States. America became a household word to Russians in the most remote interior. It was said that even among the poorest there, to whom our country could be only a name, many long "thanked God, the Emperor, and the Americans" for the help which came to them amid the famine of 1892.

Our account of the Democratic victory in 1892 must be reserved for the next Chapter. Harrison was then defeated and the Senate won for the Democracy. Reasoning from the fate of Federalism, a prominent Republican Senator interpreted his party's repeated overwhelming defeat as heralding its extinction. However natural, the fear was unfounded. The Fifty-second Congress proved unwieldy and discordant, soon being no less unpopular than the Fifty-first. If that was profligate, this was more so, its expenditures reaching

\$1,028,000,000. So the new generation of voters had in store for 1894 a third tidal wave, a veritable "*trikumia*," as Æschylus would have said, bearing the Republicans once more into power in Congress. Meantime, thoughts of politics were banished, as all eyes were turned toward Chicago, where the matured era since the war was about to be fittingly celebrated by a splendid efflorescence of its prosperity and progress.

CHAPTER XXI.

COLUMBUS'S DEED AFTER FOUR CENTURIES.

World's Expositions—Ideas of a World's Columbian Exposition—Assurance Thereof—Chicago made its Site—Rise and Growth of Chicago—Jackson Park—The Work of Preparing It—Building Begun—The Hive Stilled Oct. 21, 1892, Columbus Day—Both Harrison and Cleveland Absent—Vice-President Morton does the Honors—The Festivities—Columbus Anniversary in New York City—Presidential Election of 1892—Reasons for Harrison's Defeat—The Homestead Strike—Pinkerton Police Mobbed—Attempted Assassination of H. C. Frick—Arrests, Trials, and Comments—Senator Palmer's Views—Destructive Fire at Titusville and Oil Creek—Mining Riots in Tennessee—Issues Discussed in the Campaign—Populism Gains—Sweeping Nature of the Democratic Victory—President Cleveland Opens the World's Columbian Exposition—The Scene—Opening Exercises at the Woman's Building—Various State Days—Chicago Day—Size and Splendor of the Grounds and Buildings—John W. Root—Richard M. Hunt—General Arrangement of Grounds—State Buildings—The Wooded Island—Intramural Railway—The Architecture of the Exposition—Various Buildings and Works of Art—Fire in the Cold Storage Building—The Fisheries Building—Specially Interesting Exhibits—The Midway—The Ferris Wheel—Transportation to and from the Exposition—Attendance—Order—Assassination of Mayor Carter Harrison—The "White City" goes up in Flame.

THE historian of the half-century will turn with pleasure from the battles which he must describe to the victories of peace, whose records are traceable in a stately succession of World's Expositions, transient as breakers, yet each marking a higher tide of well-being than the one before it. The first of these to occur this side the Atlantic enlivened New York in 1853. The second was in Philadelphia in 1865. Memory of both these was wellnigh obliterated by the Centennial Exposition in 1876. In 1883, Boston held a modest International Exposition, contemporaneously with a similar display at Louisville. The New Orleans Cotton Exposition of

1881 may be mentioned in connection with its notable successor of 1884. The World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, in 1893, excelled all that had preceded it, whether here or abroad.

The idea of celebrating in this way Columbus's discovery of the New World long anticipated the anniversary year. New York was appealed to as a suitable seat for the enterprise, and entertained the suggestion by subscribing \$5,000,000, whereupon, in 1889, Chicago apprised the country of her wish to house the Fair. St. Louis and Washington appeared as competitors, but the other three cities unanimously set Washington aside. St. Louis showed little enthusiasm. Thirty-five citizens of Chicago, led by a specially active few of their number, organized Chicago's energies with such success that on appearing before Congress she had \$5,000,000 in hand, and could promise \$5,000,000 more. The commodiousness of the city, as well as its position near the centre of population and commerce, told in its favor. Father Knickerbocker was not a little chagrined when his alert and handsome cousin persuaded Congress to allot her the prize. The act organizing the Exposition was approved April 25, 1890. A National Commission was appointed, under the presidency of Hon. T. W. Palmer, of Michigan. An Executive Committee was raised, also a Board of Reference and Control, a Chicago Local Board, a Board of Lady Managers, and a number of standing committees to deal with various branches of the colossal undertaking.

In the seventeenth century the present site of Chicago was a swamp, which fur-traders and missionaries found fatally miasmatic. About 1800, a Government engineer, viewing that rank morass traversed by a sluggish stream, pronounced it the only spot on Lake Michigan where a city could *not* be built. In 1804, Fort Dearborn was erected here to counteract British influence. In 1812, the fort was demolished by Indians, but in 1816 rebuilt, and, though abandoned in 1837, it continued standing till 1871. Around the little fort, in 1840, were settled 4,500 people. The num-

ber was 30,000 in 1850; 109,000 in 1860; 300,000 in 1870. In 1880, the community embraced 503,185 souls; in 1890, it had 1,099,850. In 1855, the indomitable city illustrated her spirit by pulling herself bodily out of her natal swamp, lifting churches, blocks, and houses from eight to ten feet, without pause in general business.

A task similar to this was now again incumbent. The least unavailable site for the Exposition was Jackson Park, in the southeastern part of the city, where one saw at the water's edge dreary ridges of sand, in the background a swamp with flags, marsh-grass, and clumps of willow and wild-oak. Paris had taken nearly three years to prepare for the Exposition of 1889; twenty months were allowed Chicago. The site to be gotten in readiness was four times as large as that for the Paris Exposition. A dozen palaces and ten score other edifices were to be located, raised and adorned; the waters to be gathered in canals, basins, and lagoons, and spanned by bridges. Underground conduits had to be provided for electric wires. Endless grading, planting, turfing, paving, and road-making must be accomplished. Thousands of workmen of all nationalities and trades, also fire, police, ambulance, and hospital service—a superb industrial army—had to be mustered in and controlled. The growth of the colossal structures seemed magical. Sections of an immense arch would silently meet high in air “like shadows flitting across the sky.” Some giant pillar would hang as by a thread a hundred feet above ground till a couple of men appeared aloft and set it in place. Workmen in all sorts of impossible postures and positions were swarming, climbing, and gesticulating like Palmer Cox's Brownies.

On Wednesday, October 21, 1892, the hive was stilled, in honor of Columbus's immortal deed. Just four hundred years before, for the first time so far as we certainly know or ever shall know, European eyes saw American land. This climacteric event in human history was by Old Style dated October 12th. The addition of nine days to translate it into New Style made the date October 21st. On that day oc-

curred a reception in the Auditorium, 3,500 persons responding to the invitation. President Harrison was unable to attend because of what proved to be the last illness of his wife. Under the circumstances Mr. Cleveland won much praise by considerably declining the invitation sent him. The Presidential campaign of 1892 was already in progress, Harrison and Cleveland being matched for the second time. Mr. Cleveland wrote: "I should be very glad to be present on this interesting occasion and thus show my appreciation of its importance, if I could do so solely as an ex-President of the United States. I am sure, however, that this is impossible, and I am unwilling to take a trip which, from beginning to end, despite all efforts on my part, would be regarded as a political tour made by a candidate for the Presidency.

"My general aversion to such a trip is overwhelmingly increased in this particular instance, when I recall the afflictive dispensation which detains at the bedside of his sick wife another candidate for the Presidency."

The post of honor, Columbus Day, was occupied by Vice-President Morton. On Thursday he reviewed a civic parade three hours long, marshaled by General Miles. On Friday the special exercises in dedication of the buildings and grounds brought to Jackson Park over 250,000 people. High officials reviewed imposing military columns in Washington Park, and proceeded thence to the Manufactures Building on the Exposition grounds. Here a chorus sang the Columbus hymn, by John Knowles Payne, and Bishop Fowler offered prayer. The buildings were then formally handed over to the National Commission, and by it to the Nation, through Vice-President Morton. Medals were awarded to artists and architects. Several addresses were made. Beethoven's anthem, and the prayer of benediction by Rev. H. C. McCook, D.D., of Philadelphia, concluded the ceremonies. In the evening were fireworks, among them a hundred fire-balloons armed with rockets.

The Columbus anniversary was observed in many other

cities. New York celebrated October 12th. Fifty thousand troops passed the reviewing stand, millions lined the sidewalks. On April 27, 1893, occurred a notable naval parade, embracing thirty-five vessels and more than 10,000 men. The ships were splendid specimens of naval architecture. The Russian *Dimitri Donskoi* was the largest. Its company numbered 570. Next in size was the British *Blake*. The Argentine *Nueve de Julio* was the swiftest ship present. The *Kaiserin Augusta*, the prognathous *Jean Bart*, of France, and the ill-starred *Reina Regente* were of the fleet. The marines' land muster was even more brilliant than the parade of the 12th. Curious among its features was the "mascot" of the *Tartar's* crew, a goat decked in scarlet silk and gold lace, like an Egyptian or a Siamese deity.

Work was resumed at Chicago, October 22d, and pushed day and night, rain or shine, to make ready for the opening May 1, 1893. When that date arrived the Chief Magistracy of the nation had changed hands. The contest for the Presidency had been exceptionally good-humored, each candidate being treated by his political opponents with studied respect. "My desire," said Harrison, "is to have a Republican campaign, and not a personal one." In spite of the "snap" New York Convention, which sent Hill delegates to the National Democratic Convention, Cleveland had won the nomination on the first ballot by a trifle over the required two-thirds. For the nonce his enemies were thoroughly subdued. Harrison, too, had overcome Platt, Hill's Republican counterpart in New York. He had also divested himself of Quay in Pennsylvania, and of certain other influential party men much criticised for their political methods. Many such now turned against him, declaring him a craven, willing to benefit by services of any sort, but ready to repudiate his agents so soon as there was outcry against them. Mr. Harrison's personal manner was cold, repelling rather than attracting those with whom he came in contact. The same circumstances connected with the civil service which told against Cleveland in 1888 now told with equal force against

Harrison. Though sincerely favoring the Reform and doing much to extend the scope of the Reform Law, Harrison had gone quite as far as his predecessor in "turning the rascals out." Advertisement of the 1888 corruption and the subsequent adoption by many States of the "Australian" ballot law to prevent vote-buying and similar evils, rendered the election of 1892 much purer than the preceding one. Vice still lurked about the polls, but it was now more closely watched and more severely reprobated.

Harrison's chances had been lessened by the strike at Homestead, Pa., against the Carnegie Steel Company, which broke out in the summer of 1892, because of a reduction in wages. The Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers sought to intercede against the reduction, but were refused recognition by the company. H. C. Frick, President of the company, was burned in effigy. A shut-down was ordered. Preparing to start up again with non-union men, the company arranged to introduce a force of Pinkerton detectives to protect these new employees. The Pinkertons came in barges by the river, and when they approached the mills the strikers met them with a volley of bullets, beginning a regular battle which raged two days. The barges, armored inside, were impervious to bullets; therefore on the second day cannons were used, bombarding the boats for hours. Effort was also made to fire them by means of burning oil floated down against them. Seven detectives were killed and twenty or thirty wounded. On the workmen's side eleven were killed. The wretches in the boats again and again hoisted a flag of truce, but it was shot down each time. Later, however, officers of the Amalgamated Association interfered and a committee was sent on board to arrange terms of surrender. Having no alternative, the Pinkerton police agreed to give up their arms and ammunition and retire from the scene. Strikers were to guard them on their departure, and effort was made to do this; yet, as they marched through Homestead streets, the mob element, always on hand at such times, brutally attacked them with clubs, stones, and bullets. After cruel delay the Second

Brigade of the Pennsylvania National Guard, from Pittsburg, the Third Brigade from Lebanon, and the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry arrived on the 12th, and quickly restored order. Good-will it was harder to reinstate. Several workmen were arrested on charge of murder, which led to counter arrests and charges against Carnegie officers, the Pinkertons, and some of their subordinates. During most of the disturbances public sympathy was with the strikers, as the employment by great corporations of armed men, not officers of the law, to defend property, was very unpopular. Sentiment turned the other way when, in the latter part of July, Mr. Frick was brutally shot and stabbed in his own office by Alexander Bergmann, an Anarchist from New York. The man fired two shots, one of which passed through Mr. Frick's head, the other through his neck, then grappled with him, inflicting three stab wounds in the chest, the abdomen, and the leg. Mr. Frick displayed utmost courage. Though seeming to be fatally wounded, he succeeded in holding his foe until help arrived. After being kept in bed for thirteen days Mr. Frick resumed his active duties, and in a few weeks had wholly regained his strength and color. Disclaim and reprobate this deed as they might, the displaced laborers could not, in the public mind, disconnect it from their own doings. October 11th a Grand Jury returned against thirty-one strikers true bills for high treason; and against several Carnegie officials and their detectives for murder.

This strike drew public attention to the evils and dangers of the private militia system. On May 12th, before the strike, the House of Representatives had ordered its Judiciary Committee to investigate that system. On August 2d the Senate raised a select committee to do the same. Addressing the Senate on July 7th, Senator Palmer, of Illinois, roundly scored the Pinkerton "mercenaries," who had "shed the blood of citizens" in many States. He declared the attempts by the Carnegie Company "to maintain their rights by the aid of this organized force a contempt of the authority of the State of Pennsylvania." He avowed the

conviction that the strikers had a right to be in the mill yard and "a right to employment there." "I maintain," said he, "that these laborers, having been in that service, having spent their lives in this particular line of service, have a right to insist upon the permanency of their employment, and they have a right to insist, too, on a reasonable compensation."

The loss of life at Homestead seemed the more sad as following so soon the unique disaster which befell Titusville and Oil City on June 5th. Oil Creek, already high, was swollen by a cloudburst and had flooded the lower part of Titusville, when several oil-tanks, probably struck by lightning, gave way, the oil flowing out, ignited, over the water, forming an immense sheet of moving flame. Scores of buildings in Titusville were soon on fire, and about a third of the city was destroyed. The flaming flood swept down to Oil City, eighteen miles below, overwhelming or burning such persons and property as could not be gotten out of its track. Nearly two hundred perished, and between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.

As Democrats saw political capital in the Homestead disturbance, so Republicans pointed to labor troubles in a Democratic State. The bad system of farming out convicts to labor in competition with deserving citizens led, in Tennessee, during 1891 and 1892, to riots and loss of life. For three years previously the State's prisoners had been farmed to a large coal and iron company. This company worked most of them at Tracy City and Inman, subletting the rest, partly to colliers at Coal Creek and Oliver Springs, partly to contractors who used them in Nashville making bricks and harness and building sewers. The contractors fed and clothed the convicts and provided guard-houses for such as wrought at a distance from the main prison; but the State appointed the guards and pretended, through inspectors, to see that the prisoners were decently used. All went well till work grew slack. Then many free miners had to go on short time, though the convicts still wrought full time. August 13,

1892, miners attacked Tracy City and removed the convicts, of whom several escaped. This was repeated at Inman and Oliver Springs. The process was easy, since, popular sympathy favoring the miners so that a sheriff could not muster a posse, the authorities made little effort to defend the contract gangs. At Coal Creek, however, the rioters were resisted by the garrison, consisting of Colonel Anderson with a hundred and fifty men. Being beaten, the mob raised a flag of truce, answering which in person Colonel Anderson fell into their power, and was commanded, on threat of death, to order a surrender. He refused. Meantime the militia, which had been called out, arrived and briskly attacked the rioters, killing several, routing the residue, and rescuing Colonel Anderson. Five hundred miners were arrested and all disturbance soon ended.

The Force Bill was remembered in the Presidential campaign of 1892, in many parts of the land where, but for it, its authors might now have hoped for gains. They made no effort to raise the corpse to life, but left it "unwept, unhonored, and unsung" where it fell two years before. Veteran Democrats suspected a piece of shrewd shamming, and circled the remains, crying, "No Force Bill! No Negro Domination!" till sure that it was a case of death. While not attacking the Dependent Pensions Act, for which they were too shrewd, the Democrats may have gained somewhat by their loud demands for honesty in administering this. The other expenditures of the Fifty-first Congress they placed under searching review, with scant results as to details, though the aggregate sum impressed the public unfavorably.

The Republicans' centre in the battle was McKinley Protection, but many of their best fighting men thought that McKinley had led them too far to the front and wished to fall back upon "reciprocity" as a stronger position. Thus there was wavering in the ranks. The tin schedule of the new tariff was lauded as sure to transfer the tin industry from Wales to this country. "Free sugar" was also made prominent. Upon the tariff question the Democrats wavered

too. Their Convention had displaced a resolution squinting toward protection, and put in the platform a plain tariff-for-revenue plank. Most of their Western speakers took the stump, crying: "Republican protection is a fraud!" and denouncing the McKinley Act as the "culminating atrocity of class legislation." Republicans charged that the Democracy stood committed to "British Free Trade." There was some justice in the statement, yet Cleveland's letter of acceptance was not in this tone. "We wage," said he, "no exterminating warfare against American industries." And in all the Eastern centres Democratic orators and papers declined to attack the principle of protection, only urging that manufacturing interests would be advanced by "freer raw materials."

The Populists, heirs of the Grangers and Farmers' Alliance, scored a triumph now. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, and Wyoming the Democrats voted for Weaver, the Populist candidate. In North Dakota, Nevada, Minnesota, and Oregon also there was a partial Democratic-Populist fusion. In those States, subtracting Oregon and Minnesota, Weaver obtained a majority. In Louisiana and Alabama, on the contrary, it was Republicans who fused with Populists. The Tillman movement in South Carolina, nominally Democratic, was akin to Populism, but was complicated with the color question and later with novel liquor legislation. In its essence it was a revolt of the ordinary white population from the traditional dominance of the aristocracy. In Alabama a similar movement, led by Reuben F. Kolb, was defeated, fraudulently, as he thought, by vicious manipulation of votes in the Black Belt. Spite of these diversions the election was a second tidal wave in favor of the Democracy. Of the total 444 votes in the electoral college Cleveland received 277, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22—giving Cleveland a plurality of 132. Cleveland received 5,556,000 votes, Harrison 5,175,000, and Weaver something over a million. The Senate held forty-four Democrats, thirty-seven Republicans, and four Populists; the House two hundred and sixteen Dem-

ocrats, one hundred and twenty-five Republicans, and eleven Populists.

Mr. Cleveland's first prominent appearance before the public after his inauguration was upon the Opening Day of the Columbian Exposition, May 1, 1893. It was a legal holiday. In spite of the mist, rain, and mud of its early hours, patient multitudes waited outside for the gates of Jackson Park to open. The inevitable procession, dramatically welcomed by the uncouth aliens of the Midway Plaisance, stopped at the temporary platform in front of the Administration Building, where, among many others, sat President Cleveland, side by side with Columbus's descendant, the Duke of Veragua. Inspiring music and poetry led up to the climax of the occasion. After recounting the steps by which the Exposition had originated, the Director-General said: "It only remains for you, Mr. President, if, in your opinion the Exposition here presented is commensurate in dignity with what the world should expect of our great country, to direct that it shall be opened to the public; and when you touch this magic key the ponderous machinery will start in its revolutions and the activity of the Exposition will begin."

"I am here," responded Mr. Cleveland, "to join my fellow-citizens in the congratulations which befit the occasion. Surrounded by the stupendous results of American enterprise and activity, and in view of the magnificent evidences of American skill and intelligence, we need not fear that these congratulations will be exaggerated. We stand to-day in the presence of the oldest nations of the world, and point to the great achievements we here exhibit, asking no allowance on the score of youth. It is an exalted mission in which we and our guests from other lands are engaged as we co-operate in the inauguration of an enterprise devoted to human enlightenment; and in the undertaking we here enter upon we exemplify in the noblest sense the brotherhood of nations. Let us hold fast to the meaning that underlies this ceremony, and let us not lose the impressiveness of this

moment. As by a touch the machinery that gives life to this vast Exposition is now set in motion, so at the same instant let our hopes and aspirations awaken forces which in all times to come shall influence the welfare, the dignity, and the freedom of mankind."

"As the President touched the button there arose from all sides a wild outburst of sound, the people and orchestra uniting in the triumphant strains of Handel's 'Hallelujah Chorus,' while the wheels of the great Allis engine in the Machinery Hall began to revolve and the electric fountains in the lagoons to play. Torrents of water gushed from the great MacMonnies fountain, the artillery thundered salutes, and the chimes of the Factories Hall and German Building rang merry peals, while conspicuous in the Court of Honor the golden beauty of the 'Republic' stood discovered. At the same moment the flags in front of the platform parted, revealing the gilded models of the Columbian caravels. The flags of all nations were simultaneously unfurled on all the buildings of the Exhibition. The roof of the Factories Building became gorgeous with red gonfalons, while the Agricultural Building was dressed in ensigns of orange and white. It was a magnificent transformation scene. Amid all, the cannon continued to boom and the people to cheer, while the band played the national anthem."

At the Woman's Building the opening exercises included addresses by Mrs. Potter Palmer, the Duchess of Veragua for Spain, the Countess di Brazza for Italy, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick for England, the Duchess of Aberdeen for Scotland-Ireland, and the Princess Schechoffsky for Russia. Mrs. Potter Palmer drove home the nail which completed the Woman's Building. It was of gold, silver, and copper, with a Montana sapphire set in the shield attached to the nail near the head.

Many of the festal days which followed were chosen by States and Nations for their own in particular. Every State had its day, which it brightened with music and pageantry, not omitting the eloquence and hospitality suited to such oc

casions. On her day California dispensed freely to all comers of her abundant fruit. New York did not sulk over her loss of the opportunity to entertain the Fair, but vigorously and with splendid success celebrated the day set apart for her. "The great day of the feast" was "Chicago Day," October 9th, the twenty-second anniversary of the awful fire. All the night before houseless thousands had sheltered themselves in doorways and under the elevated railroad, while 15,000 awaited at the gates the opening of the grounds. During the day 716,881 persons paid their way into the grounds, the largest number for any one day, exceeding the maximum at Philadelphia—217,526, and that at Paris in 1889—397,150. Original and interesting exercises marked the hours. Two aged Pottawattamie chiefs, pathetic types of the vanished red man, who stood side by side near the Columbian Bell, received much homage. One was in white man's attire, the other in feathered head-dress and breeching and moccasins of beaded buckskin, all supplemented by a liberal paint coat of many colors. The white man's proselyte was Simon Po-ka-gon, whose father, Leopold, once owned the site of Chicago; the unconventionalized warrior was Chief John Young, son of a chief of the same name. Leopold gave the inland metropolis a local habitation, John Young, Sr., gave her a name, "Chicago"—meaning "thunder," according to some; "onion," in the belief of others, and "skunk's home," as maintained by a third school of interpreters. Fireworks, the finest ever seen, lighted up the evening. Some of the designs were, "Old Fort Dearborn," "Chicago Welcoming the World," "Old Glory," and "Niagara Falls." Four scenes, each covering 14,000 square feet, illustrated the burning of the city in 1871. Conspicuous among the representations was Mrs. O'Leary's incendiary cow, said to have started the fire by kicking over a lamp.

In magnitude and splendor the grounds and buildings constituting the White City far surpassed any ever before laid out for Exposition purposes. The original sketch of the grounds was drawn with pencil on brown paper by the late

Mr. John W. Root. It projected an effective contrast of land and water as well as of art and nature, which subsequent elaboration, mainly under the invaluable advice and guidance of the late Richard M. Hunt, nobly filled out. The North Pond communicated with the lake by the North Inlet and with the Grand Basin by the North Canal, opposite which was the South Canal. South of the Basin was South Inlet, leading from Lake Michigan into South Pond. In one corner was the isolated Northwest Pond. Approaching the park by water one landed at a long pier, on which was the moving sidewalk—the Power House, where alone steam-power was allowed, standing to the south. At another pier was moored the *fac-simile* battleship *Illinois*. Almost at the lips of her cannon the nations of the world had tabernacled, England nearest. Beyond these, at the north, was the neighborhood of States, each represented by a house. Some of the houses were castles, some were cottages. Some provided only comforts, others held displays. Not one but offered points of great interest. Iowa, Washington, California, and Illinois advertised their prospects; Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts their history. Mutual visits among these families and mutual admiration were the order of each day.

Upon the Wooded Island, under the protectorate of Horticultural Hall, consummate art had made a refuge for wild nature. Stunted trees were masked by shrubbery and the water planted with aquatic vegetation. Nearly every variety of American tree and shrub was represented upon these acres. Here as well as elsewhere landscape gardeners had created effective backgrounds of willows and of flowers, and stretches of lawn set off by statuary and fountains. Distances were too great to be traversed always on foot, but other modes of locomotion were ample. A good if somewhat noisy servant was the Intramural Railway, which conducted one by the rear of the grounds, the back way, as it were, from one end of the inclosure to the other. But the beauty of the place more impressed you if you boarded a gondola or an electric launch,

sweeping under arches, around islands, and past balustrades, terraces, and flowered lawns. Easy transit through the larger buildings, or from one to another, was furnished by wheeled chairs.

Notwithstanding the charge of materialism so often brought against America, and against Chicago in particular, foreigners visiting the Fair found that we had not provided mere utilitarian housings for the exhibits. We came near falling into another fault, that of vain lavishness. Financial backers of the undertaking did not withhold or stint their contributions, while they calculated dividends likely to accrue. Others, executing the work, were equally public-spirited. The architects especially wrought together with mutual interest and affection, free from selfish rivalry. They sacrificed pecuniary considerations to love of art, working with a zeal which money alone could never have called forth. Great as was the expenditure, it would have been inadequate to the results had it not been possible to employ a material at once cheap, sufficiently durable, and very ductile in architects' hands. This was a mixture of plaster of Paris with certain fibres, commonly known as "staff." "It permitted the architects to indulge in an architectural spree." It made possible "a group of buildings which might have been a vision of an ancient monarch, but which no autocrat and no government could have carried out in permanent form." It allowed modern masters to reproduce "the best details of ancient architecture—to erect temples, colonnades, towers, and domes of surpassing beauty and noble proportions—making an object lesson of practical educational value equal to its impressive character."

Near the centre of the grounds was the Government Building, with a ready-made, conventional look, out of keeping with the other architecture. Critics declared it the only discordant note in the symphony, but the Illinois Building, conspicuously situated, topped by a dome looking like a cartridge upright upon a box, was not exactly pleasing, at least in comparison with edifices near by. Looking away from it

across the North Pond, one saw the Art Palace, of pure Ionic style, perfectly proportioned, restful to view, contesting with the Administration Building the architectural laurels of the Fair. To the south of the Illinois Building rose the Woman's Building, and next Horticultural Hall, with dome high enough to shelter the tallest palms. So overrun was this department with applications that only the choicest exhibits could be accepted. Among these Australia, land of anomalies, planted her giant tree-fern and giant stag-horn fern. Here experimenting was carried on in a cave illuminated only by electricity, for the purpose of determining whether plants can be made to thrive under such light alone. In connection with Horticultural Hall may be mentioned the rustic Forestry Building. Supreme architectural victory was realized in the fact that even the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, almost awful in its proportions, did not tyrannize over its neighbors. This structure was thrice the size of St. Peter's at Rome, and would easily have roofed the Vendome Column. It was severely classical, with a long perspective of arches, broken only at the corners and in the centre by portals fit to immortalize Alexander's triumphs.

The name of the "Court of Honor" awoke in one a throb of anticipation before seeing its chaste beauty, which must to his dying day haunt the memory of every visitor who beheld it. Its majestic unity was mainly due to the genius of R. M. Hunt, already mentioned for his masterly agency in rendering the Fair so picturesque and so perfect as an architectural *ensemble*. Down the Grand Basin you looked upon the golden statue of the Republic, with its noble proportions, beyond it the peristyle, a forest of columns surmounted by the Columbian quadriga. On the right hand stood the Agricultural Building, upon whose summit the "Diana" of Augustus St. Gaudens had alighted. To the left stood the enormous Hall of Manufactures just mentioned. Looking from the peristyle the eye met the Administration Building, admired by critics and laymen alike. Its architect was Mr. Hunt. He was a devotee of the French school, and here pre-

sented to the American people its best exemplification. The dome resembled that of the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. In this Court originality was happily sacrificed to harmony. It was well that specimens of the best architecture should be set before the public, rather than novel departures from standard types; for the Fair not only showed the vast growth of art in America since 1876, but served as an educator in the canons of taste. The American art displayed at the Fair disappointed Europe by imitating hers so well. Yet it was clear that we were not mere imitators.

One of the most unique conceptions presented at the Fair was that of the Cold Storage Building, just south of the Sixty-fourth Street entrance, where a hundred tons of ice to supply the Exposition were daily made. Its architecture was handsome and suitable; the walls unbroken save on the ground floor, where the large, tunnel-like entrance was flanked by a row of neat windows, and on the fifth floor, which was designed for an ice skating rink. Four corner towers relieved the steeple effect of a fifth one in the centre, which resembled the tower on Madison Square Garden in New York City. This central pinnacle rose sheer to the dizzy height of 225 feet. Through it went the smokestack. The cheering coolness of this building was destined not to last. Early in the afternoon of July 10th its occupants were startled by the cry of "Fire!" Flames had been discovered at the top of the central tower, which had caught from the smokestack, owing, apparently, to neglect of the architect's precautions and of the fire marshal's repeated warnings. Delaying his departure till he had provided against explosion, the brave engineer barely saved his life. Before his escape, the firemen were on hand, and a band of sixteen at once climbed to the balcony near the blazing summit. At this juncture, suddenly, to the horror of all, fire burst from the lower part of the tower. The rope and hose were burned in two, precipitating a number in their attempt to slide back to the roof. Others leaped recklessly from the colossal torch. In less than two minutes, it seemed, the whole pyre was

swathed in flames, and, as it toppled, the last wretched form was seen to poise and plunge with it into the now blazing abyss.

Another unique fabric stood by the waters of the North Pond: It was the Fisheries Building, having a curved arcade at each end, leading to a circular aquarium. Visitors were agreeably startled at seeing the pillars twined with aquatic creatures—frogs, tortoises, eels, and star-fish. The capitals, similarly, were architectural puns—here a fantastic mass of marine life, there a lobster-pot. Even the balustrades were supported by small fishy caryatids. The Electricity and Transportation Buildings were equally original, each in its way, the former with sky-line broken as if traced by lightning, the latter with its forcefulness of contour and rich archaic decoration. The Mining Building, hard by the Electricity Building, suggested monumental strength, as the Transportation Building intimated ruthless force. Machinery Hall, with its shapely dome, colonnade, and arcades, was much admired.

Amid a muster of earth's choicest rarities, a multitude of wonders stupefying in its vastness, to specify individual marvels as pre-eminent seemed wild. One feature would specially impress you, another your friend. Our Government's display deserved and received incessant attention. The State Department gave to the light for the moment some rich treasures from its archives. The War Office exhibit showed our superiority in heavy ordnance and ammunition, and at the same time our failure to rival Europe in small-arms. Among the cannon was the famous Long Tom, formerly aboard the privateer *General Armstrong*, which kept at bay a British squadron till sunk to avoid capture by a line-of-battle ship. A thrilling Arctic tableau represented Major Greely greeting the brave Lieutenant Lockwood on his return from "farthest North." A first-class post-office was operated on the grounds. A combination postal-car, sixty feet in length, manned by the most expert sorters and operators, interested vast crowds. Close by was an ancient mail-coach,

once actually captured by Indians, with effigies of the pony express, formerly so familiar on the Western plains, of a mail-sledge drawn by dogs, and of a mail carrier mounted on a bicycle. Models of a quaint little Mississippi mail steamer and of the modern steamer *Paris* stood side by side. Weapons, stuffed birds, and bottled reptiles from the dead-letter office were displayed.

A rich assemblage of jewelry and gems adorned a section of the Fair, one cabinet being rightly styled "the million-dollar-case." Self-winding and self-regulating clocks were a feature. So were the transportation exhibits. Locomotives of all styles and ages were presented, from Sir Isaac Newton's, of 1680, based on an invention of 130 B.C., to the famous "999." Some fully equipped railroad trains were shown. One had bath-room, barber-shop, writing-desk, and library — accommodations for railway travel then novel, though now familiar. The apartment sleeping-car and the observation-car were then quite new. Another train was vested the entire width of the cars, and from the tender to the rear lights. Many such are now seen, improved, since, by "burglar-proof" doors to the cars. The locomotive "Queen Empress," of the London & Northwestern line, was exhibited, heading a train of English railway carriages beautifully complete to the uttermost detail. The caravels *Santa Maria*, *Niña*, and *Pinta* were reproduced at the Spanish port where the original craft had been built, and sent by water thence, manned by Spaniards, to the American shore, and, without portage, to the White City's waterfront.

From the serious side of the Fair one turned for relaxation to the Midway Plaisance. The Midway was the delightful Limbo of the Exposition. Here were realistic bits of Dahomey, Samoa, the far Orient, the Levant, the frozen North, Europe, Ireland. The "natives" felt perfectly at home, even to marrying and giving in marriage, one infatuated Kabyle going so far as to attempt to steal a bride, according to tribal custom. His romance terminated in a police station. The Plaisance was a library of human documents.

Not the least interesting was "far-away Moses," immortalized by Mark Twain. In spite of frowning battlements and formidable watchmen with lanterns and battle-axes, hordes besieged and overran old Vienna. On this populous avenue were the Libby glass works, artifices of the Infanta's glass dress, the ice-railway, the Hagenbeck animal show of equestrian lions and rope-walking bears, the ostrich farm, theatres, and bazaars galore. There abode all "fakirs," making short work of your small change, while they delighted you with the ingenuity and despatch of the operation. Immensely popular was Cairo Street, traveled by 2,250,000 visitors. Hagenbeck entertained more than 2,000,000. Between 650,000 and 800,000 entered the villages of Java, Germany, and Vienna. Lady Aberdeen's Irish village admitted more than 550,000.

Those of weak nerves shunned the chief feature of the Midway, the Ferris Wheel, the most novel mechanism in existence. It is said that at a banquet, more than a year before the opening day, the director, while praising the architects, complained that the engineers of this country had suggested for the Fair nothing original like the Eiffel Tower at Paris. Mr. George W. G. Ferris, of Pittsburg, took this as a reflection on his calling, and excogitated his remarkable invention, literally in an hour, over a mutton-chop. In principle it resembled the Eiffel Tower. The tower was, in effect, a cantilever bridge set on end; the wheel was such a bridge bent around a pair of Brobdingnagian bicycle wheels. These were geared on an axle weighing more than the average locomotive, which in turn was supported by two skeleton pyramids. The spokes were of wire, two and a half inches thick. Unprepared for a project so startlingly original, the authorities withheld, till within six months of the opening, a concession for placing it, allowing Mr. Ferris for the construction and erection of his monster less than a sixth of the time consumed in building the Eiffel Tower. Yet the wheel was completed in the time required, and is said to have varied from a true circle less than the most delicate pivot wheel of a watch.

Pilgrims to the Chicago spectacle, of course, required extensive preparations for their convenience and safety both *en route* and after arrival. The Exposition managers early appointed a Committee on Transportation. This chanced to consist largely of railroad men whose lines converged in Chicago. As committeemen, these gentlemen were not supposed to know the temper of the roads. They therefore wrote asking reduced rates. On receiving, next morning, their own requests, they were better informed, and wrote themselves answers unanimously refusing to reduce. This was the worse policy, in that, later, the roads did lower rates, thus aggravating the inevitable congestion of traffic toward the end of the season and increasing the number of railroad accidents. Yet the railway achievements evoked by the Fair were admirable. A New York Central & Lake Shore train daily covered, in twenty hours, the almost 1,000 miles from New York to Chicago, a rate of 48.4 miles an hour, including stops. Permanent improvements were made in some roads, such as long watering-troughs, from which the locomotives scooped their water, like Gideon's warriors, as they bounded along. For excursions to the Exposition, Pittsburg seemed to be the banner city. Thence, on October 21st, a single excursion train, in eight sections, bore to Chicago 3,575 passengers. The Fair increased the passenger traffic of the Illinois Central over two hundred per cent. That road spent over \$2,000,000 in preparation, raising its tracks for $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles over 13 city streets, building 300 special cars, and erecting many new stations.

The number of paid admissions to the Columbian Fair was 21,477,218, a daily average of 119,984 $\frac{1}{2}$. The gross attendance was 27,529,400, exceeding by nearly a million the number at the Paris Exposition for the six months ending with October, though rather over half a million less than the total attendance at Paris, where the gates were open a considerably longer time than at Chicago. The monthly average of visitors increased steadily from about 1,000,000 in May to nearly 7,000,000 in October. It was estimated that

in all 12,000,000 different individuals saw the Fair. Notwithstanding the presence of such multitudes, the grounds were always clean and there was no ruffianism—two creditable features on which English visitors remarked. The most interesting sight was the sightseers. It was a typical American crowd, orderly, good-natured, intelligent. At points where more than could do so wished to see the same sight at the same time, no greedy elbowing occurred. A careful and constant visitor failed "to observe on the grounds by day or night a single drunken or disorderly person, or any emergency at any time when a guard or policeman was required." The police, and particularly the secret service, were efficient. Of \$32,988 worth of property reported stolen, \$31,875 was recovered and restored.

Two days before the Exposition closed an assassin's bullet felled at his own threshold Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago. This accomplished gentleman had been prominent in originating and installing the Fair, and its closing ceremonies in Festival Hall were deeply shadowed by his death. Only prayer, resolutions of condolence, and a benediction preceded the sharp click of President Higginbotham's gavel. As the assembly dispersed, the organ pealed out Chopin's and Beethoven's funeral marches. At sunset the shore battery fired a last salute, the half-masted flags of all nations dropped simultaneously, and the mighty parade was over.

The only structure intended to be permanent was the Art Building. The others were superfluous so soon as the occasion which called them into existence had passed. The question of their disposition was summarily solved. One day some boys playing near the Terminal Station saw a sinister leer of flame inside. They tried to stamp it out, but a high wind was blowing, and soon Chicago's old discomfited foe rose with a roar to wreak vengeance upon the deserted and helpless White City, Chicago's child. The flames quickly enveloped the beautiful Administration Building, and in a few minutes the Mining and Electricity Buildings as well. Meanwhile, from the Terminal Station the fierce contagion had

spread to the Machinery and Agricultural Buildings. Next moment it fastened upon the Transportation Building and the lordly Hall of Manufactures. Witnesses will never forget the burning of this mammoth. Hardly had it caught fire when the roof collapsed, while from hundreds of windows shot out derisive tongues of flame. The lagoons and the lake were lurid with a glare visible long leagues away. The walls tottered, the vistas fell in with a deafening roar, and at last the fire demon subsided among the ruins, leaving ashes, heaps of *débris*, tortured iron work, and here and there an arch to tell of his orgy.

CHAPTER XXII.

WORLD'S EXPOSITION HINTS UPON THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Data from the Eleventh Census—Progress in Bridge Construction—The Brooklyn Bridge—The Cantilever Model—Elevated Railways—Steel Structure in Buildings—Advance in Telegraphy—The Earth Twice Circled in Fifty Minutes—Time and the Telegraph—The Weather Bureau—The Telephone—Electric Lighting—Transmission of Electrical Power—Electric Railways—Edison—His Career—His Inventions—The Phonograph at a Funeral—Tesla—Compared with Edison—Tesla's Aim—Astounding Performances with Electricity—Niagara's Power Turned into Electricity—Electric Transmission at Laufen—At Folsom, Cal.—The Original Bicycle—The "Safety"—The Bicycle "Craze"—New Methods for the Culture and the Capture of Fish—The Rose Trap—The Fyke Net—The Purse Seine—Steam in Menhaden Fishing—The World's Congress Auxiliary—Parliament of Religions—The Woman's Building at the Exposition—Woman's Influence in American Life—The Woman's Christian Temperance Union—The Crusade of 1873-74—Victory at Washington Court House—Ludicrous Side of the Crusade—Its Spread—The Temperance Union Grows out of the Crusade—Woman in the Salvation Army—Rise of the Army—It Invades America—Good Work—The Army's Discipline—Women made "Captains," etc., the Same as Men.

WHEN the World's Fair was conceived, when it was born, and during the brief, bright period of its existence, the returns of the Eleventh Census were undergoing compilation. That the Exposition and the census returns awakened public attention together was fortunate, as each made more impressive the other's testimony to our unparalleled national growth. The Census of 1790 had been a mere count of the people, quickly and easily despatched. Five years after the enumeration for the Eleventh Census, the returns, destined to fill twenty-five volumes and to cost \$11,000,000, were not fully compiled. In 1790, the population of the United States numbered 3,929,214. In 1890, there were 62,622,250, nearly sixteen times the earlier sum. The relatively,

small percentage of increase to 1890 from 1880, when the count footed up but 50,155,783, disappointed even conservative estimates. It was exceeded by that of every decade down to 1860, and rose above that of the war decade by little over two per cent.

Increase in the proportion of city population, observable in 1880, was more so now. Only in the West had rural development stood comparison with urban. In 1880, our cities contained $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population; in 1890, 29 per cent. New York still held her primacy, containing 1,515,301 souls. Chicago had grown to be the second city of the Union, with a population of 1,099,850. Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and St. Louis followed, in this order. St. Paul, Omaha, and Denver had tripled or quadrupled their size since 1880. Kansas and Nebraska no longer possessed any unoccupied land that was cultivable. Among Western States Nevada alone languished. The State of Washington had nearly quintupled her citizens. Though only a few counties in the whole country absolutely lost in population, many parts of the East and South had grown little. The 1890 census revealed the centre of population twenty miles east of Columbus, Ind., it having, since 1880, moved nearly fifty miles west and nine miles north. In 1890, the country had 163,000 miles of railroad, nearly double that in existence ten years before. Our national wealth, in 1890, was valued at \$65,037,091,197, an increase for the decade of \$21,395,091,197. The per capita wealth had multiplied from \$870 to \$1,039, an increase of 49.02 per cent. The output of minerals, measured in dollars, had gone up more than half. Farming alone seemed to have lagged. The improved acreage of the country had increased less than a third, the number of farms a little over an eighth. The proportion of school enrolment to total population had advanced from twelve per cent in 1840 to twenty-three per cent in 1890. The religious bodies of the United States embraced 20,612,806 communicants, not far from a third of the population. About one-tenth of the population were Catholics.

In respect to the nation's scientific progress, what the Fair hinted at was immensely more than what it immediately revealed. The Eiffel Tower might be styled the badge of the Paris Exposition; the Ferris Wheel bore the same relation to ours. Tower and Wheel alike uniquely exemplified the fact that in thirty years bridge construction had become almost an exact science. Many remembered the days of wooden bridges and massive wooden trestles, to compose one of which a forest had to be felled. Improvement in iron and steel manufacture changed this. The suspension bridge marked the new era, its most noted exemplar being the East River Bridge between New York and Brooklyn. John A. Roebling designed this, but died before work upon it was fairly commenced. It was continued by his son, Washington A. Roebling, even after he was stricken with paralysis, his wife becoming his lieutenant. The towers rose, then strand by strand the sixteen-inch cables were woven. The length of the bridge was nearly six thousand feet, and each foot weighed more than a ton. The rise and fall winter and summer was three feet. A still larger suspension bridge was proposed in 1896 to cross the North River.

The suspension bridge did not meet the demand of our railroad builders for speed in construction. Accordingly, the autumn of 1883, the year when the Brooklyn Bridge was completed, witnessed the advent of a pioneer of another type, the cantilever bridge, consisting of truss-work beams poised upon stone piers and meeting each other, a design of wonderful capabilities. The Niagara Suspension Bridge, built by Roebling in the fifties, was, in 1896, about to be replaced by a cantilever structure, to occupy precisely the place of the original bridge. The change was to be consummated without an hour's interruption of traffic.

Extension in the use of iron and steel also made elevated railways possible. A project in this direction dated from 1868. Exactly ten years later two sections of railway were open in New York. The first elevated road in Brooklyn began operation in 1885. These speedways at once became

popular. In 1890, no fewer than 291 engines and 921 cars were in use by the New York lines, carrying over five hundred thousand passengers daily, or about one hundred and three millions for the year. Chicago followed with the "Alley L" line, so-called from the lanes to which it was relegated. Boston preferred provision for rapid transit by means of an underground railway system like London's. Spite of the freest possible lateral vent, population and business in our largest cities exerted greater and greater vertical pressure. High buildings resulted, in which, again, steel played a vital part, affording lightness, strength, and fireproof quality and permitting rapidity of construction. The walls simply served as a covering and were not made to sustain the floors, the weight being all carried by iron posts and girders.

In 1876, the telegraph constituted almost the sole practical application of electricity. Twenty years later even that invention owed its chief efficiency to improvements made meantime, while the new uses of electricity were almost infinitely numerous. Edison prophesied that some day mankind's sole work would consist in "pushing the button." When Morse's bill for a telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore first reached Congress, he was ridiculed much as rain-makers have since been. One legislator moved to amend by providing for a line to the moon, the House entertaining the amendment because it entertained the House. Morse, however, got his appropriation. The first day of its public operation, that telegraph, it is said, yielded the Government one cent; in 1890, a single telegraph company had a yearly revenue of nearly \$20,000,000. Stearns and Edison compelled the single wire to carry several messages at once, and that in different directions.

During the great electrical exposition in New York City in May, 1896, a message was transmitted round the world and back in fifty minutes. It was dictated by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, and read: "God creates, nature treasures, science utilizes electrical power for the grandeur of nations and the peace of the world."

Starting at 8.35, these words sped over the land lines to San Francisco, thence back to Canso, Nova Scotia, where they plunged under the sea to London. A click of the key four minutes later announced the completion of this part of the journey. Cannon were fired in honor of the achievement, while the dense throng on the floor of the exhibition building cheered. Meantime, the General Manager of the Western Union Company had despatched the same message over his lines to Los Angeles, Galveston, City of Mexico, Valparaiso, Buenos Ayres, Pernambuco, across the Atlantic to Lisbon, and back to New York by way of London, a journey of ten thousand miles in eleven and a half minutes. At 9.25, just fifty minutes from the start, the receiving instrument clicked, and Mr. Edison, for the nonce again a simple telegraph operator as of yore, copied from it the Depew message. It had traveled from London to Lisbon, thence to Suez, Aden, Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Nagasaki, and Tokio, returning by the same route to New York, having traversed a distance of over 27,500 miles, and reading not a comma the worse for the vast and speedy trip. While the messages were on their way a glass arrow over each of the instruments flashed notice of their direction and of their arrival at important points. When their return was announced cannon boomed again and thousands of voices rent the air with applause.

At noon each day the Western Union lines were left open for the transmission over the country of the correct time from the national observatory. From about 1884 an arrangement prevailed, started by the railway authorities, dividing the country into time-strips running north and south, the clocks over any given strip being just an hour behind those upon the strip next to the east. The territory east of the meridian passing Buffalo and Pittsburg had Eastern Time. The Central Time belt came next, reaching to the meridian of North Platte, Nebraska. Thence to the line of Ogden, Utah, was Mountain Time; and from there westward, Pacific Time. This arrangement was a convenience to the

people as a whole, but begot rank confusion of time along the line of each divisional meridian. Another invaluable use of the telegraph was its service to the Weather Bureau, established in 1870. European bureaus had covered each too small a territory to effect large results. Our Bureau was able to command simultaneous reports of atmospheric conditions from nearly every part of our country, from a tract 3,000 miles long by 1,500 wide. Besides its prized advice to farmers and to land travelers, the American Weather Bureau, aided by the telegraph, on more than one occasion, saved, by its predictions, millions of dollars' worth of shipping. After its establishment, no ship-captain would leave port without fullest consultation of official weather probabilities.

The telephone, the electric light, and the electric motor were the three great *fin de siècle* inventions. In 1876, Mr. Bell exhibited to the curious an electric transmitter of the human voice, a contrivance on which, after years of experiment, he had stumbled almost simultaneously with other men. Testing the possibility of sending mere sound-waves over a wire, he accidentally found that articulate speech could be so carried. The same year Edison added a carbon transmitter, whereupon the novelty went forth conquering and to conquer. In 1893, the Bell Telephone Company owned 307,748 miles of wire, an amount increased by rival companies' property to 444,750. There were that year nearly 14,000 "exchanges," 10,000 employees, 250,000 subscribers, and 2,000,000 daily conversations. This device promised to rival the telegraph, being able to transmit the human voice 1,400 miles. New York and Chicago were placed on speaking terms only three or four days before "Columbus Day." Telephone service connected New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and other cities each to each, and was soon found indispensable.

Arc-lamps shown at the Philadelphia Exposition drew sightseers as candles attract moths. They had originated, shortly before, when Charles F. Brush, of Cleveland, O., per-

fect his dynamo. Men of science still viewed incandescent lighting as an elusive will-o'-the-wisp; but, in 1878, Edison, after stupendous labor, mastered the secret and rendered it practically available. At the White City the arc light literally turned night into day. Palaces were radiant with countless incandescent bulbs, while many-colored electric fountains coruscated outside.

In the Centennial year, the thought of transmitting power by electricity was considered chimerical. In the Columbian year it was no longer even a novelty, and electricity was far and wide beginning to supplant forms of power familiar before. Street-car traction soon passed to its control, the few horses still for a time in this service coming to be looked upon as curious survivals. Whereas, in 1889, out of 3,150 miles of street railway in fifty-eight of the leading American cities, only 260 were operated by electricity, the proportion in the intervening six years was almost reversed, and the electric car had become an established feature of our civilization. Where a city business man or laborer living in the suburbs formerly required an hour to reach home, the trolley-car now transported him in twenty minutes. A vast addition was thus made to the leisure at men's disposal for uses which enrich life. Rapid transit blessedly relieved the crowded sections of cities, placing the country with its invigorating air within reach of the poor. Electricity was used to move trains upon great railways, and bade fair to supplant steam there. The use of it by a few roads proved its perfect availability, and its full employment seemed to be postponed solely by disinclination to invest in a given mode for its application when a cheaper and better one might be invented any day. Horseless carriages and pedalless bicycles were clearly in prospect.

Among those deserving the world's gratitude for harnessing electricity to humanity's uses, Thomas Alva Edison, "the Wizard of Menlo Park," was famous—less for strict originality than for dogged patience and subtle insight enabling him to fructify others' devices. Thrown upon the world at fif-

teen, with little book learning, but with a wonderful craving for knowledge, he placed himself among the world's most famous men. While a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway he found time to read Newton's "Principia," to edit and print a small weekly paper, and to conduct experiments. He became a telegraph operator. One of his inventions was an automatic device for answering the central office when it called, proving himself awake, though in fact he was quietly dozing. He also contrived an automatic repeater to transfer messages from one wire to another. Interesting some capitalists in a machine by which votes in legislative bodies could be automatically recorded, he learned that expedition in legislation was what legislators, at least if in the minority, did not desire. His first profitable invention was an improved stock printer, for which he received \$40,000. From this time he wrought miracles on notification—useful ones, that have modified men's life in important regards. Incandescent lighting early became familiar to all; the phonograph also to most. This instrument was employed by a coroner to pronounce a funeral service. He had procured a phonograph for the purpose, and gotten a clergyman to utter to it the proper scriptures, hymns, and prayers. When occasion arose for its use, the friends gathered at the obsequies were astonished to hear the words "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord" sonorously rolled forth. Combined with the kinoscope the phonograph formed the "kineto-phonograph." Edison declared that the time was near "when grand opera could be given at the Metropolitan Opera House at New York without any material change from the original, and with artists and musicians long dead."

A more original genius than Edison, veritably a wizard, was Nikola Tesla, who came to the United States from Servia, and happened to find temporary employment with Edison on landing. The men were wholly unlike. At times both seemed to be somewhat given to telling the public through the reporters of the wonders they had wrought; but Tesla, at least, subsequently went to the other extreme in this respect.

Before coming to this country, Tesla was highly educated, a fully equipped scientist, which Edison never was. Their ambitions or leading ideas were also wholly different. Edison was the champion of low tension direct current apparatus, bitterly opposing the advent of high tension alternating current distribution, in pushing which Tesla made himself famous. This attitude of Edison's continued for years. Not till he had withdrawn from active service therewith did the Edison Manufacturing Company yield to its customers' demand for alternating-current machinery.

Tesla's aim was to hook man's machinery directly to nature's, pressing the ether waves straight into our service without the intervention or the generation of heat, in which such an enormous proportion of the energy went to waste. For small electric lights he dispensed with the filaments inside the bulbs and made rarefied air do their work. He sent currents of high tension through space without any visible conductor, at a voltage many times greater than that employed in electrocution. He received in his person currents vibrating a million times a second, of two hundred times greater voltage than needed to produce death. He surrounded himself with a halo of electric light and called purple streams from the soil. He expected that by his "rotating magnetic field" and the employment of currents of great frequency and high potential, power could be economically transmitted to a much greater distance than before.

Tesla's very high tension and high frequency experiments did not at once result in practical applications. His poly-phase motors were, however, adopted for converting into electricity the power of Niagara Falls. In 1873 a canal was opened there with a fall furnishing 6,000 horsepower. After 1890 another canal was built, conveying a vast weight of water to the wheel-pit through ten separate channels. This mighty volume of descending water drove three turbines, each equipped with one of Tesla's 2-phase alternating generators of 5,000 horsepower, developing about 2,000 volts with a frequency of 25 cycles a second. It was thought that

the Niagara Falls Power Company could, before very long, furnish Chicago with energy at a cost less than that of steam made on the spot by coal. Presaging such a result, electricity created at Laufen, Germany, was carried to Frankfort with a loss of only four per cent. Electricity created at the falls of the American River at Folsom, Cal., where four turbine water-wheels developed over 5,000 horsepower, was carried by overhead copper wires to Sacramento, twenty-four miles away, with a loss of not over twenty per cent. At first it was used to propel street-cars, but it was also to be employed for lighting streets and operating factories.

A species of clumsy bicycle obtained considerable popularity in the United States in 1868. The fad proved temporary, but was the forerunner of an abiding national habit. The first bicycle proper was brought to this country in 1876, being exhibited at the Centennial. Two years later "wheels" began to be manufactured here. Each instrument consisted of one large wheel, to which were attached cranks and pedals, and one small one connected with the first by a curved "backbone," this being surmounted by a saddle. The danger of riding the high wheel led to many variations of its design, none of which was successful, and bicycling continued to be experts' work until 1889, when the "safety" became prominent. In this machine the two wheels were made of the same size, the saddle placed above and between them upon a suitable frame, while the crank axle was connected with the rear or driving wheel by means of a chain geared upon sprockets. The popularity of this form of bicycle was amazingly enhanced by the adoption of inflated or pneumatic tires, an invention half a century old but now finding its first successful application.

Bicycle makers multiplied and prospered despite the panic of 1893. Sewing machine and arms companies turned to the manufacture of bicycles. Agitation and legislation for good roads became a phenomenon of the times. Railroads were in some States compelled to take bicycles as baggage. The "safety" pattern was so modified as to enable

ladies to ride it with little change in their attire, and the exercise was welcomed by many. While makers and sellers of wheels and wheel equipments thrived, liverymen and horse dealers did less business. Clothiers complained that only cycling suits could be sold. Liquor dealers in some sections could not vend their wares in intoxicating quantities even among young men who had formerly indulged freely. People in the most moderate circumstances would rigidly economize in other directions for the sake of purchasing cycles. It was estimated in 1896 that no less than \$100,000,000 had been spent in the United States upon this sport. When comfortable and hygienic saddles came into use, physicians indorsed the exercise. One prominent New York practitioner believed that no other invention for 200 years had, from a physical point of view, done so much for the human family.

People who had time and curiosity to study the Fisheries Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition were impressed with the progress there revealed in the arts of fish culture and fish capture. Less obtrusive than other aspects of the nation's advance, mastery of the fisherman's craft could by no means be deemed unimportant. In 1870 our Government created a Commission whose province was to collect statistics of fish and fisheries, to experiment concerning the best methods for the capture, preservation, and propagation of fish, and to investigate the habits and qualities of the various species of fish, as well as the foods suitable to each.

The business of catching fish received attention and development in a way less scientific but no less thorough. The State of Rhode Island here held a unique place of honor. Till about 1840 the old barbed hook and shore seine were in use in that State as elsewhere. A great stride forward was made by the invention of the trap. This contrivance was in the form of a sugar box with top and one end removed. It was anchored in the water, and a fence of twine made from one side of it to the shore. The fish swam to the fence, then turned to swim around it, thus making their way into the trap. The original trap was a crude affair, for the fish could

swim out as well as in, making constant attention necessary to capture them before their exit. In 1883 William R. Rose used for the first time the famous Rose trap, a marked improvement over the old instrument. It held all the fish that entered it, and could be set in the open sea as well as near land. Another clever invention for catching fish was the fyke net, consisting of a series of tunnels placed in line with each other, and held in position by stakes, with a twine fence to inveigle the fish, just as in the case of the trap. To Captain James B. Church was due the credit of introducing steamers for menhaden fishing, which soon revolutionized that business. But the greatest labor-saver ever invented for reaping the harvests of the sea was the purse seine, devised by the Tallmans, of Portsmouth, R. I.

Outwardly composed of materialities, the Exposition was a colossal manifestation of mentality, "an unspoken but sublime protest against materialism." To emphasize that fact, to bring together the leaders of human progress, to review this, make clear statements of living problems and ascertain practical means by which further advancement might be effected, a series of World's Congresses was held at Chicago, constituting a World's Congress Auxiliary. Its motto was, "Not matter but mind, not things but men." In all there were 160 congresses, covering the entire six months of the Fair. Philosophy, Religion, Moral and Social Reform, Woman's Progress, the Press, Commerce and Finance, Music, Literature, Art, Jurisprudence, Education, Agriculture, Horticulture, Engineering, Medical and Dental Science were all learnedly discussed, several congresses apiece being devoted to some of them. The Evangelical Alliance held its congress, as did the Women's Christian Temperance Union. There were also a congress on Public Health and a World's Real Estate congress. The Congress Auxiliary employed 210 working committees, who sent out over 1,000,000 circulars. Its membership exceeded 15,000, its attendance exceeded 700,000. There were 1,245 sessions, addressed by 5,974 speakers. Most interesting was the World's Parliament

of Religions, which held three sessions a day for seventeen days, each session being thronged. Representatives of the leading Christian sects and of the world's leading religions presented their views. The Parliament was an index of the tolerance of the time and nation, and had an effect not unlike that of the crusades in broadening and strengthening men's sympathies.

The Chicago Exposition proved that the ideals of the Republic, if far from being attained, had not been surrendered. The building just north of Horticultural Hall, tastefully designed by Miss Sophia Hayden, of Boston, was not only the first of the World's Fair edifices to be completed, but the first building of its kind to be anywhere reared. It typified that note of our life most striking to foreigners, the high position of woman, which Professor Bryce declared "if not a complete test, one of the best tests of the progress a nation has made in civilization." For the excellence of its contents the Woman's Building was finally made an "exhibit" building, occupying a creditable place. Other departments of the Exposition gathered obvious refinement from feminine influence. This was especially true of the art set forth at the Fair, which ought, perhaps, to be pronounced strictly "American" in hardly any other particular but this. The principal thoroughly national painting presented, "Breaking Home Ties," sensibly betrayed the motive here referred to. Raised to practical equality with her brothers, the American woman's influence had shown to excellent advantage. Universities and colleges one after another opened their doors to her. Occupations of honor and profit more and more as the years passed welcomed her, and she did well in whichever she chose. In fields of philanthropy and moral reform, woman's talent for organization and her persistence in work for good ends were conspicuous.

There have been few more remarkable examples of efficient organization on a large scale than was presented by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It had origin in the Women's Temperance Crusade of 1873-74, which at the time

attracted wide attention. The crusade was due primarily to Dr. Dio Lewis, the lecturer. On December 14, 1873, nearly one hundred women at Fredonia, N. Y., stirred by Dr. Lewis's words, set forth upon a mission among the saloons. At Jamestown, N. Y., and Hillsboro, O., Mr. Lewis formed similar bands. December 24, 1873, he lectured at Washington Court House with powerful effect. Forty-seven women straightway organized themselves into a "visitation committee," invading every one of the fourteen places in town where liquor was sold, to sing and pray, and to plead with the proprietors to close. When doors were locked against them, the gentle crusaders knelt in the snow on the pavement and prayed for those within. On the third day one liquor dealer gave up, permitting the women to stave in his kegs and casks with axes. On the eighth day the strain became too great and the last saloon in the place surrendered unconditionally. Soon cries for help came from neighboring towns, and many were visited by delegations from Washington Court House.

Returning from one of these apostolic tours the Washington Court House ladies found that a new man had opened a saloon. A cargo of liquor being unloaded there next day, about forty women appeared and followed the liquor in, remaining all day and until eleven o'clock at night. On the morrow they returned and were for a time locked in. Next day locked out, they built fires in the street, and had a little plank tabernacle put up to shelter them from the cold. This liquor-dealer also "surrendered." He had been a milkman, but changed his trade when promised \$5,000 "if he would hold out against the women."

Crusading was not without its ludicrous side. One of the Washington Court House liquor establishments was a German beer-garden just outside the corporation. Expecting a siege, the proprietor locked the doors and kept anxiously running from window to window. "I dells you," he wailed, while a motley group of customers, absorbed in absorbing beer and pigs' feet, applauded, "I dells you, dem

vimins is shoost awful. By shinks, dey pild a house right in de street, and stay mit a man all day a-singin' and oder foolishness. But dey don't get in here once agin already." Seeing no signs of the enemy "mein host" gradually became calm. He too soon flattered himself upon his immunity. Two ladies, the vanguard, were seen driving from the village, and recognized as crusaders. Next moment the host was making all speed toward town. "Ach, mein Gott," he shouted, "dey gooms; dey gooms. I tole you dey gooms agin to-day already. I shoost go and see my gounsel, to see ven I no got a right to my own property." The crusaders were warned from the premises, but took position upon friendly territory adjacent, where their tabernacle was erected with strong reflectors focused upon those paths of the wicked which led to any of the saloon doors. This species of illegal annoyance was stopped by injunction, but soon the proprietor found himself defendant in embarrassing suits under the liquor law. So unanimous and extreme was public opinion that all of both sexes who had not been enjoined formed in column and marched upon the redoubtable German, who cried in consternation: "Mein Gott! vat is dat? So many peebles! So many peebles!" After a little parley with the leaders, he took off his hat and announced to the multitude: "Shentlemens, I quits."

The crusade spread through all southern Ohio and gained much attention and interest outside. February 24, 1874, a convention in Columbus of all those interested in the "Washington Court House Movement" formed a State Temperance Association. Larger conventions at Cincinnati and Springfield evolved the "Ohio Women's Christian Temperance Union." This grew into the National Women's Christian Temperance Union when, on November 18th and 19th of the same year, a convention of those interested gathered from all the States at Cleveland. Mrs. Anna Wittenmeyer, of Philadelphia, was elected the first president, and Miss Frances E. Willard, of Chicago, the corresponding secretary.

Another movement, world-famous, in which women

evinced unsuspected powers of organization, administration, and leadership, was the campaign of the Salvation Army. In 1861 William Booth, an English Methodist preacher, resigned his charge and began earnest and direct efforts for the poor, speaking in the open country, in market-places, in the slums, in stables, beer-houses, low theatres, and penny-gaffs, some of them places of grossest immorality. The East End of London became Mr. Booth's favorite field. His wife and all his children added their voices to his in the preaching, which, in spite of persecution or partly because of it, became wonderfully effective. As the converts could not be induced to join or even to attend churches, where they believed themselves "not wanted," it became necessary to set up, what was not at first contemplated, a separate organization. In 1878 this assumed the title of the Salvation Army, and ere long it had its legions, its camps, and its trophies as well, in nearly every land under the sun. In 1879 the Army invaded America, landing at Philadelphia. The City of Homes and of Brotherly Love revealed low humanity groveling in wretchedness and squalor to an appalling extent. In New York were found cases of want and sin as pitiable, and as large a proportion of pitiable cases, as in East London itself.

The Salvation Army had phenomenal success and growth. In 1894 there were in the United States 539 corps and 1,953 officers, and in the whole world 3,200 corps and 10,788 officers. The painful schism which in 1896 rent the American ranks did little, if any, visible mischief. Not only was the Army able to lift hordes of the fallen, but, as no other agency had ever succeeded in doing, it drew downward to the lowliest the attention, sympathy, and help of the middle classes and even of the rich. Proposing no programme of political or social amendment or experiment, ministering, out of its slender stores, to men's bodily as well as to their spiritual needs, above the suspicion either of sentimentalism—for the soldiers were mostly from the lower classes—or of selfishness, the army disarmed antagonism and compelled kind

feelings from all. A Cleveland police officer declared that Salvationists could go where he dared not go, for "they never squealed." Yet at the penitent benches darkest crimes, even murder, were confessed, the converts voluntarily surrendering to the authorities.

Army discipline pervaded the organization and was firmly maintained. The soldiers were sworn to wear the uniform, to obey their officers, to abstain from drink, tobacco, and worldly amusements, to live in simplicity and economy, to earn their living, and of their earnings always to give a little something to advance the Kingdom of God. The officers could not marry or become engaged without the consent of the Army authorities, for their spouses must be capable of co-operating with them. They could not receive presents for themselves, not even food, except in cases of necessity. To be made an officer a Salvationist must have received "full salvation," and must profess to be living free from every known sin. Officers' pay varied with the country in which they served, also somewhat according to sex, estate, married or single, and number of children. Compensation for Army Service was not guaranteed. Except as to pay, the Army placed women on an absolute equality with men, a policy which greatly furthered its usefulness.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DEMOCRACY SUPREME.

Panic of 1893—Extra Session of Congress—Democracy Controls all Branches of the Government—Result—Cleveland's Second Administration—His Civil Service Record—Repeal of the Silver Purchase Act—Gold Outflow—The Tariff to be Revised—The Wilson Bill—Democratic Protectionists—The Sugar Schedule—Senate Amendments—"Party Perfidy"—The Bill in Conference—Senate will not Recede—The Bill Passed—Cleveland's Dilemma—No One Satisfied—Opposition to the Income Tax Provision—Declared Unconstitutional—Uncle Sam Forced to Borrow—Treasury Methods Criticised—Trusts—Anti-Lottery Bill Passed—A Tame Foreign Policy—Hawaii—The Missionary Party—Liliuokalani's *Coup d'Etat*—U. S. Troops in Honolulu—A Revolutionary Government—Desires Annexation to U. S.—Treaty of Annexation sent to Senate—Cleveland's Reactionary Policy—"Paramount" Blount—Stars and Stripes Hauled Down—Effort to Restore the Queen—Unpopularity of This—The Dole Government Safe—Olney Succeeds Gresham in the Department of State—Firm Stand against Great Britain in Venezuela Matter—Startling Message of December, 1895—The Venezuela Boundary Commission—Panic in Wall Street—Savage Attacks on the President—The Lexow Investigation—Charles H. Parkhurst—The Public and the "Force"—Investigating Committee—John W. Goff—Facts Elicited—"Reform" Victorious in the Municipal Election—the "A. P. A."—Its Origin—Its *Raisons d'Etre*—Circumstances Occasioning the Movement—Members and Influence—Unpopularity—The Secret Oath—"Perjurer and Traitor."

THE success of the Columbian Exposition was the more remarkable in view of the terrible commercial panic occurring the same summer. On June 26, 1893, the Government of British India suspended the free coinage of silver in that vast dominion. The decree seemed somehow to take effect on our side of the globe. A monetary panic ensued, in some respects the most distressing on record, closing mines, depriving laborers of work, breaking banks, and convulsing trade. Vast sums of gold were hoarded; much left the country. The

Treasury reserve fell far below the traditional \$100,000,000. Banks called in outstanding credits and refused new ones. Values shrank phenomenally, and innumerable failures took place. Deeming the disorders due to Treasury purchases of silver under a clause of the Sherman law, to secure, if possible, the repeal of that clause, President Cleveland convoked the Fifty-third Congress in special session. This began on August 7th. Both Houses being Democratic, the whole legislative, as well as the Executive authority of the Government, was now in Democratic hands. It was an epoch in our history. At no time before, since March, 1859, in Buchanan's time, when the Thirty-fifth Congress ended its labors, had the Democracy been thus exalted. The country eagerly watched to see what action it would take on the various important measures awaiting legislation. The outcome was not what patriots hoped. In its responsible situation the Democratic party showed little leadership, cohesion, or wisdom. Rapidly, and at last almost entirely, it lost public confidence, preparing the Republican tidal wave of 1894. President Cleveland suffered as well as his political associates; his friends and his enemies—and he had many of both—agreeing that his second Administration was far less successful than his first.

In one particular this was untrue. Mr. Cleveland's civil service record during his second term was in the highest degree commendable, excelling that of any of his predecessors, and doing much to redeem the promises in this respect with which he took office at first. While public thought was turned to other matters, he silently and persistently extended the range of the merit system in appointments to office. The first day of 1896 found approximately 55,736 Government employees in the classified service, 12,807 more than on March 4, 1893. A still greater gain than this occurred during the same period, in the transfer to the competitive list of 2,955 offices previously excepted therefrom. These exceptions had covered the highest and most important positions in the classified service. The theory was that the places

were excepted in order that they might be filled by persons of qualifications too high to be gauged by the ordinary tests; but they had in fact nearly always been filled for political reasons. Numerous exceptions in any branch of the classified service had the most evil effect, going far to nullify the beneficial influence of examinations. The reduction in the number of such exceptions was therefore a noteworthy step in advance. Progress was not confined to the classified service. For the first time in our history examinations—non-competitive indeed—were now made prerequisite to the appointment of consuls.

After a long fight, especially acrimonious in the Senate, the silver purchase law was repealed on November 1st. The result did not fulfil expectations. The gold flow from the Treasury was not stanchd. February 1, 1894, the reserve stood at \$65,438,377. Though it was replenished meantime by the sale of \$50,000,000 in bonds, June saw it again down to \$64,873,025, \$42,000,000 going out in five months. November 24, 1894, the reserve was \$57,669,701; February 1, 1895, \$41,340,181. Following precedent, the Secretary of the Treasury paid in gold every Treasury note that was presented. Whenever, therefore, in the struggle for gold, exchangers wished to send gold abroad, the Government hoard was at their mercy. By collecting greenbacks and Sherman notes from banks and Trust Companies and presenting these at the Sub-Treasury, the gold they wished for, however great the sum, was paid into their hands. None could tell when it would all be gone and the country forced to a silver basis. In consequence, whatever revival of business occurred after the repeal was slight, gradual, hardly perceptible.

This unsatisfactory result most Democrats ascribed to the continuing exactions of the McKinley tariff; most Republicans to the fear of freer trade. It was a fear rather than a certainty, since none knew whether the President would have the temerity to urge a revision of the tariff when the country's business was already so unsettled. Should he insist on doing so, many Democrats were likely not to act with

him. But Mr. Cleveland did not flinch; the tariff must be revised at whatever cost. The controversy did not begin till the regular session, but then it came in earnest, with shocks opening wide seams in the party. On December 19th Chairman Wilson, of the Ways and Means Committee, reported to the House "An Act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes." Besides cutting down duties on many articles, the bill placed sugar, wool, coal, lumber, and iron ore on the free list. A vote of 182 to 48 carried an amendment providing for a tax upon incomes exceeding \$4,000. The whole was then passed, 204 to 41. In the House the chief theme of discussion on the bill was its purpose "to reduce taxation." In the Senate, to which body it was reported with amendments from the Finance Committee, March 20, 1894, other phases of it were considered, and all perceived that it could not become law without large modifications. Its ability "to provide revenue for the Government" was denied. "Protection" was contended for not by Republicans alone. It was publicly charged and widely believed that corrupt influences to preserve extortionate duties were at work upon Democrats. Hottest conflict raged over the sugar schedule. Consistency with the nature of the legislation required a heavy duty on raw sugar, a light one on refined; while the sugar refiners sought, at last successfully, to have the heavier tariff laid on refined sugar. Prospects of their triumph in this changed from day to day, and therewith the value of Sugar Trust certificates. It being alleged that Senators were speculating in these, one admitted that he was doing so, but boldly defended his course. The Sugar Trust was accused of bribing the Democracy by large contributions to its campaign funds. The allegations touching Senatorial corruption were investigated, but little pertinent evidence was elicited.

When, in July, the Senate amendments came up in the House, Chairman Wilson moved not to concur in them. His reasons were that except in the case of wool and lumber the principle of free raw materials had been abandoned, that

many specific duties had been substituted for *ad valorem* ones, and that most of the Senate changes were in the direction of higher taxes. In a letter read before the House, President Cleveland upbraided the Senate Democrats who had abandoned the principle of free raw materials as guilty of "party perfidy and party dishonor." He pronounced sugar a legitimate subject for taxation, in spite of the "fear, quite likely exaggerated," that carrying out this principle might "indirectly and inordinately encourage a combination of sugar refining interests." The motion against concurrence passed the House.

In conference the chief controversy was upon sugar, coal, wool, iron ore, pig and structural iron, and steel rails. The Senate proposed a forty per cent duty on all grades of sugar, with a differential of one-eighth of a cent per pound in favor of refined sugar, adding one-tenth of a cent more if it came from countries paying an exorbitant bounty. The Republicans contended that free coal and iron ore would mean a gift of \$10,000,000 to a Nova Scotia corporation and its Boston promoters. Mr. Gorman indignantly flung back the aspersions of the President's letter read in the House, showing, by the testimony of three Senators, that when consulted about the compromise the President had declared himself "willing to do or say anything that would pass the bill." Voting upon iron ore and coal, the Senate emphatically refused to recede from its wish as uttered in the bill. That indicated its attitude touching the other disputed rates. In this conflict the Senate had great advantage over the House. Acquaintance among members, general and often close, was supplemented "by Senatorial courtesy" in reference to Executive appointments, so that an affront to one was the concern of all. The Senate's self-esteem had been incurably wounded, while the stock of effective White House influence had been depleted during the silver debate. Instead, therefore, of crushing the Senatorial will, Presidential hammering rendered it solid as a drop forging. When this became clear panic seized the House leaders, and they hastened to

enact the Senate draft, covering their retreat as best they could with "pop-gun bills" for free coal, iron ore, barbed wire, and sugar. Rarely has an Executive been in so merciless a dilemma as now tormented the Chief Magistrate. By signing the bill he would give his official approval to a measure which he had denounced in the severest language at his command. His veto, on the other hand, leaving the McKinley act in force, would be a confession of Democratic hypocrisy and incompetency. Mr. Cleveland, therefore, neither signed nor vetoed the bill, but let it become a law without bearing his name.

Like the tariff of abominations in 1828, this new law, agitation over which had so long impeded business, was an economic monstrosity. It pleased nobody. It violated the Democrats' plighted word, and it did this to enhance the profits of great corporations and by votes believed to have been purchased. Its best friends could only say that, as its rates averaged perhaps a quarter lower, it was on the whole preferable to the McKinley act. When it was under debate in the Senate, Senator Hill had declared the proposed income-tax unconstitutional, unnecessary, and populist. It was a direct tax, he said, and could therefore be constitutionally levied only State by State and according to population. He decried it as sectional, and also odious, being a war tax. He complained that its high under-limit of \$4,000 made it an offensive species of class legislation, that it discriminated against small investments in favor of Government bonds, was retroactive upon incomes realized after January 1, 1894, inquisitorial in its administrative provisions, a step toward socialism, and unwise in every point of political expediency. Nevertheless, as in the House so in the Senate, the income-tax amendment proved stronger than the main bill.

When the Supreme Court decided its income-tax provisions unconstitutional, disgust at the legislation became general and complete. It was now clear that the law must fail as a revenue measure, necessitating either additional enactments or the issue of more bonds to eke out current expenses.

The latter alternative was adopted. Between February 1, 1894, and the beginning of 1896, the Treasury sold \$162,315,400 in bonds for about \$182,000,000 in gold. On January 6, 1895, a new bond issue of \$100,000,000 was offered. Apologists for the tariff sought to make it appear that the necessity for these bond issues lay not in deficient revenue, but solely in the existence of the greenback debt, but it gradually became evident that this was an error. During the twenty-three months between the two bond sales named, the Government's receipts fell short of its expenditures by some \$90,000,000. To this extent at least borrowing would have been necessary had no greenbacks existed. As for the remainder, men urged, it should not have been borrowed at all. Had an insignificant percentage of a payment made in redemption of Treasury notes occasionally been in silver, according to the French policy, exporters would have drawn their gold from banks, leaving the Treasury gold piles and the Government credit intact. Many insisted that borrowing gold abroad largely defeated its own end. It inflated prices here, stimulating imports and checking exports, thus increasing the demand for gold for export, necessitating fresh drafts from the Treasury stock, and so on in ceaseless round. The manner of effecting the loan of 1895, as well as the loan itself, was severely criticised. Instead of borrowing from any and all who might wish to lend, the bonds were placed with a syndicate of bankers, partly foreign, at a rate, it was charged, much under what they might have brought. The inordinate gain was declared necessary to remunerate the syndicate for its good offices in preventing for some months serious exportations of gold. This was a confession that, under this policy, the Treasury was at the mercy of gold-mongers. If they could keep gold here for a given consideration, for a higher reward they could presently send it abroad and place us on a silver basis.

The last five sections of the tariff act declared combinations in restraint of competition illegal and void, property belonging to them liable to forfeiture, and persons injured

by them entitled to threefold damages plus cost and attorney fees. These provisions did not render the legislation any more popular. They enraged monopolists, yet were too tame, too obviously ineffectual to please others. Such anti-trust utterances were, however, of interest, as calling special attention to that peculiar growth of modern industry, the "combine." Officers of the American Sugar Refining Company admitted before the Senate Investigating Committee that this Trust, when formed, raised the price of sugar to consumers, and that it was constantly making efforts to control legislation. Though conspicuous, the Sugar Trust was no unique phenomenon in the United States, nor was this country the sole field where the institution flourished. Though these "combines" were a normal product of modern industry, they needed keen legislative attention. The crimes to which some of them resorted to crush out competition were unworthy of civilization, making it not strange that legislation against them should be constantly urged and attempted. Laws passed for this purpose were, however, usually of little avail.

President Cleveland displayed commendable independence of a great moneyed interest in unhesitatingly signing the Anti-Lottery Bill, which the indomitable energy and persistence of Professor S. H. Woodbridge, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had carried through Congress in spite of perhaps the most powerful and enterprising lobby influence ever organized. When it was learned that the lottery company was operating from Honduras throughout the United States by means of the express companies, a bill was introduced in Congress making this illegal. It soon got through the Senate, but the House passed it only two days before the dissolution of the Fifty-third Congress. Having been slightly amended, it returned to the Senate, where it barely escaped strangulation. The amendments were concurred in, but a motion was at once entered to reconsider the vote to concur. This stopped the bill from going to the engrossing clerk to be prepared for the official signatures. Many

thought further effort useless, but it proved otherwise. A motion to take up the motion to reconsider was met by a threat that, owing to the brevity of Congress's remaining life, the appropriation bills would completely fail if any other matter were brought before the Senate. The motion to take up reconsideration was lost. It was now eleven o'clock, night. But thirteen hours remained for action. At three in the morning the lost motion was made again, followed instantly by one to table the motion to reconsider. This could not be debated and was at once carried. The Anti-Lottery Bill had passed, and it was speedily enrolled. The question now was how to secure the signatures which should make it law. The Vice-President signed at 10.50 in the forenoon, but it took some time yet for the document to reach the Executive Mansion. The Chief Magistrate's signature was affixed to it barely five minutes before twelve, the moment when that Congress expired.

With his party and the people at large Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy was for a long time even less popular than his procedure touching tariff and finance. His ratification of an extradition treaty with Russia was violently criticised, as also his refusal to press Turkey for the humane treatment of Christians in that empire. When, wholly without warrant, a Spanish gunboat fired on the *Alliança*, a United States passenger steamer, off Cuba, many thought our Government indecently dilatory in demanding reparation. When Great Britain occupied Corinto, in Nicaragua, to compel the payment of \$75,000 in reparation for Nicaragua's expulsion of Consul Hatch, an influential paper bitterly assailed the President for permitting this affront to the Monroe Doctrine. Not a few felt that we meanly deferred to Great Britain, and even to Nicaragua, in dealing with the Bluefields incident in 1894. Republican insurgents in Cuba might control half the island for a year; no hint of recognizing their belligerency emanated from our Executive. These complaints were not wholly partisan; Democrats joined Republicans in viewing Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy, at least till the middle of 1895, as spirit-

less and "un-American." The severest reprobation met his dealings with Hawaii.

Hawaii consists of twelve islands situated in the Pacific, southwest of California. The influence there of European navigators made the way easy for missionaries, who landed upon the islands in 1820. Through the unselfish labors of these men civilization expanded rapidly. "The missionary in such a land is something besides a minister of religion. He represents civilization. He is condemned to be an organ of reform. He could scarce evade, even if he desired, a certain influence in political affairs." The sons of the missionaries, more selfish than their sires, but at first equally influential, roughened Hawaii's upward path by taking the chief offices of state and a rich portion of the land. In 1875, a reciprocity treaty with the United States enormously increased sugar planting, when practically all the sugar land went to foreigners. The new proprietors imported Asiatic and Portuguese labor on the contract system, largely superseding the Kanakas. Seeing wealth spring from the islands as by magic, while his native subjects were excluded from even a dribble of it, filled the King of Hawaii with hatred of foreigners. The native majority in the Legislature raised the cry of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," and rallied to the king, who found himself in the power of a reactionary clique as unprincipled as any of the "missionary party."

In 1887, after secret preparations, the progressists marched to the palace under arms and extorted a new Constitution, which reduced royal authority to a mere shadow. It made the Ministry responsible to the Legislature, the House of Nobles elective under a high property qualification; and it gave foreign whites the right to vote. The State's relations with the United States were made more intimate by a renewed reciprocity treaty along with the concession of Pearl Harbor in the Island of Oahu, one of the finest naval stations in the Pacific.

Figuratively as well as literally, the islands were now volcanic. The thin political crust above the molten native

element was ruptured when Liliuokalani succeeded her brother Kalakaua as shadow-monarch. Biding her time, this shrewd and unscrupulous woman took advantage of a split in the dominant party to effect a *coup d'état*. Having on January 14, 1893, prorogued the Legislature, she proposed a new Constitution, disfranchising non-naturalized whites, and retransferring to the crown the power of making nobles. Under persuasion she modified her purpose, giving out a proclamation that "any changes in the fundamental law would be sought only by methods provided in the (old) Constitution." Much excitement attended these events, and none knew what might happen next. American residents appointed a Committee of Safety, which, on consultation with Minister Stevens, petitioned the United States man-of-war *Boston*, lying at Honolulu, for protection. The troops landed sooner than most of the committee expected or desired, giving some color to the allegation that this act really caused the revolution. The Queen's Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Governor of the island protested, solemnly assuring all that the old Constitution would be upheld and no changes made save by the method therein provided. Later the same day the Cabinet called upon the American Minister for the aid of the United States in suppressing the revolt. On the afternoon of January 17th, the "citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands organized and, acting for the public safety and common good," declared the monarchy abrogated and a provisional government established, "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." The Committee organized as a Provisional Government, which the United States Minister at once recognized as the *de facto* Government of the country. Sanford B. Dole, the new President, requested the immediate support of United States forces in preserving order. The Queen, assured by members of the Provisional Government that her case would be strengthened by peaceful submission, though under protest, surrendered "to the superior forces of the United States of America."

Opposed by certain of the white inhabitants, also, naturally, by the bulk of the natives, the Government, on February 1st, formally placed itself under the protectorate of the United States. Early in the morning a force of our marines was drawn up before the Government building, and the Stars and Stripes were hoisted. Minister Stevens sent home a despatch, saying: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." On February 11th, President Harrison disavowed the protectorate, though authorizing the presence on land of such marine force as might be necessary to secure the lives and property of American citizens. The flag, nevertheless, still floated, and the American garrison was maintained until after the Democratic Administration came into power, March 4th, the marines of the *Boston* parading through the Honolulu streets thrice each day. A steamer was hastily chartered to carry commissioners to negotiate annexation. A treaty was soon concluded. It provided for the continuance of the existing Government and laws of Hawaii, subject to the paramount authority of the United States, to be vested in the person of a commissioner, with power to veto any acts of the local Government. The United States was to take over the public debt of \$2,250,000, paying an annual allowance of \$20,000 to Liliuokalani and a lump sum of \$150,000 to her daughter. In his message submitting the treaty, President Harrison declared that the United States had in no way promoted the overthrow of the monarchy, that it was evidently effete, and should not be restored even if it could be. He declared it "essential that none of the other great powers should secure the islands."

On succeeding Harrison, Cleveland entirely changed this policy. Withdrawing the treaty from the Senate, he sent to Hawaii Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, as Special Commissioner bearing paramount authority, to make investigations touching all our relations with the Hawaiian Government. On April 1st, by Blount's direction, the protectorate was formally terminated, the American flag hauled down,

and the garrison of marines withdrawn. In May, Mr. Blount was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, Stevens being recalled. But during its days under the American ægis the Provisional Government had much strengthened its hands. It had mustered a force of 1,200 soldiers, acquired control of all arms and explosives in the islands, enacted alien and sedition laws, suppressed disloyal newspapers, and decreed that any one speaking against the Provisional Government should be liable to a fine of \$100 and to imprisonment for thirty days.

Complete as was the Dole Government's *de facto* status, Mr. Cleveland, viewing the revolution as due to improper United States influence, sent Albert S. Willis as Minister to the Islands, with instructions looking to a restoration of the Queen. But for her stubbornness this would probably have occurred. Quite long enough to show her spirit, she refused her consent to amnesty, insisting on the execution of the chief conspirators and the banishment of their families. Moreover, the Provisional Government declined Willis's request that they "relinquish to the Queen her constitutional authority." President Dole denied that the Queen owed her downfall to the interference of American forces. "The revolution," he said, "was carried through by the representatives, now largely reinforced, of the same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889, and which for twenty years had been battling for representative government in this country." Without the sanction of Congress Mr. Cleveland could not use force, and such sanction he could not obtain. On the contrary, that body, like the country at large, bitterly opposed the Administration's Hawaiian policy. The progressive element in Hawaii was therefore safe. An insurrection was attempted, resulting in loss of life, but it proved abortive, almost farcical. Being arrested, the ex-Queen, for herself and her heirs, forever renounced the throne, gave allegiance to the Republic, counseled her former subjects to do likewise, and besought clemency for her co-conspirators. Of

these the chief were sentenced to death, but their sentence was commuted to a fine of \$10,000 each with thirty-five years imprisonment. On December 27, 1893, Prince Kunniakea wrote to the Hawaiian "Star": "Permit me, as the last representative of the Kamehameha line, to say that I am with you heart and soul for annexation. My name will be added to the roll of the Annexation Club at once, and in case of trouble I will join your forces with a rifle." The numerous Portuguese in Honolulu were a unit in favor of the Republic and of annexation. Minister Willis himself declared "an analysis of the list of the Queen's special advisers not encouraging to the friends of good government or American interests." "The Americans," he said, "were ignored, and other nationalities, English especially, placed in charge." He further remarked that the Provisional Government and its supporters consisted of men of "high character" and "large commercial interests."

A firmer spirit pervaded the State Department after Secretary Gresham's death, in May, 1895, and the promotion of Attorney-General Richard Olney to his portfolio. The vigor shown by Mr. Olney when Attorney-General, in enforcing law and order during the Chicago strike, he now displayed in conducting foreign affairs. With a boldness going to the extreme limit of diplomacy, he insisted, on the ground of the Monroe Doctrine and of our essential sovereignty upon this continent, that Great Britain should submit to arbitration a long-standing boundary dispute with Venezuela. This being refused, Mr. Cleveland on December 17, 1895, sent to Congress a startlingly bold message on the subject, which rent the air like a thunderbolt. A declaration of war could hardly have produced more commotion. After recommending the creation of a commission to determine and report upon "the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana," he said: "When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interest, the appropriation by Great Britain of

any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

The two branches of Congress vied with each other in rallying to the President's support. The Commission was provided for at once, by an act unanimously passed in both Houses, neither pausing to refer it to a committee. Wall Street, however, took the other side. It was estimated that American securities fell in value from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000, in consequence of the message. The Treasury's gold reserve lessened ominously. In three days the war message had to be followed by another begging for legislation to preserve the national credit. While the President's belligerency met with immense popular applause, it was fiercely criticised in influential quarters. Papers and persons hitherto always friendly to the President now denounced him. Some thought his act a bid for a third term in the Presidency; others said he was aping President Jackson and seeking to atone for his record in the Hawaii affair. Not a few, wishing "peace at any price," argued in effect that such a message would be a crime no matter what Great Britain might do. Sober persons in great numbers believed that, while the time and the tone of the message might perhaps leave something to be desired, its deliverance would be found, when all the facts and diplomacy concerning the case became known, to have been patriotic and wise.

The reader has by this time no difficulty in accounting for the vast political changes which rendered the Fifty-fourth Congress overwhelmingly Republican. Yet the account would be defective were we to omit the revelations made through the famous Lexow Committee in 1894, showing that New York City, under Tammany Hall, was ruled by "a compact of freebooters." The New York City Society for the Prevention of Crime was organized in October, 1878, to remove "the causes and sources of crime by enforcement of the laws and arousing public opinion, especially in regard to the excise laws, gambling, and public nuisances." Dr. Howard

Crosby and the venerable Peter Cooper were among the incorporators. In 1892, six months after joining the Society, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., became its second president. Co-operating with the New York Police Department, the society had hitherto failed of flattering achievements. Before accepting the office, the new leader insisted that his associates should deal with the Force "as its arch-antagonist." The New York press had long teemed with charges against the department, but the community, half credulous, indifferent, or resigned and hopeless, only stirred uneasily. It was the crisis of a grave disease. Nearly a year later Dr. Parkhurst delivered from his pulpit an unsparing philippic against the administration of the city police force. Others at once took up the criticism. People awoke to hear the city officials, particularly those of the Police Department, fiercely attacked as "a damnable set of administrative bloodhounds." Newspapers dilated upon the startling prevalence of gambling and prostitution. As usual, the police called for "proof." This Dr. Parkhurst and agents of his society supplied in abundance by personal visits to dives and dens in various precincts. Such a bold course at first brought upon Parkhurst the bitterest denunciation. Some of his detectives suffered personal violence. But the opposition soon combined with the exposures to bring the brave clergyman the resistless support of public opinion and of a nearly unanimous press. On January 25, 1894, the New York City Chamber of Commerce, concerning itself with municipal politics for the first time in its history, asked for the appointment of a legislative committee to investigate the government of New York City. On January 30th, the Senate unanimously appointed the Lexow Committee. The Committee sat most of the time from February till December.

The metropolis inclined to scout the competency of "hayseed legislators" to deal with her problems, while the up-country looked across the Harlem with more sorrow and jealousy than pride, longing to redeem the *imperium in imperio* from its wickedness and its Democracy—both, to the prevail-

ing mind, embodied in the Tammany tiger. Though there was an exodus of criminals from the city, and though many of those remaining were intimidated and cajoled to prevent their testifying, the Committee obtained ample evidence of deplorable misgovernment. Their success was largely due to the skill and boldness of their counsel, John W. Goff. Like Charles O'Connor, who did so much to crush the Tweed ring, Mr. Goff was an Irish Catholic. Once, as a green immigrant, he had handled packing-boxes in the day time, while studying law at Cooper Union in the evening. As Assistant District Attorney he had thoroughly learned how to trace the devious ways of criminals. He threw himself into the Committee's work with heart and soul, devoting to it each day and much of each night, and showed wonderful astuteness and pertinacity in marshaling and presenting his evidence.

It was but natural that Mr. Goff should at times be unfair in his treatment of witnesses. Many no doubt suffered in consequence. In some cases ignorant and vicious witnesses, impelled by love of publicity, gave testimony to suit the demand, having scant regard for facts. Some people thought that this vitiated the entire inquest. They were mistaken, however, as was shown by the obvious reluctance with which the majority of the witnesses testified. The worst facts elicited came out in spite of manifest effort at concealment, forced by relentless cross-examination. Under Goff's artful coercion, creatures curious, ugly, pitiable, were drawn squirming from the depths of their abandonment to unwonted daylight, and compelled to relate what they had seen and done in darkness. Not a few high officials were compromised. In all, sixty-seven men were accused of crime, on evidence sufficient in most cases to warrant indictments. Of these, two were Commissioners, two ex-Commissioners, three inspectors, one an ex-inspector, twenty captains, two ex-captains, seven sergeants, six detective-sergeants and detectives, twelve ward men and ex-wardmen, and twelve patrolmen.

Bohemian saloon-keepers had organized a special society

for the business of collecting and paying to the police on behalf of the members, bribes for protection, perhaps at wholesale rates. It appeared that some six hundred policy shops were running in the city without police interference. One keeper of a disorderly house had paid the police \$25,000 to be let alone. Liquor-saloon and opium-joint keepers, harlots, green-goods men, bunco-steerers, thieves, and abortionists, regularly paid the police to overlook their offences. While criminals were sedulously protected, honest business people had to pay roundly to secure any police service at all. One steamship line had paid thousands of dollars extortion money. Merchants must either give blackmail or be persecuted out of business. Restaurant keepers, fruit venders, newspaper peddlers — none was too humble to have to suffer in the same way. Between virtue and vice, riches and poverty, the police force was as impartial as death itself. Police brutality was exposed by trembling victims. A poor Russian woman who had opened a cigar store was pounced upon for \$100 of "protection money," under the pretext that she meant to open a disorderly house. She gave her persecutors all the money she had, but it was not enough, and she was locked up. When discharged she sought in vain for her babes, who had been torn from her. A fortnight later three bright-looking children were brought before the committee. Being led forward to see if she recognized them, the agonized mother caught them in her arms and smothered them with kisses, alternately laughing, weeping, and making vain efforts to express her gratitude. Many policemen confessed that they had been forced to pay for promotion, and were regularly taxed for the satrapies farmed out to them. It was shown how this wealth mounted higher and still higher, till it disappeared in the clouds, above which the "Grand Pantata" was suppose to dwell.

Such revelations, astonishing in themselves and brought out with dramatic and telling force by the skilful cross-examiner, aroused indignation the like of which New York had never seen before, even in Tweed's days. Innumerable dinners and receptions were given in Dr. Parkhurst's honor.

The Union League Club elected him to its circle. A large fund was raised for a suitable memorial of his fidelity to reform. For the autumn municipal election of 1894, a Committee of Seventy citizens nominated an able reform ticket. Supported by the Republican party, the State Democracy, the Independent County Organization, the Anti-Tammany Democracy, the German-American Reform Union, and the confederated Good Government Clubs, this ticket swept the city, electing William L. Strong to the Mayoralty.

The politics of the year considered in this chapter were in many parts of the country influenced, in some quarters determined, by an organization which reminded mature persons of old Knownothing days, particularly of the ancient cry, "Put none but Americans on guard."

A letter from one Foster to J. G. Blaine, in 1875, was published, declaring that a "potent faction" in the next Republican convention would be the "secret anti-Catholic order," the United American Mechanics, which Blaine ought to join, as "Grant was a member," and "no doubt relied upon it to promote his aims." Whether this order had aught to do with the rise of that about to be named is not apparent. In 1887, at Clinton, Iowa, was born a secret society commonly known as the "A. P. A.," its full name being "The American Protective Association." The reasons which its supporters assigned for its organization were:

1. That the spirit of the Constitution was being violated in various ways by certain persons and bodies in the United States.

2. That certain members and sections of the National Government were in connivance with the said violators.

3. That the conditions governing our national immigration were such as to weaken our democratic institutions and form of government, and to substitute therefor a system of government not in harmony therewith.

4. That the immigrant vote, under the direction of certain ecclesiastical institutions, had become so dominant a factor in politics as virtually to control it.

"5. That this domination had resulted in political prostitution, corruption, and favoritism of the worse kind.

"6. That the great majority of the American people, while painfully cognizant of the sinister and debasing results of these conditions and desirous of mending them, were either ignorant of any efficient means of counter-organization, or fearful of injury to their personal interests at the hands of their powerful and organized opponents."

In their public declarations they said: "We attack no man's religion so long as he does not attempt to make his religion an element of political power. We are in favor of preserving constitutional liberty and maintaining the Government of the United States. We regard all religio-political organizations as the enemies of civil and religious liberty."

The order drew inspiration from the inveterate hostility of many Protestants to the Roman Catholic Church, based partly on pure bigotry, partly upon facts, more or less imperfectly understood, in the history of that Church. The belief that the Roman policy never underwent change led many to suppose that the enormities of barbarous ages would be re-enacted here surely as Catholicism obtained power. There was no doubt that the Catholic clergy as a body disliked the American common school system. Many of their number had said the most bitter things against it. Romanists who could not in conscience avail themselves of the public schools complained of their share of school taxes. In places efforts were made to support Catholic parochial schools out of the public treasury. Elsewhere Catholics demanded a division of school funds between Catholics and Protestants, such as prevailed in provinces of Canada. The autocratic and foreign control of the Church was disliked as un-American and anti-American. The appointment of Cardinal Satolli as papal delegate hither, with headquarters at Washington, impressed many as an effort to constitute the United States a papal satrapy. Some minds were distressed that the State of New York should be made a District in Catholic geography.

Causes apart from the Church and its doing were also active in recruiting the Association. Most American Catholics were Irish, a race naturally prone to politics, often clanish and bumptious, sometimes belligerent, evoking strong ill-will. It was remembered how, until Mayor Hewitt's time, the Irish flag floated from New York City Hall on St. Patrick's Day, and how Mayor A. Oakey Hall in a green coat on that day reviewed a Hibernian parade. Many undesirable immigrants of various nationalities were Catholics, and the aversion felt toward them was not unnaturally transferred to the account of their Church. Again, most Catholics were Democrats, though by no means all, whence uncompromising Republicans hated the Church as the ally of a political foe. Catholics alleged that railroad managers encouraged the A. P. A. movement as a means of dividing the forces of labor. Severe treatment here and there, as always happens in such cases, greatly assisted to advance the cause. It was said that newsboys hawking A. P. A. papers in Chicago were beaten by thugs from the saloons, and for a long time were not protected by the police. At length, however, aroused public sentiment forced the roundsmen to see justice done. Subterranean methods, so distasteful to most, drew to the A. P. A. politicians and other supporters of a certain class.

In 1894, seven years from its foundation, the American Protective Association pretended to control 2,000,000 votes, though no data were given by which the assumption could be tested. The Association's power in many Western cities was as undoubted as Catholic domination in many Eastern cities. The actual membership was acknowledged to be small. While, it was said, hundreds of thousands sympathized with its aim, according to their passive or, where they could, their active support, only a small percentage dared brave the storm of disaster that, owing to opposition by the Catholics, inevitably followed actual membership.

Catholic abuse, however, could not have been the sole cause for the slenderness of the Association's avowed support. A. P. A. methods deserved severe reprobation; and they re-

ceived this even from many who certainly had little enough love for the Catholics. The allegations made by A. P. A. lecturers were usually immoderate, sometimes scandalously false. Their references to history were often sordidly garbled. A. P. A. newspapers, or newspapers in that interest—for the Order denied having any organs—were sedulous in disseminating forgeries and falsehoods about the Catholics, so clumsy and transparent that it was surprising they gained credence anywhere. The secret oath of the Order, which soon transpired, also set people in a hostile frame of mind. It consisted of a promise (1) never to favor or aid the nomination, election, or appointment of a Roman Catholic to any political office, and (2) never to employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if the services of a Protestant could be obtained. The Order was thus founded upon proscription and the boycott. It sounded strange when its President, as a reason for the secrecy of the Association, pleaded that, owing to Catholic boycotting, "nearly every member who made himself prominent in the movement retired absolutely ruined in politics and purse." Soon as the A. P. A. acquired power in any locality, or bade fair to acquire it, a class of politicians sought to convert it into a machine auxiliary to the Republican party. Such efforts uniformly brought the cause additional discredit. An endeavor being made to have a statue of Père Marquette, the Jesuit explorer, placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington, the A. P. A. was mean enough to use its influence against the granting of permission. Fortunately its effort was unsuccessful. The Mayor of Denver having, it was said, sworn the A. P. A. oath under a misapprehension, afterward appointed a Roman Catholic chief of police. For that act his photograph, draped in black and labeled "Perjurer and Traitor," was hung in the A. P. A. council chamber. It was furthermore resolved, "That wherever his carcass repose in the arms of mother earth, in whatsoever land, an unknown committee, duly appointed, shall perform its last rite in the name of this council by marking the place, that all may know, 'Here Lies a Traitor.'"

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CHICAGO STRIKE—THE CALIFORNIA “OCTOPUS”—INDIANS’ LAND IN SEVERALTY.

Cleveland no Populist—“Industrials” and “General” Coxe—Their March—Arrival in Washington—Arrests and Prosecutions—The Remnant Disband—The Town of Pullman—The Pullman Company—Wealth and Business—The American Railway Union—The General Managers’ Association—A. R. U. Fight with the Great Northern Railway—The Pullman Strike—“Nothing to Arbitrate”—Pullman Cars Boycotted—Eugene V. Debs—Strikers and Hoodlums—Property Looted—Workmen “Persuaded” not to Replace Strikers—Blood Drawn at Hammond—Partial Sympathetic Strike of the Knights of Labor—Debs and other Officers Arrested—Collapse of the Strike—The Costs—Altgeld *vs.* Cleveland on the Presence of Federal Soldiers in Chicago—A Snub to the National Guard—This a Powerful Force—Improvements in it after 1877—New and Dangerous Applications of Court Injunctions—Could there be a Legal Strike?—The Strike Commission—Findings and Recommendations—Strike of 1894 in California—Railway Monopoly—Consequences—Arguments in Extenuation—Per Contra—The Reilly Bill—Efforts for Relief—The Projected San Joaquin Valley Road—Indians’ Lands in Severalty—Breaking up the Tribal System—History of the Rise and March of the Severalty Idea in the United States from the Earliest Times—Commissioners E. P. Smith, J. Q. Smith, E. A. Hayt—The Enactment of 1887—Amended in 1891.

If the income tax and anti-trust enactments of 1894 betrayed a Democratic leaning toward populism, events occurring the same year proved that the President, for his part, still stood quite erect.

Discontent had prevailed in the labor world since early in the season. In March, bands of “Commonwealers” or “Industrials,” as they were called, were formed in various Western States, with the purpose of marching to Washington to show Congress and the President the desperateness of the labor situation and to demand relief. From first to last four-

teen States and two Territories were in more or less commotion from this movement. "General" Coxe led the advance; "General" Kelly followed with a larger force. At Des Moines Kelly had 1,250 in his train. At St. Louis many deserted him; the rest took boats for Cairo, where they disembarked and resumed their pilgrimage on foot. Though most of the tramps meant well, their mission was so novel and their destitution so complete that they spread terror all along their line of march. For food they depended on the country traversed. Many fed them from sympathy, others from fear. At best they suffered much from hunger and from cold. When not supplied with gifts, they stole, and arrests for theft much thinned their ranks as they advanced. At points they were violent, and the militia had to be called out to deal with them. In California a Commonweal general was killed by a town marshal. In a fight with Commonwealers at Fappenish, State of Washington, where the Commonwealers were very lawless, Deputy Marshals Jolly and Chidister were shot, though not fatally. Most of the Washington Commonwealers were tramping simply to get back to their Eastern homes, having been drawn to Puget Sound by extensive railway building and been thrown out of work. Here and there they captured freight trains and forced them into their service. Having suffered much from desertion in Ohio, Coxe's band reached Pittsburg April 2d, and Homestead April 5th, only 500 strong. On the 15th, with still dwindling numbers, it was at Cumberland, Md.; on the 28th at Washington, where it went into camp. On May 1st, in the presence of wondering multitudes, the Industrials attempted their meditated demonstration on the grounds and steps of the Capitol. The instant they set foot upon the Capitol grounds, the leaders, Coxe, Browne, and Jones, after being somewhat roughly handled, were arrested and jailed under local laws which forbade treading on the grass or displaying banners within the Capitol precincts. Coxe was released on June 10th, having meantime been nominated for Congress in Ohio. His followers early began to desert,

yet a camp of them remained in Washington till July 13th, when the remnant was shipped West.

Meanwhile disturbances far more formidable and unexpected were brewing in the West. Chicago, the city of the World's Fair, was destined soon to become the scene of the greatest strike in history. The very soldier who marshaled the civic parade in 1893, next year, in the same locality, was to array the military against angry citizens. The trouble originated at Pullman, Ill., the town whose miniature was so much admired at the Fair. Pullman had been founded in 1880, 14 miles from the heart of Chicago, but by 1894 it was included within the elastic limits of that city. Its real estate was owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company. Economy, beauty, cleanliness, and symmetry marked the buildings, which were pleasantly set off by lakelets, parks, and wide streets. The sale of liquor was not permitted in the town, except to guests at the hotel, but there seem to have been no other municipal regulations. Nevertheless, careful observers early noted in the population a sense of restraint, leading to frequent removals, also a disposition to speak of the company in an undertone, as a Russian might mention the Czar. "It is like living in a hotel, is it not?" was asked a Pullmanite once. "We call it camping out," he answered. Residents believed that they were watched by the company's "spotters." One visitor denominated the system a "benevolent feudalism." Such paternalism offended the American spirit of independence, and herein was a potent cause of the troubles.

Wholly aside from its landlordship of the town of Pullman, the company's business was immense. Its paid-up capital stock had increased from \$1,000,000 to \$36,000,000, whereon, for the year ending with June, 1893, the dividends had amounted to \$2,520,000. In addition, it had accumulated of undivided surplus profits \$25,000,000. It ran cars over 125,000 miles of railroad, or about three-fourths the total mileage of the country. It manufactured and repaired its own cars, besides building cars for the general market.

Strikes had been few, small, and short till June, 1893, when hard times had set in and the brisk demand for cars in preparation for travel to and from the World's Fair had ceased.

The Palace Car Company therefore at first laid off most of its workmen for a time, then cut their wages from twenty to twenty-five per cent and employed them less than full time. Other circumstances aggravated the discontent thus occasioned. There were petty shop tyrannies, rents were not reduced, though leniency was shown such as were in debt for rent, the salaries of officers continued as before, and Pullman stock was still quoted far above par. In the months of March and April, 1894, great numbers of the employees took refuge in the American Railway Union, better known by its initials as the "A. R. U."

This body, claiming 100,000 members, aimed to include all the 850,000 workers in any way connected with railroads in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. It had been formed in 1893, indirectly consequent upon railway consolidation, whereby forty-two corporations controlled nearly 100,000 miles, and more directly answering to a combination among railway employers known as the General Managers' Association. This association originated in 1886, and embraced the twenty-four railroads entering Chicago. These had an aggregate mileage of 40,933, a capitalization of considerably over \$2,000,000,000, and employed 220,000 or more men. Though this voluntary unincorporated body "had no more standing in law than the old Trunk Line Pool—but was a usurpation of power"—it determined the policy of the roads toward their workmen and the public. A comparative table of wages enabled the associated roads to equalize wages, and cuts here and there showed a tendency to do this. All the time that Pullman employees were enlisting in its ranks the union was engaged in a struggle with the Great Northern Railway. No attempt was made to supply strikers' places and no violence was wrought. Arbitration was proposed, but, sanguine of success, union leaders, until persuaded by St. Paul and Minneapolis business men, "had

nothing to arbitrate." A settlement was arrived at, which gave the union nearly all it demanded, and it was elated with the triumph.

Upon May 7th and 9th a committee of forty-six employees called upon Messrs. Pullman and Wickes, urging that the wages schedule of June, 1893, be restored. This was refused, but those gentlemen promised to investigate the shop abuses complained of, and declared that no one should be prejudiced with the company for serving on the committee. The next day, however, three members of the committee were laid off, and five-sixths of the Pullman employees, apparently against the counsel of A. R. U. leaders, determined upon a strike. The company then laid off the remainder of the workmen. The Pullman management would entertain no communication from the union. Mr. Wickes, the second vice-president, testified later: "If we were to receive these men as representatives of the union they could probably force us to pay any wages which they saw fit, and get the Pullman company in the same shape that some of the railroads are, by making concessions which ought not to be made." "The best of our men don't give us any trouble with unions or anything else. It is only the inferior men—that is, the least competent—that give us the trouble, as a general thing." A committee of employees, the Civic Federation of Chicago, Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, indorsed by the Mayors of over fifty cities, urged the company to submit the dispute to arbitration. The steadfast answer was, "The company has nothing to arbitrate." Nor would it debate this proposition before arbitrators. At the bar of public opinion the company did appear, seeking to justify itself by alleging the unprofitableness of its manufacturing business. The union, too, was resolute. The young giant, flushed with recent victory, eager to redress new wrongs, used to magnanimous dealing, deemed arbitration certain to be granted when due pressure was brought to bear. A national convention of the union unanimously voted that unless the Pullman Company sooner consented to arbitration members of the union

should, on June 26th, everywhere cease handling Pullman cars. This boycott was sympathetic in origin, while yet it could be traced to wages reductions, blacklisting, and the ominous growth and attitude of the Managers' Association. Once begun, it assumed portentous dimensions, far beyond the expectations or control of its leaders, paralyzing nearly every railway west of Ohio.

On June 29th, Eugene V. Debs, the president of the union, addressed the railroad employees of the country. "The struggle," he wrote, "with the Pullman Company has developed into a contest between the producing classes and the money power of the country. . . . The contest is now on between the railway corporations united solidly upon the one hand, and the labor forces upon the other. . . . I appeal to the strikers everywhere to refrain from any act of violence. . . . A man who will destroy property or violate law is an enemy and not a friend to the cause of labor."

From June 26th to July 3d, the date when troops arrived, there was, indeed, no uncontrolled violence in the city. Turbulent scenes followed an injunction issued July 2d, to prevent Railway Union men from "inducing" employees to strike. Spite of Federal and State troops, deputy marshals, and city police, thousands of angry men and women now fell to burning and looting property. Over two thousand cars were demolished or robbed and miles of track torn up. Workmen replacing strikers continued to be "persuaded" by fair means and foul. Interlocking systems of track, also switches and engines, were deftly rendered useless. The Managers' Association was widely believed to be hiring men to do these things in order to pervert public opinion.

Organized labor was at fault in not having done its utmost to purge its ranks of those who in a strike resorted to violent measures. Nor were the wealthy and respectable blameless, as they had brought contempt upon law and government by corruptly promoting or defeating legislation, and evading or violating law with impunity, through bribery and otherwise. It was wholly labor's misfortune that its blows

must be struck in presence of an irresponsible and highly explosive element, usually quite distinct from the strikers themselves, which social conditions have developed in our cities. In 1894 the tide ebbing after the World's Fair had left stranded in Chicago many representatives of this semi-criminal class.

On July 7th the soldiers received orders, in case of any act like firing upon railroad trains, or assaulting trainmen, marshals, or soldiers, to repel these assaults by the use of fire-arms. Next day a bloody conflict occurred at Hammond, Ind., one employee being killed by the mob and four wounded. At the Monon depot thirty-five regulars, amid ugly hoots and hisses, long kept a vast crowd at bay. Several passenger trains were successfully pulled out, which frenzied the mob. Sticks and stones flew. The hoodlums charged, were forced back by bayonets, then rallied and made another rush, when twelve or fifteen of them were shot down.

On July 10th, Sovereign, their General Master Workman, bade the Knights of Labor "lay down the implements of toil for a short season and under the banner of peace, and with a patriotic desire to promote the public welfare, use the powers of their aggregate numbers, through peaceable assemblages, to create a healthy public sentiment in favor of an amicable settlement of the issues growing out of the strike." In the East the Knights ignored this order, but it was obeyed in Chicago, where industry was half paralyzed already, and also further West. By the 11th the strike had extended to North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, and New Mexico, when President Cleveland issued a proclamation calculated to prevent riotous assemblages. On July 17th, Debs, Howard, and Keliher, head officers of the Railway Union, were arrested and lodged in jail for contempt in disobeying injunctions of court. On the 19th indictments were found against them and thirty-nine others. The worst was now over. The excesses of lawless men had so effectually alienated public sympathy from Debs and his cause that as soon as these leaders were in durance the strike collapsed.

The number of men involved in this strike, the miles of road it tied up, and the size of the mobs it mustered were greater than in the strike of 1877, but the loss of life was probably less. The property destroyed was also less. "The cost to the State and National Government of the Pullman and railroad strike was at least \$1,000,000 for troops. The 100,000 employees on the twenty-four roads centring in Chicago lost in wages \$1,389,143, according to the testimony before the Commission, while the Pullman employees lost \$350,000 in wages. The railroads lost in property destroyed, pay of United States marshals and other incidental expenses, \$684,308 and \$4,673,000 in earnings, while the large loss to shippers and the traveling public, all over the vast strike district of 2,500 miles length from east to west and 1,500 from north to south, it is impossible to estimate."¹ That life and capital suffered no more was in great measure due to prompt and decisive though widely unpopular action by the authorities at Washington, exhibiting, in a manner which astonished many, the strength which the central power in our Government had gradually acquired. When the Federal soldiers appeared in Chicago, Governor Altgeld protested against their presence, declaring his official ignorance of disorder warranting Federal intervention, denying the Federal authority to send troops thither except upon his request, and asking their withdrawal. Mr. Cleveland answered: "Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post-office Department that obstruction of the mails should be removed, and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the Federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States. To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of Federal authority, the presence of Federal troops in

¹ Revue d'Economie Politique.

the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary.”

Others besides Governor Altgeld disrelished the presence of regulars in Chicago. One reason was that at this time the militia, snubbed when the Federal troops marched in, had become, in Illinois as elsewhere, an object of reliance and State pride. The strike of 1877, approximating an insurrection, was followed by preparations to meet future similar disturbances with a more efficient arm than the militia had in that crisis proved to be. The Atlantic States first, and ultimately all the States, revised all their militia laws, reorganizing, reuniforming, and disciplining anew the citizen soldiery after the pattern of the regular army. Congress mightily encouraged this movement by making for the militia Federal provisions of arms, ordnance and quartermaster stores and camp equipage.¹ After 1887 four hundred thousand dollars was yearly appropriated for this purpose, the sums varying with the size of State delegations—Senators and Representatives—in Congress. All stores obtained by this fund had to be of the regular army standard, and they remained the property of the United States, to be duly accounted for by State Governors each year. Officers of the regular army could also be detailed as militia inspectors when States desired them, as most did.

In 1895 over thirty States held weekly drills, while twenty-six States held militia encampments for drill and inspection. In the percentage attending encampment, Vermont, with 96 per cent, was the banner State. Army officers were on duty in thirty-three States, inspecting, advising and giving instruction. The time required for mobilization varied from three hours in the District of Columbia to three days in Orgeon, while the proportion of the commands which would probably respond to an emergency ranged from 50 per cent in Minnesota, Mississippi, Oregon, and South Dakota, to 95

¹ United States Revised Statutes, Section 1661, amended February 11, 1887.

per cent in New York and Pennsylvania. New York, however, supplemented the United States appropriation by a large one of its own, amounting for many years to \$430,000. In nearly half the States the equipment was very good, or at least good. Artillery was nearly everywhere inferior. The total strength of the organized militia, officers and men, amounted in 1895 to 112,879. The term "National Guard" grew in favor as an appellation for the militia, and in that year thirty-six States employed it. Some States introduced a "Naval Reserve," which promised well as corresponding on sea to the militia on land. In addition to this active, organized volunteer force, the mass of able-bodied citizens, liable on emergency to military duty, was rated as a division of the militia. The whole number of men in the country available for military duty was, in 1895, over 10,000,000. The improvement in the militia force due to these sweeping changes was incalculable. Arms were still to some extent antiquated and diverse, and the proportions of cavalry and of artillery too small; yet the new National Guard was a formidable army, if not comparable with the regulars, almost as little comparable with the old militia which it had displaced.

The timorous indeed saw a menace in the new National Guard and went so far, some of them, as to dub our costly new armories "Plutocracy's Bastiles." But far more alarm was felt, especially among wage-workers, at the peculiar uses to which, after 1887, Federal tribunals applied injunctions and process for contempt of court. The judges first construed the Inter-State Commerce Law as authorizing them to enjoin engineers from abandoning trains. Such an injunction being disobeyed, offending workmen and any officers under whose orders they acted were forthwith imprisoned for contempt, no jury trial being had. Early in 1894 a United States Circuit Court injunction forbade Northern Pacific employees to strike in a body, assuming that the purpose of such an act must be to cripple the road. For contempt of his injunctions issued during the Pullman strike,

in December of the same year, Judge Woods sentenced Debs to six months' imprisonment, and the other leaders to three months each, under the so-called "Anti-Trust Law." These novelties aroused indignation among the radicals, and clothed with scowls faces wont to smile upon all measures for disciplining wage-workers. Even the New York "Evening Post" uttered warning against it. Said the "Springfield (Mass.) Republican," after Debs had been sentenced: "This action of the judicial power can not be allowed to go without rebuke. It makes for the subversion of the most fundamental rights of American citizens. If Debs has been violating law let him be indicted, tried by a jury, and punished; let him not be made the victim of an untenable court order and deprived of his liberty entirely within the discretion of a judge. The right of trial by jury for criminal offences lies at the bedrock of free institutions. It can not be denied without placing the liberty of every citizen in jeopardy. If the precedent now established is to stand, there is no limit to the power which the judiciary may establish over the citizen." In one point, indeed, laborers' rights were maintained. The United States Court of Appeals held that in the absence of an express contract a workman without the right to strike at will "is in a condition of involuntary servitude—a condition which the supreme law of the land declares shall not exist within the United States." This judgment the Supreme Court did not reverse, leaving it to be understood that railroad employees might combine to quit work in a body yet commit no illegal act. But the higher court emphatically affirmed the legitimacy of enjoining violent interference with railroads and of enforcing the injunction by punishing contempt. To be within the law, a strike must be absolutely peaceable.

Late in July, 1894, the President appointed John D. Kernan, of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington, of Illinois, to serve with Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, as a commission to investigate the nature and causes of the Pullman strike. The Commission spoke of the Man-

agers' Association as "an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislators." They announced the view that, as combination goes on, something approaching governmental control must be exercised over quasi-public corporations. The report even suggested, cautiously, that, at the proper juncture, Government ownership might be undertaken. It also noted the fact that "until the railroads set the example, a general union of railroad employees was never attempted." It recommended a permanent United States Railroad Strike Commission of three to investigate railway labor difficulties and recommend settlements enforceable by the courts. It urged that labor unions should be encouraged to incorporate, and be required to provide that all members guilty of violence, lawlessness, or intimidation forfeit their rights and privileges. The licensing of railway employees was mentioned as deserving careful attention. The Commission suggested State boards of conciliation and arbitration like that of Massachusetts, with larger powers, and proposed that contracts requiring men, as conditions of employment, not to join labor organizations, or, if members, to leave them, be made illegal. Federal Judge Ricks, of Cleveland, had for the present (1896) shut the door against this last measure by pronouncing such a law in Ohio unconstitutional and void. Arbitration bills, however, were introduced in several Legislatures, and a board, like that of Massachusetts, was provided for in Illinois.

A California public opinion nearly unanimous supported the Pullman strike. In that State any movement "against the railroad" was popular, so that there Kearneyism, treated in a previous chapter, was one scene, and the strike of 1894 another, of the same drama.

Nearly the entire railway system of California, together with the two railroad gateways to the East, was in the hands of the Southern Pacific monopoly. It resulted that, if water

competition were also cut off, an independent California dealer could hardly with profit ship goods to or from the East.¹ This fact in view, the Southern Pacific Company, under the alias of the Pacific Mail Company, contracted with the Panama Railroad for exclusive privileges. In consideration of a subsidy varying between \$65,000 and \$110,00 per month, not more than one-sixth of the increased profits accruing to the Southern Pacific from the deal, the isthmus railroad declined to receive freight from independent carriers on the coast. This control of business with the East was enough by itself to place the railroad's hand upon every Californian's pocket, but that was not the worst. The Southern Pacific seemed bent on forcing interior districts to trade with the East, or with Asia, costly as this was, to the detriment of San Francisco. Rates between that city and other points in California were often over twice as high as from New York. Tea direct from Tokio cost inland merchants less than tea from San Francisco. However cheaply goods might reach the Golden Gate, unless they were consigned to some inland point, high freights from San Francisco on prohibited them from taking this route. The effect, and obviously also the purpose, of this discrimination was to turn the entire Eastern commerce of the coast to New Orleans as its seaport, whence all business to the far West was absolutely monopolized by the Southern Pacific. In most parts of California the question whether one could profitably grow fruit or wheat, or engage in manufacturing or trade, turned entirely upon freight charges. One large ranch owner vowed that until another railroad was built he would raise nothing that could not carry itself to market on its own legs. A common sight in California, perhaps observed nowhere else in the world, was teams of horses, mules, or oxen hauling merchandise in competition with railroad trains. It was true that rates were tending to fall and that some schedules seem to have been reasonable. It was urged that having to

¹ See "Harper's Weekly," for March 2, 1895.

maintain long stretches of rails through deserts like those of Nevada, expensive but no more profitable than so much bridge, the railroad must charge all that the traffic would bear. It was true that some Californian manufacturers found high westward freight rates operating as a protective tariff against the East and therefore were not enthusiastic for reducing them. It was also true that the elective State Board of Equalization and the elective Railroad Commission had final authority respectively to assess railroad property and to fix railroad rates. But these Kearneyite-Granger devices had only driven the railroad more deeply into State politics. "All parties have shared in controlling the Railroad Commission, the railroad seems to have controlled all parties."¹ An apologist for the railroad writes as follows: "They were forced in self-defence to exert their influence in nominating conventions or at the polls, in doing which it is not to be presumed that their course differed from that of other participants in politics who have large interests affected by the administration of the Government. . . . As in Dean Richmond's time in Albany, the corporation has gone forth without the lamp of Diogenes in search of an honest man who would stay bought. That he has successfully dodged it no one believes. That the moral effect is bad no one denies. But the resident observer is impressed by the number who fear they will be missed in the dark and therefore cry out against the 'octopus' to show where they stand."²

But people had no mind to starve for the sake of corporations which had enriched their promoters with millions. The Reilly Bill, introduced in Congress in 1894, to refund at two per cent for fifty years the Southern Pacific's Central Pacific debt of some \$60,000,000, incensed all California. A petition against it, circulated by the San Francisco "Examiner," received over 200,000 signatures, a number nearly equal to that of all California's voters. Each mail brought Con-

¹ See "Annals of the American Academy," Vol. vi., 109.

² See "Overland Monthly" for June, 1895.

gressmen envelopes bearing red-letter legends such as "The Grip of the Octopus!" or "How Congressmen are Bribeed." Circulars were inside, many of which, for spirit and bitterness, rivaled Junius.

Numerous schemes for attaining freedom had been considered, and some of them tried. A merchant had to make an enormous shipment East. He was informed that the company "had him in the door and was going to squeeze him." He hired a steamship and sent his goods around the Horn. His rates were subsequently halved. In 1892, the Merchants' Traffic Association of San Francisco put a line of vessels on the Cape Horn route. The monopoly at once deserted its small partner in Panama. The Panama line was taken up by the San Franciscans, who raised a fund of \$300,000 for its maintenance, and connected both its ends with speedy steamships. This reduced transcontinental tariffs forty per cent, saving California \$500,000 a month; but when the contract expired, in the spring of 1894, the merchants found that their work had been philanthropic rather than profitable, and they withdrew exhausted. In January, 1895, a meeting of delegates discussed bonding the central counties of California to construct railways within their limits. Next day leading men of wealth in San Francisco called for \$350,000 for a road through the rich San Joaquin Valley, ultimately to connect San Francisco with Southern California and with the Santa Fé railway systems. Capitalists and financiers, notably Claus Spreckels and his sons, also James D. Phelan and James Flood, supported the enterprise, which bade fair to consume millions of dollars instead of thousands. The managing committee announced that "the good, the advancement, the future, the prosperity of the State of California demanded a people's railroad, to be owned by the people, and operated in the interests of the people." The experiment was watched with deep concern, lest this young enterprise should be smothered by the "Octopus." Though a careful plan was devised to prevent this, acute students of the movement and of the events lead-

ing to it believed that nothing short of a governmental or State railway system would meet the requirements of California.

Amid the momentous events just narrated, the public for the moment lost sight of a reform set on foot in 1887, despite many unforeseen difficulties. The severalty system in Indian lands already began to bear fruit in 1893 and 1894, and promised a radical advance in the life of our national wards. As a result of this measure, many friends of the red man seemed now to foresee the day when the tribal organization, with its inevitable repression of the individual, would be a thing of the past.

Up to 1887 most Indian communities had no notion of individual land tenure, and no opportunity under the law to change their primitive common occupation of the land. Moreover, it was impossible for the aborigines to become citizens, except by abandoning their own race. The obvious mischief of a Government policy tolerating such results had been recognized in sundry special laws and treaties which sought to amend it in one or both of its phases.

The earliest known reference to the individual ownership of land by Indians is in an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts, passed in October, 1652, as follows:¹

"It is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that what landes any of the Indians, within this jurisdiction, have by possession or improvement, by subdueing of the same, they have just right thereunto accordinge to that Gen: 1: 28, Chap. 9: 1, Psa: 115, 16."

It was further provided that any Indians who became civilized might acquire land by allotment in the white settlements on the same terms as the English.²

The earliest known reference to severalty holding found

¹ For the history here presented of the rise of the Indians' Land in Severalty System, the author is indebted to the politeness of Hon. D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to research put forth in his office.

² See Senate Ex. Doc. No 95, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 50.

in any United States treaty with the Indians is in Article 8 of the treaty of July 8, 1817, with the Cherokees,¹ by which the United States agreed to give a reservation of 640 acres to each and every head of any Indian family residing on the east side of the Mississippi River who might wish to become a citizen of the United States. In such reservation holders were to have a life estate, with reversion in fee simple to their children.

The earliest legislation on the subject appears to be the Act of March 3, 1839,² which provided that the reservation of the Brotherton or Brothertown Indians might be partitioned and divided among the different individuals of the tribe, and held by them in fee simple. The Act also provided for the issuance of patents, and for Indian citizenship in terms similar to those of the "Dawes Act" mentioned later (p. 188). The Act of 1839 may safely be considered the inception of the modern system of allotments in severalty. An act like it was passed for the Stockbridge Indians March 3, 1843.³ A treaty similar in terms was concluded with Wyandotte Indians, April 1, 1850.⁴ By the treaty of March 15, 1854, with the "Ottoe and Missouriia" Indians,⁵ and also by the treaty of March 16, 1854, with the Omahas,⁶ the President might parcel from the reservation lands to each single person over 18 years of age one-eighth of a section, and to each family a quantity proportioned to its size. Such allotments were practically inalienable. A number of subsequent treaties included similar provisions, some providing for alienation with consent of the President or Secretary of the Interior, others for patents in fee simple. Some also contemplated the naturalization of the allottees.

Thus far all provisions for the allotment of Indians' lands in severalty were restricted to particular tribes. The first reference to a general system of allotments was in 1873, when Edward P. Smith, then Indian Commissioner, in his Annual

¹ 7 United States Statutes, 159.

² *Ibid.*, 5,645.

³ *Ibid.*, 10, 1,038.

Ibid., 5,349.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9,987.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 10, 1,044.

Report, mentioned the hindrance to the progress of the Indians "found in a want of individual property-rights among Indians. A fundamental difference between barbarians and a civilized people is the difference between a herd and an individual. All barbarous customs tend to destroy individuality. Where everything is held in common, thrift and enterprise have no stimulus of reward, and thus individual progress is rendered very improbable, if not impossible. The starting-point of individualism for an Indian is the personal possession of his portion of the reservation. . . . In order to this first step, the survey and allotment in severalty of the lands belonging to the Indians must be provided for by Congressional legislation."

The next year Commissioner Smith recommended providing for the Indians, first, a way into citizenship, and, second, a land-tenure in severalty by allotment with an ultimate fee, but inalienable for a term of years. In 1876, Commissioner John Q. Smith repeated his predecessor's views. "It is doubtful," he said, "whether any high degree of civilization is possible without individual ownership of land. It seems to me a matter of great moment that provision should be made not only permitting, but requiring, the head of each Indian family to accept the allotment of a reasonable amount of land, to be the property of himself and his lawful heirs, in lieu of any interest in any common tribal possessions. Such allotments should be inalienable for at least twenty, perhaps fifty, years, and if situated in a permanent Indian reservation, should be transferable only among Indians."

So, too, the annual report of Commissioner E. A. Hayt, for 1877, put as fundamental to Indian civilization, "Endowment of the Indians with lands, divided into farms of convenient size, the title to which shall be vested in individuals and inalienable for twenty years; and the promotion in every feasible way of the knowledge of agriculture and a taste for agricultural pursuits among them."

The same officer a year later again urged the importance

to the Indians "of a uniform and perfect title to their lands," and continued: "The constant removals incident to the former land policy of the Indian service have been freighted with evil consequences to the Indians. Even when placed upon reservations they have come to consider, notwithstanding the most solemn guarantees from the United States that the same should be kept sacred and remain theirs forever, that the title to their land is without permanency, and that they are subject to be removed whenever the pressure of white settlers upon them may create a demand for their lands either before Congress or the Department. So fixed has this opinion become among the more civilized tribes, that in the main they decline to make any improvements upon their lands, even after an allotment in severalty has been made, until they have received their patents for the same. The Secretary of the Interior should be authorized by a law applicable to all the tribes to allot the lands in such reservations among the Indians belonging thereon, and to issue patents therefor without the right to sell, mortgage, lease, or otherwise alienate the same for the term of twenty-five years. Such an act would, I am satisfied, afford to the Indians the degree of protection necessary to their civilization and lead them gradually to a full comprehension of the rights, privileges, duties, and responsibilities of American citizenship, which I shall hope to see accorded them whenever in the future they may become fully competent."

In 1879, Commissioner Hayt embodied his views in a bill introduced in the Forty-fifth Congress. Similar measures appeared in each succeeding Congress until the Forty-ninth, which in February, 1887, enacted the so-called "General Allotment," or "Dawes," Act.¹ This measure authorized the President, through special agents, to allot in severalty to Indians thereon located any reservation land considered fit for agriculture and grazing. Each head of a family to receive one-quarter of a section, each other adult one-eighth of a section. Orphan children and minors were also provided

¹ 24 United States Statutes, 388.

for. The Indians themselves were to select the land. Such Indians as lived outside the limits of a reservation or claimed no tribal relationship might also receive land under this law. To each allottee the United States was to issue a patent, pledging itself to hold the land in trust for a period of twenty-five years. Any conveyance or contract made during this period, touching the allotments, was null and void. At the end of this time the land was to be conveyed to the allottee.

The Act constituted any Indian born within the limits of the United States to whom any allotment of land was made, or who had adopted the habits of civilized life, a citizen of the United States. The rights and duties of every allottee, it was declared, were to be regulated by the civil and criminal laws of the State or Territory in which he resided. Four years later, upon recommendation of the Indian Office, the law was modified so as to give each member of a tribe an equal quantity of land. By the amended law, one-eighth of a section was specified for all allotments, though if the extent of the reservation was sufficient a larger allotment might be made. In cases approved by the Secretary of the Interior allotments might be leased. The new law also embodied regulations regarding the descent of land to the heirs of a deceased Indian.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO IN THE LIGHT OF THE
ELEVENTH CENSUS.

The "New South"—Events Denoting Good Feeling between South and North—Dedication of the Chickamauga Military Park—The Gen. Lytle Button Incident—The Parade—The Cotton States and International Exposition—Opening—The Addresses—Booker T. Washington's Speech—Proceedings Telegraphed to President Cleveland—His Reply—The Machinery Set in Motion from Gray Gables—Atlanta's Effort in Originating the Exposition—Grounds and Buildings—Success—The Negro Building—The Exposition's Revelations of Southern Prosperity—Backwardness in Sections—Three Black Belts—Ill-Success of the Negro as a Farmer—Jews and Negroes—Progress of the South at Large—Compared with the West—The South in 1860, 1870, and 1880—Material Progress between 1880 and 1890—In Agriculture—In Manufactures—In Mining—Vast Undeveloped Resources—The New South Created by Southern Men—Character of the Southern Whites—Their Resolution—Their Patriotism—Treatment of the Drink Question—South Carolina Dispensary System—Effectual Prohibition—Reaction against Lynching—Dreadful Difficulty of the Race Question—White Supremacy at the Polls Attained—Aquiesscence—Coddling of the Negro Depreciated—Undoubted Brightness of the African Race—The Defects of that Race—Immorality—Lack of Originality—Little Persistence—Good Work under Overseers—Whites Multiply more Rapidly than Blacks—Certain Districts Offer an Exception—Negro Mortality—Black Migration from the Highlands to the Lowlands—From Country to City—Future of the Race—Intensified Competition from White Immigrants—Dying Off of the Last Slaveholder Generation—Significance of this to the Black Man.

IN the midst of the war, while Port Royal, South Carolina, was in possession of the Northern forces, a paper called "The New South" was established there by General Adam Badeau. The name, thus originated, anticipated by a dozen dark years the happy phenomenon to which it is now applied. Events of 1895 strikingly brought before the people the significance of the New South, and its harmony with the rest of

the Republic. The era of good feeling could perhaps be formally dated from Memorial Day, 1895, when a Confederate monument was dedicated at Chicago. It was well signaled by several almost simultaneous events: the assembling of the Grand Army of the Republic at Louisville, Ky., the encampment of the Sons of Confederate Veterans at Knoxville, Tenn., the dedication of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, and the opening of the Atlanta Exposition.

The National Military Park was dedicated on September 19th, though the 18th and the 20th as well were filled with ceremonies. The purchase and construction of the Park had been authorized by Congress in 1890, the Government expending therefor three-quarters of a million dollars, the States of Georgia and Tennessee half a million more. The ground thus consecrated embraced about ten square miles, through and around which twenty miles of broad roadway had been built, and as much again projected. Five tall observation towers made possible an almost perfect view of the battlefields of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. An immense speakers' stand for the celebration had been erected on Snodgrass Hill, the centre of perhaps the most terrific fighting ever witnessed on this continent. Many notables were present, among them Vice-President Stevenson, who presided, Secretaries Herbert and Smith, Attorney-General Harmon, and Postmaster-General Wilson. Governors Oates of Alabama, Atkinson of Georgia, Altgeld of Illinois, Matthews of Indiana, Morrill of Kansas, Greenhalge of Massachusetts, Rich of Michigan, Holcomb of Nebraska, Werts of New Jersey, Morton of New York, McKinley of Ohio, Turney of Tennessee, and Woodbury of Vermont were also in attendance, as were Generals Alger, Lew Wallace, Schofield, Howard, Longstreet, and Gordon. To the regret of all, age and infirmity prevented General Rosecrans from being present. Speaker Crisp, of the National House of Representatives, also Senators Palmer, Manderson, Bate, and Blackburn, and Congressmen Wheeler, Grosvenor, and Turner, besides a long

list of other eminent gentlemen, honored the occasion by attending.

On the 18th, a hundred monumental tablets were dedicated, marking and describing the successive positions of troops on the field during the fighting. There were reunions of Northern and of Southern troops, and of Northern with Southern. A belt line of railroad built for the occasion accommodated the hosts of old soldiers and their friends. One of the pleasing incidents connected with the reunion occurred when General Gordon, holding up his hand, said: "I have here a button, veneered over with blood, taken from the coat of the poet-soldier, Brigadier-General William Haines Lytle, the author of 'I am dying, Egypt, dying!'¹ after he had fallen, September 20, 1863, leading a charge on this immortal field." General Gordon thereupon presented the precious relic to Attorney-General Harmon, like General Lytle, a resident of Cincinnati. Mr. Harmon subsequently gave it to a nephew of General Lytle, who was found to be present.

On September 20 there was a parade, led by Regular Troops, the 17th United States Infantry. Next came the 11th Regiment, Ohio National Guard, Governor McKinley riding at its head. The Tennessee forces followed, among them a company from Memphis, dressed in Confederate uniforms and bearing old-time muskets. This troop elicited more applause than any other feature of the parade.

The Cotton States and International Exposition was inaugurated at Atlanta, Ga., on September 18, 1895. It was a holiday in the city, made merry by streamers, bunting, and a good-humored American crowd, to which the negroes in it imparted almost its only Southern tinge. The opening ceremonies at the auditorium were brilliant and protracted. Victor Herbert's band convulsed every one when it played a medley of "The Red, White, and Blue," "Dixie," and "Yankee Doodle." Then there was another medley of rebel

¹ The poem is entitled "Antony to Cleopatra," and may be found in Vol. viii. of Stedman and Hutchinson's "Library of American Literature."

yells and Yankee shouts. On the platform sat the directors, President Collier occupying the place of honor, near him Mrs. Joseph Thompson, President of the Woman's Board. Distinguished visitors and guests of the Exposition were present in numbers, among them the colored educator, Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The opening prayer, by Bishop Nelson, was followed by addresses from President Collier and Mrs. Thompson. Judge Emory Speer delivered a scholarly oration. But Mr. Washington made the speech of the day. When he arose he was greeted with applause, and each of his telling points elicited hearty recognition. He said, referring to the negroes' progress shown at the Fair: "You must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with the ownership here and there of a few quilts, pumpkins, and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember that the path which has led us from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, and the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While from representations in these buildings of the products of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, of letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good that, let us pray God, will come in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, and in the determination in even the remotest corner to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law, and a spirit that will tolerate nothing but the highest equity in the enforcement of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring to our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth."

Every detail of these introductory proceedings was telegraphed to President Cleveland at Gray Gables in Buzzards Bay, Mass. Ex-Governor Bullock, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, sent a message thanking Mr. Cleve-

land for his interest, approval, and aid, and assuring him that the mingling of people about to occur would "render future ill-will between the sections impossible." At 5.30 President Cleveland telegraphed reply:

"Fully appreciating the value and importance of the Exposition inaugurated to-day, I am especially gratified to be related to its inception and progress and to participate in its opening ceremonies. I sincerely congratulate those whose enterprise and energy have accomplished such splendid results, and heartily wish that the Exposition they have set on foot may be completely successful in consummating all the good results contemplated by its promoters."

The President was seated in his gun-room, with his family and his private secretary. A button communicating with Atlanta rested on a small shelf by the window. It was of black rubber with a small solid gold band around the edge, and bore the inscription "Marian Cleveland, September 18, 1895." As the President's young daughter pressed the button the gates of the Exposition at Atlanta swung open, and, amid booming cannon, shrieking whistles, buzzing machinery, and cheering multitudes, its life began.

Atlanta was the only city of its size in the world which had ever undertaken so vast an enterprise. With only about 100,000 inhabitants, forty per cent of them negroes, it set on foot and carried to completion, in dull business times and soon after the World's Columbian Fair, an Exposition which outdid the California Midwinter Fair of 1893-94, the New Orleans Exposition of 1884, and even the Centennial, being among American exhibitions second only to the World's Columbian at Chicago. The buildings and grounds were in admirable taste. Chicago had taught the world that water and greensward are the diamonds and emeralds of a fine landscape. The Atlanta grounds proved that this lesson had been well learned. From the entrance the eye took in the whole group of buildings, not colossal, but commodious and beautiful. Only seven States—New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, California, Alabama, and Georgia—were

represented by State buildings. The Northern attendance was good, Chicago sending one excursion 2,500 strong, yet on the whole far fewer passed the gates than had been expected; only 1,200,000 in the fifty-four days. The Atlanta managers, with commendable public spirit, repeatedly supplied deficiencies out of their own pockets. The negroes were given every encouragement to contribute exhibits in their department, and the "Negro Building" showed surprising and universally observed evidences of progress on the part of the colored race.

The Exposition would have been worth all it cost had it had no other effect than to assure the South itself and the rest of the world touching the rapid advance of that section in the main elements of prosperity. What the Eleventh Census had put down in figures exhibits at Atlanta propounded in impressive object lessons, not to be forgotten.

There were indeed sections where nothing as yet bespoke a New South; where unthrift and decay incessantly reminded, not exactly, indeed, of the Old South, but of something far worse, of the darkest days succeeding the war. These sections were the black belts. One belt of black majority counties, averaging about a hundred miles wide, ran between the coast and the highlands, spotted in the northeast with white counties, in South Carolina and Florida touching the coast. The watershed of the State of Mississippi, running north and south, sundered this from the second black belt. Starting just above New Orleans, this extended up the Mississippi, some one hundred and twenty-five miles wide, to Tennessee, and up the Red River, perhaps forty miles wide, to Arkansas and Texas. Fifteen counties of Texas, with 82,310 white and 126,297 black inhabitants, formed a third, small, black belt.

In the black belt plantations things were as yet very backward. The deterioration and decline which war began had hardly been stayed. The old slaves could not at once become good hirelings. Their minds were too much occupied with political cares. Also the vision of "forty acres and a Govern-

ment mule" had been held up before them with fatal effect. "Free negro labor" the whites soon learned to look upon as a synonym for unfaithfulness and inefficiency. To work as a wage-laborer for a white man fixed upon a negro in the black territory the badge of social inferiority among his own kith and kin. The share system of farm labor, following the wages system, was unsatisfactory and usually gave way to the practice of tenancy from year to year. The whites, more generally than the negroes, abandoned country for town, which resulted in a system of absentee landlordism, even the old plantation houses being in some cases rented to negroes. The most shiftless and wasteful methods of farming were practiced, in sharp competition, too, with skilful white farming, in Texas and on the Gulf Coast. Jews driven from Russia, not having lost their absorbent disposition, settled in the black belt, and, by supplying the negroes with drink, bawbles, and cheap goods on trust, slowly got mortgages on their farms, mules, cows, hogs, and furniture, reducing their victims to a state no better than slavery. Thus poverty and even destitution might be found where of old there was good living for all. The black belts, therefore, were not of the New South, but the remains of the Old South. The case was analogous to that of the decline in so many old New England farms.

Abstracting from these retrograde communities, the progress of the South from 1880 to 1890 was phenomenal. Its development was in some respects more remarkable and gratifying than that of the West. The enormous land grants and subsidies to Western railroads were a burden upon the whole country, the South included; while many such railroads as were built in the South after the war added to the direct debt of its worn and wasted commonwealths another debt of even greater magnitude. A prominent reconstruction Governor attributed most of the evils of reconstruction times to railroad legislation, more heedless than corrupt, in which the United States, which could better afford it, had led the way.

In 1860 the assessed value of property in the South was \$5,200,000,000. The census of 1870 showed a decline of

\$2,100,000,000, and that of 1880 another decline of \$300,000,000. In 1870 Massachusetts assessed her property at more than half the entire valuation of the South. New York and Pennsylvania then had more than the whole South. "The South in 1880 was burdened with debts, both State and private, its railroads in bad condition physically and financially, its manufacturing business very limited, its population largely in excess of any demand that could possibly exist for labor under the conditions prevailing, with but few banks and few strong friends in the great financial centres of the country."

From 1880 to 1890 the value of property in the South at large increased \$3,800,000,000, this being only \$100,000,000 less than the increase of the New England and Middle States combined. Moreover, it was a 50 per cent increase against one of 22 per cent on the part of those States. Southern farm assets increased 37 per cent against an average increase in the other States and Territories of 30 per cent. Southern farm products increased 16 per cent, while those of the rest of the country increased but 9 per cent. The gross return on the agricultural capital invested in the South was nearly twice as great as that from the same source in the other sections. After the fall in the price of cotton consequent upon Old World competition and the vast crop of 1890, the South's grain crop came to exceed her cotton crop, Texas leading in both wheat and corn.

Fully fifty varieties of sub-tropical trees which grew nowhere else in the Union adorned Florida's keys and coasts. The State bade fair to rival Louisiana in the production of sugar, and South Carolina in that of rice, as well as one day to supply the entire American demand for cocoanuts. The mulberry was indigenous to every part of this new Eden, which may, therefore, at no late date become an immense producer of raw silk. Cattle fed and fattened everywhere without shelter, in winter as in summer. Market gardening for the North was profitable, particularly in the line of early and semi-tropical fruits. It was found that a zone across the en-

tire South in the latitude of Atlanta produced the finest of apples in unlimited quantities. Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Texas reared innumerable horses, cattle, and sheep of the best breeds.

Manufactured products were of even greater consequence than agricultural, exceeding them in value by \$140,000,000. During the decade manufacturing investments at the South increased 156 per cent as against 120.76 per cent for the country at large. The products doubled, while those of the whole land increased but 69.27 per cent.

The following table shows the growth of cotton manufacturing in the Southern States between 1880 and 1894:

	1880.	1890.	1894.
Capital	\$21,976,713	\$61,124,096	\$107,900,000
Number of Mills.....	180	254	425
Number of Spindles.....	667,754	1,712,930	3,023,000
Number of Looms.....	14,323	39,231	68,000
Value of Product.....	\$21,038,712	\$46,971,503	

To manufacture the entire cotton crop would require many times the investment of 1894. However, a smaller and smaller proportion of cotton went away to be wrought. New England capital was extensively used to rear cotton factories at the South, and the coarser cotton fabrics from the South were in competition at Lowell with goods made at that place. In 1895 a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature went South to investigate the significance of these facts.

Cottonseed, long considered a waste product, having proved to yield a valuable oil, in 1895 between 250 and 300 mills were at work in the South reducing the seed, and they consumed annually more than a million tons of it. This industry developed valuable by-products, among them oil meal, and cakes, and ingredients used in the manufacture of paper, soap, and gas.

The grist mills of Richmond were making from Southern wheat the only brand of flour sure to cross the equator without spoiling.

In 1880 the South produced 397,301 tons of pig iron; in

1893, spite of the business depression, the section put out 1,567,000 tons. Her coal crop in the year last named was nearly 28,000,000, one-sixth of the whole country's product. In 1880 it had been but 6,048,000 tons.

Iron furnaces, pipe works, rolling mills, box-car, and car-wheel shops, characterized the rich northern section of Alabama. On one side of Birmingham rose a mountain of iron fifty miles long, on the other lay a vast coal field; near at hand stood another mountain of limestone suitable for fluxing. Northern Alabama and tracts immediately adjacent contained coal fields sufficient, at the present rate of consumption, to supply the world for 150 years. Alabama was next to Pennsylvania in coke producing, and next to Ohio and Pennsylvania in her yield of pig iron.

The more the South produced the clearer did it become that there were unlimited productive resources behind. Vast as were the forests of the great Northwest, more than half the country's standing timber was to be found in the South, much of it of the hardwood varieties. Yellow pine the section possessed in exhaustless stores. A tract of country reaching from West Virginia to northern Alabama, being roughly 700 miles long by 150 or 200 wide, contained a greater concentration of mineral and timber wealth than any other equal area in America or Europe. The conditions for its profitable development were ideal. On one side of the tract named grew cotton, fruit, truck, and yellow pine, ready to be exchanged for the coal, iron, and hardwoods of the upper country. On the other side lay the rich and populous prairie States, affording an almost unlimited market for all the products of the timber and mineral ridge.

Tennessee, Alabama, and Texas were rich in marble and all building stones. The best of asphalt was to be mined in Alabama at a dollar a ton. South Carolina annually yielded three million dollars' worth of phosphate rock, while similar deposits lay along the coast from North Carolina to Florida, and even on the Gulf. Western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and central Kentucky were rich in limestones. First-class

gypsum was found in Virginia in seams six hundred feet thick. Salt, petroleum, aluminium, mica, topaz, and gold appeared here and there in paying quantities. Rain rarely failed the farmer, or water-power the manufacturer. Nearly the whole South, save the mountains, was penetrated by navigable streams, being thus potentially independent of railroads.

If it was a Northerner who so named the "New South," the New South itself was essentially the creation of Southern men. The whites of the South were a virile race. Slavery had kept them from developing or revealing their powers. The purest Saxon-Norman blood in the world probably ran in their veins. The best traits of the English stock: initiative, firmness, perseverance, patience, pride, thrift, morality, were theirs in an eminent degree. Long misunderstood and distrusted at the North, with large debt and little credit, politics about them a boiling maelstrom, a war of races on their hands, difficulties which beset in like pressure no other section of our people, they did not despair or falter, but went earnestly to work to make the South a worthy home for themselves and their posterity. The deathless resolution with which this enterprise was pushed to success added an incalculable enrichment to American history.

With the rarest exceptions, few of these being men, the Southern people had become enthusiastically loyal. A German shopkeeper in a far Southern city, one July 4th, ran up in front of his place the German and the American flag, the German uppermost. An ex-Confederate captain forthwith waited upon the man, giving him just five minutes in which to place the Stars and Stripes on top. In another city a young schoolmaster, educated at the North, fearing offence should he display the United States flag over his schoolhouse on the National Anniversary, concluded not to do so. What was his chagrin when the morning came to see the emblem floating above nearly every other public building in town. Listening suspiciously to the addresses, some formal, others wholly impromptu, of Confederate veterans at their camp

fires, a Northern soldier failed to mark a single sentiment to which, as a patriot, he could take exception.

Nor could you justly question the patriotism of a Southerner if you chanced to hear him praising Jefferson Davis. His thought would be that in 1861 the compact theory of the Union, according to which a State might secede at its will, had never been authoritatively declared false. Then, therefore, a citizen could secede with his State and not be a traitor, believing himself to be acting under the Constitution and not contrary thereto. Only the stern arbitrament of war, he would say, set aside the compact theory, making secession under the Constitution impossible and absurd.

The morality of the Southern people came out in their serious treatment of the drink question. The South Carolina dispensary system was the most advanced liquor legislation yet seen in any country. Probably unsuited to a constituency made up largely of cities, for the agricultural States it was a model. The other Southern Commonwealths nearly all passed local option laws, under which the country counties steadfastly voted "dry." In no case was such a vote a dead letter. A man undertaking to sell liquor in a "dry" county was in the first instance admonished. This always sufficed, except with strangers. If the adventurer persisted after being warned, he was either run out or shot. In consequence of this vigorous policy prohibition was sweepingly successful. In Arkansas, in 1895, there were said to be not above six counties—the "wet" counties—where strong drink could be found on sale. The situation elsewhere corresponded.

Healthily remembering that "the law" can have no "sacredness" which does not proceed from the will of the people, Southerners were long too prone to avenge crime by summary appeals to the popular will. Right public sentiment on this subject asserted itself, however, more and more, at last finding voice in the South Carolina Constitution of 1895. The sixth section, Article VI., of that instrument provides that, when a prisoner lawfully in charge of any officer, is taken from such officer's hands by his negligence, permission, or

connivance, the officer, upon true bill found, shall be deposed from his office pending trial, and if convicted, shall forfeit his office. Unless pardoned by the Governor, he is forever ineligible to any office of trust or profit in the State. The same section lays down that in all cases of fatal lynching the county in which it occurs is liable to the legal representatives of the lynched person in exemplary damages of not less than \$2,000. This was a novelty in American law.

Far angriest among the numerous perplexities confronting the Southern people in their struggle were those presented by the presence of the colored race. Over large domains, as we have seen, and in some entire States, these formed a majority of the population. The means used to deprive of political control the majorities in such constituencies, and to keep them from regaining such, have been repeatedly referred to in the course of this History. The conflict was bitter but the victory complete, won by means whose result, unlike their nature, was never doubtful. The supremacy regained was retained partly by the same appliances as were first employed in Mississippi and South Carolina by the operation of adroitly framed Constitutions. Every Southern white, no matter how much he might in theory disapprove the methods, insisted that the end sought and attained, the maintenance of white supremacy, was patriotic and righteous in the extreme, as important for blacks as for whites. Every white man in the South would die rather than submit to the horrors certain to attend negro ascendancy.

The negroes more and more became resigned to this subjection—the ordinary from lack of spirit, the knowing ones from conviction. In his Atlanta Exposition address, Booker T. Washington said: “The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.”

The brightest Afro-Americans also deprecated the will-

ingness of their race to be coddled. The New York "Age," a paper published in the interest of the colored people, said: "We have got to stop complaining about lack of opportunity and make the most of such opportunity as presents itself. When no opportunity presents itself, turn to and turn up opportunity. . . . We complain of lack of opportunity to make money when we squander millions every year on hum-bugs. Dollars count, but we do not hold on to the dollars; hence we are constantly passing the mendicant hat to support our own institutions and receiving a small check and a kick at the same time. We do not support our own enterprises, and then we complain because the white men who receive our patronage refuse to give honorable employment to our girls and boys. Let us stop howling and saw more wood."

Rendering the blacks politically innocuous simply relieved the race problem of its most threatening phase. Still were left swarming everywhere the enormous caravans of blacks, indolent and the fertile source of defective population, pauperism, and crime, with no promise of essential change for the better.

No argument was required, especially after the display of negroes' work at Atlanta, to show that the colored race was bright. In every art, craft, knack, trick, lesson, which could be mastered by imitation, plenty of negroes would be found to excel. Among them were some equal to every demand of skilled artisanship. They made capital vocalists, actors, public speakers. In book learning, too, in the classics, in mathematics, or in science, they had but to keep the beaten path to reach with firm foot quite recondite fields.

While all this was true, there were three precious elements of character, devotion to principle, initiative, whether theoretical or practical, and power of endurance, mental or physical, in purpose or in deed, wherein the colored race seemed radically deficient. In each of the particulars named the defect appeared to be a genuine racial idiosyncrasy, not explicable by the people's previous condition of servitude. Truly grand negro characters there were, men of gold, firm in

every virtue, admirable, an honor to humanity; yet the drift of the race in reference to principles of conduct left these splendid instances to appear sporadic and phenomenal. All over the South the negroes almost to a man voted for "free rum" as often as the liquor question came up. A "protracted meeting" of colored Christians being in progress in one of the South Carolina counties, the weather changed and fire was needed. Ample fuel was at hand in the neighboring woods, to be had free of cost, for the mere effort of "toting" it. Declining this chance, the brethren, apparently without the slightest compunction, raided a white neighbor's fences, laying them low for a long distance. An observant Northern Doctor of Divinity, fifteen years resident in one of the largest Southern cities, knowing the colored people of his city thoroughly, and cherishing for them the kindest feelings, gave it as his candid opinion that not more than one of the numerous colored clergymen of the city lived chastely. In the class-rooms of colored colleges one could not but sigh over the fatal ease with which pupils, even the brightest, missed the essential points of nearly every discussion. In the Lyceum whole evenings often passed away amid loud wrangling over frivolous points of order, the question given out for debate being quite forgotten. Referring to the absence of originality and serious purpose in the negro mind, one of the ablest men in the South, perfectly conversant with negro character, yet wholly free from Southerners' prejudices, uttered the emphatic judgment that an isolated community of colored people, however well civilized and educated, would be unequal to the task of self-government, and would lapse into barbarism within two generations.

Outside the three colored tracts referred to above, the blacks formed, in 1890, a minority in every county of the South. The whites also increased on the whole far more swiftly than the blacks. In the great Eastern black belt, where there were 1,800,000 whites to 2,700,000 blacks, the whites multiplied nearly twice as rapidly as the blacks. The Gulf Coast white belt was an exception. Both races there

underwent a heavy increase, the blacks gaining about 29 per cent, the whites about a third as much. Also the Mississippi and Red River bottoms revealed a gain on the part of the Africans of over a fifth, while the whites' growth was only a seventh.

Alarming mortality among negroes vastly retarded their increase. Dr. Gourdin DeSaussier, of Charleston, S. C., in 1895, obtained statistics showing that in that city, from 1880 to 1887, out of an average negro population of 28,730 there were 8,932 deaths, or about 31 per cent; and from 1887 to 1894, out of an average population of 34,691, 9,604 deaths, or about 28 per cent. Syphilitic and consumptive diseases were the most fatal. For the fourteen years there were 18,536 deaths to 13,010 births. Among the whites for the first period, "with about the same population," the deaths were 3,895, the births 3,854.

The negro betrayed slight disposition to wander far from his original seat; yet the decade 1880-90 witnessed on his part a few articulate movements. He tended to drift southward and westward, and from the highlands to the lowlands. Spite of this, however, 1890 saw more blacks north of Mason and Dixon's line than were ever there before. The proportion then to total population was 8.79 per cent as against 5.46 in 1860. Kentucky, the western half of Virginia, and northeastern Mississippi suffered an absolute decrease of colored inhabitants. So, outside the principal cities, did Tennessee, Maryland, northern Alabama, and eastern Virginia. The people of color resembled the whites in a decided *penchant* for removing from country to city. Louisville gained 8,000, and three smaller cities of Kentucky 2,000. Chattanooga, Nashville, and Knoxville, Tenn., gained 24,000—nearly twice as much as the State at large. Baltimore gained 13,000—more than twice as much as Maryland. The county containing Birmingham, Ala., received 27,089 of the 47,987 accessions to northern Alabama. So, in the first black belt, the cities generally outstripped the country in number of negro accessions. One-half the negro growth of eastern

North Carolina and of Florida was in the cities. In Georgia little less than a third of the colored increase could be credited to the four principal cities.

The future of the colored race no one could predict with certainty. In 1790 Africans formed perhaps 19.3 per cent of the United States population. The percentage in 1860 was 14.1. The census of 1870 reduced this figure to 12.7, when many rushed to the conclusion that these people might, in no long time, vanish from our land. The census of 1880 dispelled that fancy, raising the percentage again to 13.1, while that of 1890 raised it to 13.5. African increase from 1880 to 1890 was 13.11 per cent, about half that attained by people of the other hue. Even should decrease be resumed, the colored people would be at least eight or ten per cent of our total population in 1900. As the climatic area where they have any advantages over whites in the fight of life is less than this per cent, their success in this struggle would of course depend on their power to compete with the rival blood in higher callings than hand labor. Great crowds of men were pressing in from the North, while, more significant, foreigners had heard of the rare possibilities presented for acquiring homes in all parts of the South, and were coming in immense numbers to put the reports to the proof. These newcomers were sure more and more to disuse sentiment in dealing with the negro. No form of labor would be left him unless he had special skill in it, nor was his tenure in all cases assured even by skill.

At the same time, the negro's best friends on earth, the conscientious men and women who had formerly owned slaves, were fast dying off. The genuine love felt by old Southerners of the better class toward their bondmen was a touching phenomenon, never appreciated at the North. Master and mistress looked upon their black people with a truly parental regard, much like that which fathers and mothers always experience toward children ill-endowed mentally. All over the South, in the old days, had lived noble men and women who stood in this tender attitude toward the colored

members of their households. They sincerely and devotedly loved them. Younger white men and women who never owned slaves did not share this feeling. Friendly enough toward the negro, they cherished for him no sense of responsibility. The colored people knew this difference well. It was not to some Northern philanthropist that Pompey or Cuffy turned in desperate difficulty, nor yet to the kind-hearted young white gentleman, whom he might know to be friendly, but to Old Master and Old Mistress, if he could find them. They were sure to advise him well and to assist him if they could. The years that saw laid in their graves the last of that old slaveholder generation were thus a crisis in the future of the colored people.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS AND THE REPUBLICAN RESTORATION.

Bolt from Republican Convention—The Democratic Convention—Populists and Democrats—The Controversy over Silver—McKinley's Cabinet—The Civil Service—Gold in Alaska—The Alaska Boundary—Pelagic Sealing—Hawaii Annexed.

No party in power has ever won an election occurring amid hard times. That hard times prevailed in 1896 all agreed, but the agreement did not extend to causes. Most Republicans traced the evil to the Wilson tariff. A majority of the Democrats, all the Populists, and a considerable number of Republicans imputed the trouble to the Administration's financial policy, which they deemed vicious.

When the Republican Convention met at St. Louis, June 16, 1896, all saw that the coming campaign must turn upon the money question. Agitation for an ampler hard-money supply had been going on ever since the demonetization of silver in 1873. The greenback "craze," which received its quietus during the seventies, gave way to a demand that the nation increase its money volume by resuming the free coinage of legal tender silver dollars without limit to the number coined or condition that other nations adopt the policy.

The Bland Act of 1878 had assuaged this demand only for a moment. In 1892 the Populist party, proclaiming free coinage as a cardinal tenet and denouncing the tariff controversy as a sham battle, polled a heavy vote. Comparatively little gold was mined. General prices continued falling. The repeal in 1893 of the Sherman Silver Purchase Clause of 1890, the difficulty Mr. Cleveland experienced in maintaining gold-redemption, the money-stringency and the commod-

ity-glut during and after 1893 all combined at once to shape and to precipitate the issue.

In demanding free coinage the Populists were unanimous. President Cleveland sturdily championed the gold standard. As a party the Republicans had shown silver quite as much favor as their rivals, but the best-known statesmen of both parties had "wobbled" upon the question, and the recent platforms of both had worked to the utmost the art of chameleon hues, that their money planks might wear a yellow sheen by the Hudson, yet nearer the Mississippi seem white. It was the remoter West, then the land of borrowed capital and of silver mines, which most cordially believed the bimetalist doctrine. New York and New England led the gold cause. The burning question split even the Prohibitionists into a "narrow-gauge" and a "broad-gauge" faction, the latter in a rump convention incorporating a free-coinage manifesto into its creed.

The Republican platform bespoke an enlarged navy, the annexation of Hawaii, and the building, ownership, and operation of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States. It reasserted the Monroe Doctrine, even expressing hope for the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere and for the union of the whole English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants. The good offices of the United States were invoked on behalf of peace and independence for Cuba. The platform lauded protection and reciprocity, specifically demanding encouragement for growers of sugar, hemp, and wool, and for the merchant marine.

During the reading of the money-plank the tension in the Convention was painful. "We are opposed to the free coinage of silver," it said, "except by agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." Efforts to eliminate the word "gold" had been made in committee, but all had failed.

Senator Teller, of Colorado, moved a substitute for the above, favoring "the free, unrestricted, and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to one of gold." More than 800 of the 922 delegates voted to table this. There followed the first important bolt from a Republican National Council since 1872. Some of the silver delegates accepted the gold plank with a protest; others reserved the right later to reject platform and candidates. But Teller, though he had been a charter member of the party and secession cost him anguish, could not compromise. Shaking hands with the Chairman, he turned and, with streaming eyes, left the Convention, a score of his colleagues following.

On the first ballot for Presidential nominee William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, received over two-thirds of the votes. For this result, though McKinley's own long and honorable career, his affability, his devotion to protection, his leaning toward silver, and his practical conservatism, all assisted, he was largely indebted to his tireless and astute second, Marcus A. Hanna, previously known only as a capitalist, but henceforth a ruling spirit in his party.

The name of Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, completed the ticket.

William McKinley, Jr., was born at Niles, O., January 29, 1843, of that Scotch-Irish stock so prolific in American Presidents. In 1860, he entered Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., leaving next year on account of ill-health. He taught school. For a time he was employed in a post-office near his parents' home. After the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the 23d Ohio, the regiment with which William S. Rosecrans, Rutherford B. Hayes, and Stanley Matthews were connected. He was never absent on sick leave, and only once had a furlough, which was short. He participated in his regiment's every engagement, rising from a private, by well-earned promotions, until he was a Major by brevet.

In 1867, Major McKinley began the practice of law in Canton, O. From 1876 to 1891 he served in the national

House of Representatives. As Governor of Ohio and as a public speaker visiting every part of the country he was known personally to many, by sight to many more, and by repute to all. The nomination of so strong a candidate did much to repair the silverite breach.

By July 1st thirty-three of the fifty State and territorial Democratic conventions had spoken for free coinage. Six days later the National Convention met at Chicago—a tumultuous assemblage, in sharp contrast with the business-like body at St Louis. Scorning precedent, the Convention overruled the National Committee's choice of David B. Hill for temporary chairman, seating Senator Daniel, of Virginia, instead. Enough "gold" delegates were then supplanted by "silver" contestants to ensure the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate for the Presidency.

The platform attacked the Supreme Court for reversing precedents in order to declare unconstitutional the income tax which passed Congress as a part of the Wilson Act, and suggested the possibility of another reversal by the same court "as it might thereafter be constituted." Nearly every act or policy characterizing Mr. Cleveland's Administration it denounced. His sending of troops to Chicago in 1894, his "surrender to holders of United States obligations of the Government's legal option of redeeming in either silver or gold," his "issue of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace," and his "traffic with banking syndicates" were scored as of the nature of crimes. Gold monometallism was indicted as the mischief "which had locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times" and brought the United States into financial servitude to London. "Government by injunction" was assailed as a highly dangerous form of oppression. The Convention opposed "life tenure in the public service," recommending appointments based on merit, fixed terms in office, and equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

National bank circulation was declared derogatory to the Constitution, and rapturous applause hailed the demand for

“the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.”

Hill, of New York, Vilas, of Wisconsin, and ex-Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, were the chief speakers on the conservative side. They urged that the mere threat of free silver injured business. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was called upon to reply. In a musical and penetrating voice that fixed the attention of all, he sketched the growth of the free-silver cause and prophesied its triumph. The gold standard, he said, not any “threat” of silver, was what disturbed business. The wageworker, the farmer, and the miner were as truly business men as “the few financial magnates who in a dark room cornered the money of the world.” “We answer the demand for the gold standard by saying, ‘You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!’”

Sixteen members of the Resolutions Committee offered as a substitute for the silver plank a declaration similar to that made by the Republican Convention. A further plank was moved, commending the honesty, economy, courage, and fidelity of the Administration. Both motions were lost.

Here was an *impasse* no less serious than that which had befallen the Republicans. No Chicago delegates withdrew, but, in the subsequent proceedings, New York’s 72 delegates, 45 of New England’s 77, 18 of New Jersey’s 20, and 19 of Wisconsin’s 24 abstained from all part whatever. The silver Republicans were like an amputated limb, the gold Democrats like a palsied one. It remained to be seen which disability would the more completely cripple its man.

Probably a majority of the silver delegates at first favored Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, father of the Bland Act, as the Presidential candidate, but upon hearing Bryan’s speech they swung to the young man’s support. He was nominated on the fifth ballot. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, was the nominee for Vice-President.

William Jennings Bryan, then barely thirty-six, was the

youngest man ever nominated for the Presidency. He was born in Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860. His father served in the Illinois Senate and upon the circuit bench of that State. Young Bryan passed his youth on his father's farm. He graduated at Illinois College, Jacksonville, with oratorical honors, and studied law in Chicago. Having, in 1887, been admitted to the bar, he opened a law office in Lincoln, Neb. In 1890, he was elected to Congress, where he served two terms, declining a third nomination.

In Nebraska, as in other Western States, Republicans so outnumbered Democrats that Populists' aid was indispensable in any State or Congressional contest. In 1892, their aid had been eagerly courted in Cleveland's behalf. That Bryan had assisted in consummating fusion between Populism and Democracy in Nebraska occasioned the unjust charge that he was no Democrat. The allegation gained credence when the Populist National Convention at St. Louis placed him at the head of its ticket, rejecting Sewall as Vice-Presidential nominee, and choosing instead a typical Southern Populist, Thomas Watson, of Georgia.

Southern Populists hated Democrats worse than they hated Republicans, while Westerners of that faith were jealous of Sewall as an Eastern man and rich. Moreover, the success of radical Democracy meant that the Populists would be absorbed. It was surmised that the party leaders were planning for just such a "merger" as this. The Populist rank and file therefore insisted on nominating their Vice-Presidency candidate before naming a candidate for President. Bryan was thus made head of the ticket the next day after Watson. The silver Republicans, not needing to resort to any such wiles, acclaimed Sewall and Bryan together.

The Democrats had now flanked their foe in a rather formidable way, abandoning the Wilson Tariff to its fate, winning the whole force of Populists, playing havoc with the Republicans' silver wing, and upon the money issue forcing the enemy to defend the very ground occupied by Cleveland's

Administration. Had the election occurred early in the season these tactics might have won, but September witnessed an anti-Bryanite *coup* which nearly redressed the balance. On the 2d and 3d of that month a group of ardent gold Democrats gathered at Indianapolis.

Like the silver Republicans, but with a wholly different thought, this convention proclaimed protection the ally of free coinage. It anathematized both. It lauded the gold standard and a non-governmental currency as historic Democratic doctrines, indorsed the Administration, assailed the Chicago income-tax plank, and cautiously pledged "resistance to every illegal trust, combination, or attempt against just rights of property." Ex-Senator Palmer, of Illinois, and Simon E. Buckner, of Kentucky, were nominated to stand upon this platform. Gold Democrats who could not in conscience vote for a Republican found here their refuge.

By this time parties were seriously mixed. Thousands of Western Republicans declared for Bryan; as many or more Eastern Democrats for McKinley. Party newspapers bolted. In Detroit, the Republican "Journal" supported Bryan, the Democratic "Free Press" came out against him. Not a few voters from both sides "took to the woods," while many, to be "regular," appeared to lay their convictions on the table.

In principle, both "silver loons" and "gold bugs" favored an "honest dollar," that is, a monetary unit which would fluctuate in value as little as possible. The silverites maintained that the general adoption of the gold standard had perniciously increased the demand for gold and diminished that for silver, without materially affecting the supply of either metal; that, hence, gold was constantly increasing in value, this fact expressing itself by a progressive fall in the prices of general commodities and of silver, to the sad detriment of all industries save money-lending. They argued that the free coinage of silver by even one powerful commercial nation like the United States would restore the historic

value-ratio between the metals, compelling other nations to co-operate, and thus end the money famine and the fall in prices.

Perhaps most of those opposing independent free coinage admitted the undesirableness of gold monometallism. Some of them believed bimetallism realizable through international agreement; none of them deemed the United States able to achieve it alone. The attempt, they said, would place us upon a silver basis like Mexico and flood us with fifty-cent silver dollars, gold leaving the country or hiding within it. The resort to a "cheap" dollar would involve repudiation of our national debt and painfully lower national credit, while the wage-worker with his bisected pittance would suffer more than any other citizen.

A few went to the extreme of urging that bimetallism, national or international, was a delusion, and that gold was the only safe metal for full money, as superior to silver as this had once been to copper or wampum.

A considerable number who believed in bimetallism theoretically, and had no doubt that the United States, proceeding to coin legal-tender silver, could determine for the world the parity of the two precious metals either single-handed or by compelling or inducing other nations to join, still felt that, even if temporary, such a shock to our finances and credit as was sure to follow the attempt would more than outweigh all the good which the intrinsically more rational monetary system might finally induce.

The campaign was fierce beyond parallel. Neither candidate's character could be assailed, but both candidates' motives and those of their followers were. Epithets like "gold bug" and "popocrat" were worn stale. A Western campaign song had for its refrain, "Shoot the gold bugs, every one." At a social function in Chicago some distinguished Englishmen known to sympathize with Bryan were by many present ogled and shunned like pickpockets. An Eastern man supporting Bryan was considered a freak and made uncomfortable. Some Southern bankers were threatened with the loss

of New York credit if they gave support to silver. For the first time, perhaps, in our history, so great, in financial circles, was the dread of a Bryan victory, corporations as such voted money to the Republican campaign fund. The other side could tap no such mine. Never before had a national campaign seen the Democratic party so abandoned by men of substance or with so slender a purse.

Save for one short trip to Cleveland, the Republican candidate did not during the campaign leave Canton, though from his doorstep he spoke to hordes who came to visit him. He urged "sound money," but with no such emphasis or iteration as marked his pleas for protection.

His opponent, in the course of the most remarkable campaigning tour ever made by a candidate, preached free coinage to millions. The immense number of his addresses, their effectiveness, notwithstanding the slender preparation possible for most of them severally, the abstract nature of his subject when argued on its merits, and the strain of his incessant journeys, amazed all at the man's power.

Had Mr. Bryan been able through the campaign to sustain the passionate eloquence of his Chicago speech or the lucid logic of that with which at Madison Square Garden he opened the campaign, he would still have failed to uphold the "more hard money" fervor at its midsummer pitch. His eloquence, indeed, did not desert him, but the level of his argument sank. Instead of championing the cause of producers, whether rich or poor, against mere money-changers, which he might have done with telling effect, he more and more fell to the tone of one speaking simply for the poor as such against the rich as such, an attitude which repelled multitudes who possessed neither wealth nor much sympathy with the wealthy.

As election day drew near the feeling rose that it postdated by at least two months all possibility of a Democratic victory. The Republicans' limitless resources, steady discipline, and ceaseless work told day by day. They polled of the popular vote 7,104,244. The combined Bryan forces had

6,506,835; the Gold Democracy, 134,652; the Prohibitionists, 144,606; and the Socialists, 36,416.

By his choice of Cabinet ministers the new Executive gave hostages to seasoned conservatism. The youngest was fifty years old; their average age was threescore. Their Nestor, John Sherman, was Secretary of State, having yielded his Senate seat to the swiftly rising Hanna. William R. Day, Assistant-Secretary, succeeded him upon the outbreak of the Spanish War. In 1898 Day in turn resigned, when Ambassador John Hay was called to the place from the Court of St. James's. As a recognition of the Gold Democracy's aid in the campaign the Treasury went to Lyman J. Gage, a distinguished Illinois banker, till 1896 a Democrat. General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, held the War Office till August 1, 1899, at which date Elihu Root, of New York, was installed. Postmaster-General James A. Gary, of Maryland, resigned the same month with Sherman, giving place to Charles Emory Smith, of the Philadelphia "Press," late Ambassador to St. Petersburg. John D. Long, of Massachusetts, assumed the Navy portfolio; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, that of the Interior; and James Wilson, of Iowa, that of Agriculture. In December, 1898, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri, succeeded Bliss.

The solemn presentation to New York City of the Grant Mausoleum, April 27, 1897, the anniversary of the great hero's birthday, pleasantly introduced President McKinley to his round of general public functions.

From an eminence in Riverside Park rose a granite quadrangle, a massive pier at each corner, and a row of stately Doric columns along each side. A great circle of Ionic pillars surmounted the roof and supported the cupola, an obtuse cone, wherefrom, aloft, the eye swept "the lordly Hudson" for miles up and down. The remains of General Grant had previously, on April 17th, been laid in a red porphyry sarcophagus upon a square platform in the centre of the cruciform interior.

As the presentation day procession, miles in length,

headed by the President, the Governor of New York State, the Mayor of the city, and the various diplomatic corps from Washington, wended its way to the sepulchre, upon the Hudson, warships of the Powers, Spain among them, joined our North Atlantic squadron in the thunderous salutes.

The exercises at the tomb were simple. Bishop Newman offered prayer. "America" was sung. President McKinley delivered a fitting address of eulogy. General Horace Porter gave the mausoleum into the city's keeping, a trust which Mayor Strong in a few words accepted.

Another event, less spectacular, but charged with deep import for civilization, was the fifth congress of the Universal Postal Union, which assembled at Washington in May, 1897. The Postal Union, largely the fruit of American diplomacy, had procured for a billion people cheaper and more secure international mail service. The new postal treaty resulting from the congress was promptly approved by our Government.

If, after election, interest in politics cooled down among those to whom it represented principle and governmental policy, among those to whom politics meant office-getting it waxed hot. The possibility of dispensing offices to remunerate party-service had been greatly diminished by the merit system, occasioning extreme hostility to merit methods, especially in the War Department. Mindful of the party's and his own stand in favor of civil service reform, President McKinley did not readily succumb. At last, however, on May 29, 1899, he withdrew from the classified service about 4,000 positions, removing 3,500 more from the class theretofore filled through competitive examination or an orderly practice of promotion, and placed 6,416 under a novel system drafted by the Secretary of War. The order legitimized a large number of temporary appointments made without examination, and rendered eligible, as emergency appointees, without examination, thousands who had served during the Spanish War. Transfers to the classified service without

examination were permitted, as were reinstatements of ex-employees.

Less in the hope of results in the direction of bimetalism than to convince those who might still cherish such a hope, President McKinley early in his term appointed Edward O. Wolcott, Adlai E. Stevenson, and Charles J. Paine special envoys to the Powers to urge international action for the rehabilitation of silver as full-tender money.

France was cordial, nor was the British Cabinet at first ill-disposed, so far as the Indian mints were concerned. But the Indian Council unanimously declined to reverse its monetary policy. The Bank of England at first inclined to cooperate with the envoys by promising to use its legal license of accepting silver as part of its reserve, but a storm of protest from the "city banks" dismayed the directors into withdrawal. Lacking British support, the mission, like its numerous predecessors, came to naught, and the adoption and maintenance of the gold standard became our irrevocable policy.

Notwithstanding dire predictions to the contrary and impatience at our slow convalescence, the year 1897 brought a gradual revival of business, due partly to the end of political agitation, partly to the confidence of investing classes in the new Administration. The money stringency, too, began to abate in the face of an increasing gold output, an increase seeming to be assured for a long time not only by the invention of new processes which made it profitable to work gold tailings and worn-out gold mines, but also by the discovery of rich auriferous tracts.

In the Arctic night of 1896-97 an old squaw-man made an unprecedented strike upon the Klondike (Thron-Duick or Tondak) River, two thousand miles up the Yukon. By spring all his neighbors had staked rich claims. Next July the arrival at San Francisco of a two-million-dollar gold shipment precipitated a rush to the inhospitable Upper Yukon territory hardly second to the California migration of '49. Reputed suffering among the over-sanguine and

under-equipped pilgrim thousands impelled Congress to vote relief and the War Department to warn of the danger those eager to embark who had not yet done so.

Latter-day Argonauts toiled up the Yukon or, swarming over the steep Chilcoot Pass, braved, too often at cost of life, the boiling rapids and boisterous lakes to be passed in descending the Yukon to the gold fields. Later the easier and well-wooded White Pass was found, traversed at length by a railroad, "The White Pass and Yukon," from Skagway to the Yukon's head of navigation at White Horse. The net earnings of this road during the first year of its operation were reported as \$30,000 a mile, and for the fiscal year ending in 1902 as 61 per cent on the capital stock. A second railway, wholly in United States territory, was soon projected to run north from the ice-free port of Seward, in the Kenai Peninsula, a distance of 413 miles, to the Tanana, a navigable tributary of the Yukon, whence came new rumors of gold.

Little lawlessness pestered the gold settlements, a remarkable fact in view of the lack, or vagueness, of all laws touching land, timber, and mining. When necessary the miners themselves formed tribunals and meted out a rough-and-ready justice. The Dominion promptly despatched to Dawson a body of her famous Mounted Police. Our Government, more tardily, made its authority felt from St. Michael's, near the Yukon mouth, all the way to the Canadian border. On June 6, 1900, Alaska was constituted a civil and judicial district, with a Governor, whose functions were those of a territorial Governor. Already there was demand for a territorial representative in Congress.

The Kenai Peninsula, and so all the southerly coastland of Alaska, boasted a climate no less mild than that of Scotland, and less subject to extremes of temperature than our Northern States.

From 1897 to the beginning of 1903 the gold districts of and near Alaska yielded \$132,500,000 in the yellow metal. In October, 1898, the Cape Nome coast, north of the Yukon

mouth, disclosed new riches, whereupon treasure-seekers turned thither even from the Yukon. Nor did the wealth of this vast empire consist in gold alone. Timber, copper, semi-anthracite coal, and other minerals were found to abound. According to well-vouched reports the territory held 500 square miles of coal deposits from two to twenty feet in thickness, copper ledges of high assay and unknown depth, 260,000,000 acres of merchantable timber, and an area suitable for agriculture and stock-raising exceeding the combined size of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania. The streams were alive with fish. The yearly salmon catch was valued at \$8,500,000. During the last half of 1902 the province sent to the States nearly \$25,000,000 of produce, \$10,500,000 being in gold and silver. Alaskan commerce for the fiscal year ending with June, 1903, appeared to reach \$20,000,000, exclusive of gold.

The rush of miners to the Middle Yukon gold region, which, together with certain ports and waters on the way thither, were claimed by both the United States and Great Britain, made acute the question of the true boundary between Alaskan and British territory.

In 1825 Great Britain and Russia, the latter then owning Alaska, agreed by treaty to delimit their contiguous possessions by a line commencing at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island and running along Portland Channel to the continental coast at 56 degrees north latitude. North of that degree the boundary was to follow the mountain summits parallel to the coast until it intersected the 141st meridian west longitude, which was then to be pursued to the frozen ocean. In case any of the summits mentioned should be more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the line was to parallel the coast and be never more than ten marine leagues therefrom.

When it became important more exactly to determine and to mark the boundary, Great Britain advanced two new claims; first, that the "Portland Channel" mentioned in the

Russo-British Treaty was not the channel now known by that name, but rather Behm Channel, next west, or Clarence Straits; and, secondly, that the ten-league limit should be measured from the outer rim of the archipelago skirting Alaska, and not from the edge of the mainland. If conceded, these claims would add to the Canadian Dominion about 29,000 square miles, including 100 miles of seacoast, with harbors like Lynn Channel and Tahko Inlet, several islands, vast mining, fishery, and timber resources, as well as Juneau City, Revilla, and Fort Tongass, theretofore undisputedly American.

In September, 1898, a joint high commission sat at Quebec and canvassed all moot matters between the two countries, among them that of the Alaskan boundary. It adjourned, however, without settling this question, though a temporary and provisional understanding was reached and signed October 20, 1899. By a new treaty in 1903 the boundary question was referred to a board embracing two Canadian, one British, and three American members. The treaty stipulated that at all events actual American settlements should remain American territory.

The commissioners of 1898 gave earnest attention to the sealing question, which had been plaguing the United States ever since the Paris Arbitration tribunal upset Secretary Blaine's contention that Bering Sea was *mare clausum*. Upon that tribunal's decision the *modus vivendi* touching seals lapsed, and Canadians with renewed zeal plied seal-killing upon the high seas. Dr. David S. Jordan, American delegate to the 1896-97 conference of fur-seal experts, estimated that the American herd had shrunk 15 per cent the preceding year, and that a full third of that year's pups, orphaned by pelagic sealing, had starved. Reckoning from the beginning of the industry and in round numbers, he estimated that 400,000 breeding females with as many unborn pups had been slaughtered and that 300,000 pups had perished for want of nourishment. This estimate disregarded the multitudes of females lost after being speared or shot. Mr.

Jordan predicted the not distant extinction of the fur-seal trade unless protective measures should be forthwith devised. British experts questioned his conclusions, but admitted the need of some restriction upon pelagic sealing.

To the American request for a suspension of seal-killing during 1897 the British Foreign Office tardily responded that it was too late to stop the sealers that year. Secretary Sherman, charging Great Britain with dilatory and evasive conduct upon this matter, met with the retort that the American Government was seeking to embarrass British subjects in pursuing lawful vocations.

Great Britain's attitude obviously had its inspiration in Canada, whose people resented our tariffs upon their coal, lumber, and live stock, as well as our contract labor laws, which disserved many border Canadians seeking employment in the States.

Prompted by Canada, Great Britain recanted her offer to join the United States, Russia, and Japan in a system of sealing regulations. The three countries last named thereupon agreed with each other to suspend pelagic sealing so long as expert opinion declared it necessary. The Canadians would consider the same course only on condition of indemnity to the owners of sealing vessels. In December, 1897, our Government cut off the Canadians' best market by ordering confiscated and destroyed all imported seal-skins unless accompanied by consular certificates showing that they were not sea-captures. Spite of all this the devastation among the dwindling herd went on.

It was in part due to our imbroglio with Canada that the Senate rejected the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty negotiated by Secretary Sherman's predecessor, although the most enlightened opinion in both nations seemed to indorse it. Fortunately the mutual good feeling which inspired the treaty survived this, promising not only to solve outstanding difficulties, but to become embodied, some time, in a convention.

The project of annexing Hawaii, arrested in 1893, was

revived in June, 1897, and speedily indorsed by the Island Government. Not quite two-thirds of the American Senate could be brought to support it. After a year, therefore, the Annexation Treaty was abandoned, and a joint resolution to the same end passed by a majority of both Houses. Most of the Democrats and some of the Republicans opposed, among the latter Speaker Reed, whose growing want of accord with the Administration's expansion policy led him at last to forswear politics and retire to private life. The United States assumed the Hawaiian debt up to \$4,000,000. Our Chinese Exclusion law was extended to the Islands, and Chinese immigration thence to the continental Republic prohibited. A territorial form of government was imposed April 30, 1900.

The party in power pointed to the deficit under the Wilson law with much the same concern manifested by President Cleveland in 1888 over the surplus. A new tariff must be enacted, and, if possible, in ample advance of a new Congressional election. Congress, therefore, took the matter up in extra session. March 15, 1897, Chairman Nelson Dingley, of the Ways and Means Committee, reported a bill, which bore his name. The House at once adopted a rule whereby the measure, spite of Democratic pleas for time to examine, discuss, and amend, reached the Senate about two weeks later. This body passed the bill after toning up its schedules with some 870 amendments, most of which pleased the Conference Committee and became law. The President signed the Act on July 24, 1897.

Mr. Dingley estimated that the new law advanced the average rate of duty from the 40 per cent of the Wilson Bill to approximately 50 per cent, a shade above the McKinley level. However, on articles of popular consumption, as a class, the Dingley Act laid a considerably heavier tax than either of its predecessors.

Reciprocity, a feature of the McKinley Tariff, was suspended by the Wilson Act. The Republican platform of 1896 declared protection and reciprocity twin measures of Republican policy. Clauses graced the Dingley Act allowing

reciprocity treaties to be made, "duly ratified" by the Senate, and "approved" by Congress; yet of the twins protection proved stout and lusty, while the weaker sister languished. Some concessions were given and received, but treaties which involved lowering strictly protective duties met summary defeat in the Senate. Reciprocity became a galling issue. For that well-advertised policy Continental Europe now began substituting retaliatory tariffs. Having done our utmost in the maxima reached by neo-protectionism we could not follow suit and retaliate upon retaliation. As favoring domestic monopolies certain of the Dingley rates caused great ire in Republican as well as in Democratic quarters.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

Weyler and Blanco—Destruction of the *Maine*—Not Ready for War—The “Bottling-Up” of Cervera—The Land Campaign—The *Oregon* to the Fore—Waiting worse than Fighting—Sampson and Schley—Army Reform—Ratification of the Paris Treaty—Porto Rico and the United States—Development of Porto Rico—Cuba and the United States—Cuban Independence—Future of Cuba.

IN sheer ugliness of despotism, in wholesale, systematic selfish exploiting, and in irredeemably corrupt and clumsy administration, Spain outdid all other powers ever called to deal with colonies. Curiously, Cuba, though ruled atrociously, did not rebel with Spain’s South American fiefs. However, to every similar uprising elsewhere some convulsion in Cuba was the close prelude or sequel. In 1766 she bloodily anticipated our Revolution. Her slave population took fire in 1794 from the French Revolution and the sympathetic friction in Haiti. The “July Revolution” occurred but a year after the Cuban “Black Eagle” rebellion, 1829; the servile revolt of 1844 just preceded the dethronement of the last French Bourbons; and the ten-year insurrection beginning in 1868 followed Maximilian’s fall in Mexico.

Unlike Turkish atrocities in Armenia or Belgian outrages on the Congo, Iberian fire and sword in Cuba, so near, concerned the United States immediately and deeply. John Quincy Adams wrote: “From a multitude of considerations Cuba has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, the nature of its productions and its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it

an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared."

Humane as well as material interest came to be felt in Cubans' welfare. Cubans knew of this sympathy and used it. Cuban juntas at our ports sowed dragon's teeth among us. Naturalized Cuban-American citizens got into difficulties on the island. The utmost our Government could do in suppressing filibusters fell far short of satisfying Spain, who, furious as an Andalusian bull, gored to death American citizens suspected of complicity with the rebels and trampled their property. The *Virginus* affair, an outrage of this character, President Grant would, but for desperate resistance by his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, have redressed with the sword.

In 1894-95 the colonial council, only one-half elective, its acts subject to absolute veto by the Governor-General, administered, so it was alleged, but 2.75 per cent of the insular revenues, Spain dispensing the rest. Cuba's general budget and all her tariffs were formulated beyond the Atlantic. All fattest pickings fell to Spaniards. Socially, peninsular arrogance, centred at Havana, confronted insular defiance. Women studied, in their attire, to badge themselves as Spanish or as Cuban.

Spain denied the Cubans all effective power in shaping their country's fortunes, doomed them to political and social inferiority, confiscated the products of their labor without giving in return either safety, prosperity, or education, and incessantly exploited, impoverished, and demoralized. Journalists and others informing against official transgressors or advocating home rule were prosecuted or even banished without trial. Public meetings for protest were spied on or suppressed. The thought of systematically improving the Cubans' lot to make Spanish overlordship a blessing to them, seems never to have entered any Spaniard's mind. Force and cruelty were the sole resources. Remission of these now and then was so maladroit as to suggest weakness rather than

honest mercy. One day martial law was proclaimed in Havana, and the final revolution, the blood-red dawn of independence, opened forthwith.

General Weyler, who, in January, 1896, succeeded the more humane Martinez Campos as Captain-General, went to work destroying buildings and crops and huddling non-combatants in camps, where fifty per cent of them soon died. American citizens he imprisoned without trial, one of whom, Dr. Ruiz, died under circumstances occasioning strong suspicions of foul play. Yet the insurgents were more and more victorious, at last dominating all rural Cuba save one province.

In August, 1897, an anarchist shot Premier Canovas, whereupon Sagasta, his liberal successor, recalled Weyler, sending Ramon Blanco in his place. Blanco proclaimed amnesty, set up an autonomist government, freed Americans from prison and the wretched reconcentrados from their camps. To relieve these unfortunates Spain appropriated a large sum, promising implements, seed, and other means for restoring ruined homes and plantations. The reconcentrados received succor from the United States also. But it was now too late; the iron had entered the Cuban's soul. He rejected autonomy under Spain and would be pacified with nothing short of independence.

Meanwhile United States relations with Spain became daily more strained. President Cleveland, willing to mediate between mother-country and colony, was persistently neutral, refusing, even under Congressional pressure, to recognize Cuban belligerency. Only at the very close of his term was he brought to hint at intervention. President McKinley at his accession was in much the same state of mind and might have continued so had not two "untoward events" compelled a change.

A letter written by Señor Dupuy de Lome, Spanish Minister at Washington, was intercepted and published, wherein the President was held up as a cheap, time-serving politician. The offender promptly resigned, yet the diplomatic urbanity

of the two powers was henceforth like the grim smiles and cold handshakes of duelists waiting the word.

Our Government sent the battleship *Maine* on a friendly visit to the Cuban capital. Old Morro Castle thundered a salute as the American warship entered Havana Harbor. A Spanish Government pilot took her to her harbor berth and courtesies were showered upon her officers. On the night of February 15, 1898, the silence brooding over the drowsy harbor where the *Maine* loomed at anchor, 360 officers and men on board, most of them asleep, was rent by an explosion as of a colossal volcano; the dark hull leaped high amid a tremendous turmoil of waters, then sank till only a low, shapeless hump was visible. Of the 360, 266 never saw day.

Many immediately charged the catastrophe to the criminal negligence, if nothing worse, of the Spanish authorities. The Spanish Government earnestly denied fault, announcing the conclusion, from such investigation as it could make without violating international law by trespassing upon the wreck, that the *Maine* disaster was due to an internal explosion. An American Court of Inquiry studied the case more thoroughly, and, March 21st, confirmed the view, already about universal, that a submarine mine had blown up the *Maine*. Spanish complicity was not alleged in the findings, but quite generally inferred from them.

War-dogs now tugged at their leashes. The South no less than the North, the Democracy even more than the party in power, was hot to draw sword. "Remember the *Maine*" echoed up, down, and across the land. Congress unanimously voted \$50,000,000 for national defence. Peace delegations waited upon the President, but in vain. With as little avail the ambassadors of six powers jointly pleaded with him for further negotiations. He replied that the situation had become incurable by peaceful means.

April 20th, Congress, without recognizing the Cuban Republic, in effect declared war against Spain by alleging that the people of Cuba were and of right ought to be free and independent. To enforce Spain's withdrawal from Cuba and

Cuban waters our army, navy, and militia were placed at the President's disposal. One hundred and twenty-five thousand State volunteers were called out; the regular army was increased to 61,919; a call for 75,000 additional volunteers soon followed, answered with alacrity by multitudes more than were needed.

Spain was an abject spectacle, misruled, soldier-ridden, torn by Carlism and anarchy at home, grappling at tremendous outlay of life and money with two rebellions beyond the sea. Yet, while the contempt felt for the senile Iberian officialdom seemed well-deserved, the Spanish people, not only at this first crisis but again and again during the war, showed admirable qualities. Popular subscriptions poured in to aid the impoverished treasury. Young reserves sprang to arms. Spain's soldiers and sailors were brave, patriotic, temperate, and uncomplaining, proud of the nation's glorious past, and ready to die for her without flinching.

Our own unpreparedness for war almost matched Spain's decrepitude. With such energy had we beaten Civil War swords into plowshares that, though our fighting men were the finest in Christendom, our weapons were almost the poorest. A large part of our small-arms were of short range and obsolete type. Field artillery, somewhat better, was inadequate. Smokeless powder was wanting. There was no khaki or other cloth suitable for tropical uniforms. Canvas which the Post-Office Department had laid in for mail-bags had to be requisitioned for tents. Our form of army administration was effete. Spain's fortress walls might be crumbling, ours were not yet quarried. If some of her men-of-war were old iron, many that we ought to have been able to rely on existed simply as ore.

In ships and guns the Spanish navy and ours were of about equal strength. We had the more battleships, but Spain boasted several new swift armored cruisers, besides a flotilla of powerful torpedo boats. In men the case was different. The Spaniard was a poor gunner, a clumsy sailor, an awkward and careless mechanic, while the American tar was a

good navigator, an expert with machinery, and, thanks to long and systematic practice, a deadly marksman.

These disparities were vividly apparent ere the war was a fortnight old. Placed in command of our naval forces in Asiatic waters, and ordered to capture or destroy the Spanish Philippine fleet, Commodore George Dewey, a little before midnight, April 30, 1898, entered the Boca Grande Channel leading to Manila Bay. The *Olympia*, his flagship, the *Baltimore*, the *Petrel*, the *Raleigh*, the *Concord*, and the *Boston* formed his fleet. His objective, which confronted him as day broke on May 1st, was Admiral Montojo's fleet, consisting of the *Reina Christina*, the *Castilla*, the *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, the *Don Juan de Austria*, the *Isla de Luzon*, the *Isla de Cuba*, the *General Lezo*, the *Marquis del Duero*, the *El Curreo*, and the *Velasco*—nine vessels to Dewey's six, backed by the Cavité batteries, under which they huddled. Batteries and fleet combined mounted more guns and threw more metal per volley than the American did.

Commodore Dewey held his fire till close range was attained. Then, sweeping around before his motionless targets, nearer and nearer, so baffling the enemy's aim, he poured a withering cyclone of shot and shell upon the Spanish craft. Two torpedo boats ventured from shore. One was sunk, one beached. The *Reina Christina*, the Goliath of the fleet, steamed out to duel with the *Olympia*, but, overwhelmed with deadly attentions, could barely stagger back, 150 men killed and 90 others wounded. The pigmy of our fleet, the saucy and pugnacious *Petrel*, specially impressed the Cavite non-combatants. "¡Il piccaninny mucha-mucha bom-bom!" they said. In a little less than two hours, having sunk the *Christina*, *Castilla*, and *Ulloa* and set afire the other warships, the American withdrew to assure and arrange his ammunition supply and to breakfast and rest his brave crews. At 11.16 he returned to finish. By half-past twelve he had silenced the forts and sunk or burned every Spanish war vessel. The Spanish reported their loss at 381 killed and wounded. Seven Americans were wounded, none killed.

Upon receipt of the tidings, Congress passed a joint resolution of thanks to Dewey and his men, and the Commodore was made a Rear-Admiral.

Before Dewey's exploit in the Orient—indeed, as the first move of the war—Rear-Admiral Sampson went to enforce the proclaimed blockade of the Cuban coast, small expeditions at the same time conveying war-stuff to the insurgents. On May 12th Sampson bombarded San Juan de Porto Rico. Meantime, the Spanish Admiral Cervera had disappeared west of the Cape Verde Islands, the whole world wondering whither he had gone. Our navy patrolled the coast from Maine to Florida, sea-port populations trembling as if they already heard the Spaniard's guns. The Spanish squadron was at last located in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, across whose narrow harbor-entrance Commodore Schley, joined a little later by his superior, Sampson, drew a vigilant line of war-vessels.

One of these, the *Oregon*, child of the Pacific Coast, for she was built by the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, had just won laurels by a voyage unprecedented in naval history. On orders issued before hostilities commenced she steamed from San Francisco round the Horn to re-enforce the Atlantic fleet. The long, hard, swift trip was achieved without breaking a bar or loosening a bolt. It was thought that the Pacific Messenger might, off Brazil, fall in with Admiral Cervera, but Captain Clark, her commander, had no fear in case of such emergency, expecting, with a confidence which ere long appeared quite within bounds, not only to hold his own, but to punish his assailant. At the end of her voyage the noble ship was, without overhauling, ready to take effective part in the Santiago blockade.

To leave the blockaders freer for other operations, also to prevent the remotest possibility of Cervera's escaping to harry our coast, relieve Havana, or establish himself in Porto Rico, it was determined to sink the collier *Merrimac* across the Santiago channel neck. Just before dawn on June 3d, the young naval constructor, Hobson, with a forlorn hope

chosen from scores of eager volunteers, and one stowaway who joined them against orders, pushed the hulk between the headland forts into a roaring hell of projectiles and blew her up. The rudder being shot away, the wreck went down not across the channel, but lengthwise. After the explosion the little crew of eight clustered round their float, not a man dead or missing. The firing ceased. A launch drew near bearing the Spanish Admiral himself, who, with admiring kindness, took aboard Hobson and his men and notified the American fleet of their safety. On July 6th they were exchanged.

Meanwhile, Major-General William R. Shafter had embarked at Tampa an army of 17,000 to invest Santiago by land. Extricating, assorting, and shipping the mass of supplies and equipment that blocked the railway terminals at Tampa had been slow work. There was another week of delay afloat, owing to unfounded rumor about a Spanish cruiser and destroyer lying in wait to the southward.

Landing a little east of Santiago, at Daiquiri and Siboney, the invaders forthwith pushed toward the doomed city. They encountered some resistance at Las Guasimas, but easily swept it aside. Further on, at El Caney and San Juan Ridge, the Spaniards made a stubborn stand, in the only pitched military engagement of the war. By July 2d our forces had invested Santiago, save upon its western side. This the Cubans were expected to guard, but they did their work so ill that 3,600 Spanish reinforcements were able to march past and join their 8,000 besieged compatriots in facing our army.

Although our advanced position had been gallantly established it was precarious. Supply trains were stalled in the rear out of reach. Provision, whether for sound, for sick, or for wounded, was insufficient. Haversacks cast aside in action had been lost or stolen. The sickly season had set in, and disease was beginning to help the enemy kill us. Demoralizing reaction from the zest of the forward movement settled upon the troops, who fought by day under a broiling sun and by night dug trenches and rifle-pits amid drenching rains. To assault was out of the question. For a moment

retreat was suggested, but General Wheeler, commanding the fighting line, resolutely set his face against this, as, upon reflection, did his chief. General Toral, commanding the enemy, received a bold demand for surrender, while Sampson was requested to meet Shafter and arrange offensive operations.

On July 3d Sampson steamed east to see Shafter. Cervera, under peremptory orders from his Government to leave Santiago, deeming it "better to die fighting than to blow up the ships in the harbor"—the alternatives were reduced to this grim pair—selected the moment for his desperate attempt. His mariners seconded him with splendid heroism. The *Maria Teresa*, then the *Almirante Oquendo*, then the *Vizcaya*, then the *Cristobal Colon*, slipped out of the harbor and lunged westward. The *Brooklyn* gave chase, the other vessels in suit, the *Texas* and the *Oregon* leading.

As the Spaniard had predicted, it was "a dreadful holocaust." One by one his sturdy vessels reeled shoreward, silenced, crippled, torn with shot and shell, flames belching fore and aft. The *Oregon*, pride of our navy, delivered the finishing stroke. Outdoing the other pursuers and her own contract speed, she had, within three hours and forty minutes of the enemy's appearance, reduced his last vessel, the *Colon*, to junk. Cervera was captured, with 76 officers and 1,600 men. Three hundred and fifty Spaniards were killed, 160 wounded. Our losses were inconsiderable. Our ships suffered, in effect, nothing.

Sea victory carried with it victory on land. Shafter's men, forgetting fatigue and despondency, danced, shouted, and hugged each other. Bands rent the air with wild music. The beleaguered forces heard this jubilation and understood it. They saw re-enforcements already landed extending the American right, and fifty transportsful more ready to land. They tried to choke the harbor throat with the *Reina Mercedes*, but she, ugly like the *Merrimac*, sank lengthwise of the channel. Sampson could steam in any day.

The Washington authorities offered, in case of Toral's

surrender, to convey his command to Spain free of charge. He therefore sought from Madrid, and after some days obtained, leave to capitulate, which he did on July 16th. Not only the garrison, but the entire Spanish force in eastern Cuba, about 24,000 men, became our prisoners of war.

General Miles now proceeded to Porto Rico, under convoy of the battleship *Massachusetts*, with 3,314 men not disembarked at Santiago. Other troops followed. The landing-place "as advertised" was Point Fajardo, on the northeast coast of Porto Rico. There the Spanish forces concentrated, leaving Guanica, on the southwest, undefended. To this town the expedition changed its course, and here, upon July 25th, it raised the Stars and Stripes. The people waited "with impatience," as one wrote, "the American occupation destined to break the chain which had been constantly forging through four centuries of infamous spoliation, torpid despotism, and shameful moral slavery." The Spanish forces, 17,000 strong, were swept back by four simultaneous movements, and our conquest was as good as complete when the peace protocol, August 12th, ended hostilities.

This occurred none too soon for our army in Cuba. Malaria, typhoid, dysentery, and yellow fever were in sore progress. At one time over half the army in Cuba was ill. Not a regiment escaped. Paucity of rations, due to the necessity of feeding 20,000 refugees, increased men's susceptibility to disease. The situation gave no alarm till late in July, when the War Department determined to transfer the entire Fifth Corps to Montauk Point for rest and recuperation.

August 3d many officers of high rank addressed to General Shafter a forcible letter, which became famous as the "Round Robin." "We are of the unanimous opinion," said they, "that this army must at once be taken out of Cuba and sent to some point on the northern sea-coast of the United States . . . or it will perish. . . . Persons preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousands of lives." Shafter forwarded this letter to the War Department. Measures for removing the troops had already

been taken and were being pressed with utmost haste, so that, contrary to the then popular impression, the "Round Robin" did not contribute to this end. The document was severely criticised as unnecessary and as contrary to good military form and discipline. Especially deplorable was its publication in the press, spreading useless and painful panic through the land.

At Manila, as in Cuba, waiting proved harder work than fighting. At the time of Dewey's victory Filipino insurgents encircled Manila on the land side, precluding Spaniards' escape. To spare life, the Admiral awaited the arrival of land forces before taking the city. It was necessary to encourage the insurgents without permitting excesses on their part, nor could they be recognized as allies in a manner to involve our Government. Once Dewey firmly rebuked impertinence on the part of Admiral von Diedrichs, commanding the German fleet. A German warship, starting into harbor contrary to Dewey's instructions, was promptly halted by a shot across her bows.

With the English, on the other hand, our relations were cordial. When the British man-of-war *Immortalite* steamed for Hong Kong American yards were manned, crews making the welkin ring with cheers as she passed, while from her shrinking mast-head fluttered back, till it vanished in the blue, the farewell signal, "Thank you."

On June 30th, the advance portion of General Merritt's troops arrived and replaced the insurgents in beleaguering Manila. The city surrendered August 13th, the day after the peace protocol was signed.

The total United States casualties during the Spanish-American War were: in the army, officers killed, 23; enlisted men killed, 257—total, 280; officers wounded, 113; enlisted men wounded, 1,464—total, 1,577; in the navy, killed, 17; wounded, 67; died of wounds, 1; invalided from service, 6—total, 91.

M. Renan remarks that Frenchmen remembering the French Revolution place the makers of it all in the same

Pantheon, forgetting how cordially those heroes often hated each other when alive. Americans will as graciously forget the heart-burnings, animosities, and angry controversies resulting from the Spanish War, not letting these shorten a whit the stature of any worthy participant in the struggle.

Santiago certainly afforded "glory enough for all"; yet a few seemed desirous of placing this *en bloc*. Some disparaged Admiral Sampson's part in the battle, others Admiral Schley's. Sampson was commander of the fleet, and he had sagaciously prescribed both its routine and its emergency procedure. Though on duty out of sight of the action at its beginning, he was entitled to the utmost credit for the outcome. The day added his name to the list of history's great sea-captains.

Schley had the fortune to be senior officer during his chief's temporary absence. He fought his ship, the *Brooklyn*, to perfection, and, while it was not of record that he issued any orders to other ship commanders, his prestige and his well-known stomach for battle inspired all, contributing much to the victory. The early accounts, which made Schley the central figure of the battle, deeply impressed the public. Unfortunately, Sampson's first report had not even mentioned him. Personal and political partisans entered into the strife, giving each phase of it the angriest possible look. Admiral Schley at length requested a court of inquiry, and such was speedily convened.

The court found Schley's conduct in the part of the campaign prior to June 1, 1898, vacillating, dilatory, and lacking in enterprise. It maintained, however, that during the battle his conduct was self-possessed and that he inspired his officers and men to courageous fighting. Admiral Dewey, President of the Court, held to a certain extent a dissenting opinion, which carried weight with the country. He not only acquitted Schley, for the most part, of blameworthiness preceding the battle, but considered him the actual fleet commander during the battle, thus giving him the main credit for the victory.

Legally, it turned out, Sampson, not Schley, commanded during the hot hours. Moreover, from the point of view of pure theory, the court's strictures upon Schley, like many criticisms affecting General Grant's conduct at Shiloh and in his Wilderness campaign, were probably just. But, in the one case as in the other, a glorious victory having been won, people thought criticism an impertinence. The world has never allowed a proved artist to be condemned for what it considered mere breach of technique.

Both before and after his resignation, July 19, 1899, Secretary of War Alger was the victim of great obloquy, much of it, certainly, unjust. Shafter's corps undoubtedly suffered a great deal that proper system and foresight would have prevented. The delay in embarking at Tampa, the crowding of transports, the use of heavy uniforms in Cuba and of light clothing afterward at Montauk Point, the deficiency in tents, transportation, ambulances, medicines, and surgeons, as well as the sufferings among our troops in the United States, ought not to have occurred. Indignation swept the country when it was charged that Commissary-General Egan had furnished soldiers quantities of beef treated with chemicals and of canned roast beef unfit for use. An investigating commission found that "embalmed beef" had not been given out to any extent. Canned roast beef had been used, and the commission declared it improper food.

The inquiry made it clear that the quartermaster service had been physically and financially unequal to the task of suddenly equipping and transporting the enlarged army—over ten times the size of our regular army—for which it had to provide. If wanting at times in system, the War Department had been zealous and tireless. At the worst, it was far less to blame than recent Congresses, which had stunted both Army and Navy to lavish money upon less important objects.

The Army system needed radical reform. There was no general staff, and the titular head of the Army, Lieutenant-

General Miles, had less real authority than the Adjutant-General and his bureau. The Commander-in-Chief frequently found himself at variance with Secretary Alger and with Secretary Root. The strategy which he proposed for the war was discountenanced. His Porto Rico campaign, which he would have made cardinal, was postponed to the Cuban operations described above. A published interview, wherein Miles applauded Dewey's dissent from the Schley Court of Inquiry findings, elicited from President Roosevelt a cruelly brusque reprimand, which reacted in favor of the victim.

By the act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, the regular army was enlarged and reorganized. The artillery arm no longer kept its regimental formation, but constituted a corps of two branches, coast artillery and field artillery, 156 batteries in all. Thirty regiments of foot and fifteen of horse were provided. The regular forces were augmented to 58,000 (in round numbers), which the President might swell to 100,000, including, in his discretion, 12,000 Filipino recruits. A regiment of Porto Ricans might also be raised for service in their island.

General Miles's powers were little widened by this act, though he was better liked at the Legislative than at the Executive end of Pennsylvania Avenue. His friends in Congress were able to modify in important particulars the form proposed for the measure by Secretary Root. Also the abolition of the army canteen, achieved by an amendment to the new statute, was more in accord with Miles's view than with the Adjutant-General's.

These imbroglios had little significance compared with problems more imperatively pressed upon our consideration by the war. When our Commissioners met at Paris to draft the Treaty of Peace, one wished to confine United States demands in the Orient to Manila with a few harbors and coal- ing stations. Two wished Luzon or some such goodly part of the archipelago. The Treaty of Paris was signed December 10th. Spain evacuated Cuba and ceded to the United

States Porto Rico, and Guam Island in the Pacific. The Isle of Pines, south of Cuba, was also surrendered. In 1903, we proposed quit-claiming this island to the Cuban Republic, it to provide us with two harbors and naval stations on the Cuban coast. The whole Philippine Archipelago was transferred, the open-door being pledged to Spain for a term of years. As a muniment of title, grounding it upon purchase rather than conquest, \$20,000,000 were paid Spain, a tenth of what President Buchanan once offered for Cuba.

This treaty encountered bitter opposition in both countries. The Cortes were against it, the Queen-Regent's royal prerogative having to be invoked to make it law. Our Senate ratified it February 6, 1899, by the narrow margin of two votes — forty-two Republicans and fifteen others in favor, twenty-four Democrats and three others opposing. But for the influence of William J. Bryan, who pleaded for it in the belief that the pending problems could be dealt with by Congress better than in the way of diplomacy, ratification would probably have failed.

Ratification of the Paris Treaty, indeed the very initiation of the war, marked a momentous departure from American tradition. Annexation of the Philippines was, in particular, an extreme novelty. Our participation, during Arthur's Administration, in the erection of the Congo Free State was hardly a hint of this. More significant was our co-tenancy of the Samoan Islands with England and Germany, by an agreement which the United States Senate ratified in January, 1900. The group was partitioned among the three powers, the islands west of 171 degrees west longitude, including Tutuila and Pago Pago Harbor, the only good haven in the group, falling to the United States. Also, Hawaii had been annexed. These precedents, if they could be termed such, were supported by considerations of national security, the obtaining of naval bases or strategic points, a principle which might further justify us in taking Guam, Porto Rico, and a post in Cuba.

Porto Rico had an area of about 3,600 square miles, con-

taining 953,243 souls—about the population of Maryland—crowded into an area no larger than the eastern shore of that State. The people were more exclusively rural than those of Cuba. About a third were colored, about three-fourths peons, a semi-barbarous type of poor-whites and mixed bloods, who lived in contented ignorance, poverty, and debt. Part of these were ex-slaves, whose freedom had in 1874 been bought from the owners for \$11,000,000, or the descendants of such. About a twentieth of the Porto Ricans compared favorably with the virile and intelligent classes in any land. They had the Spanish sensitiveness and pride.

Though they had been docile under Spain, the Porto Ricans hailed the Americans as deliverers. Their aspirations were: (1) commercial, for free trade with us and a system of savings banks; (2) social, for the gradual adoption of American customs, civilization, and language, with universal, free and compulsory education; (3) political, for a territorial status, with ultimate Statehood, and sadly needed fiscal, judicial, and administrative reforms.

From the Spanish evacuation till December 5, 1898, General John R. Brooke was Military Governor both of Cuba and of Porto Rico. He was succeeded in Porto Rico by General Guy V. Henry, who in turn gave place, May 8, 1899, to General George W. Davis. These able men at once began reform work. The fact of cession divorced Church and State, stopping public expenditure for royal revenues and ecclesiastical dues. Outlay was reduced more than half. Vexatious taxes were abolished, also the lottery system. Special privileges were abated, franchise-granting hedged about, the foreclosure of agricultural mortgages suspended for a year, and child labor forbidden.

In 1899 there were about 600 schools, with 26,000 pupils, in 1900 about 800, with 38,000 pupils—barely an eighth the children of school-age, still a larger proportion than had ever attended before. At the beginning of 1903 \$192,896 had already been spent on school-houses. There were reported at that time 55,000 pupils, with 1,126 teachers.

Spared the ravages of war, Porto Rico suffered heavily from the fury of Nature. August 8, 1899, a cyclone, whereof the Weather Bureau had given timely notice, found the people unprepared, sweeping 2,700 to death. Two-thirds of the coffee district was devastated; torrents rolled down the valleys; the hill-side earth tumbled in avalanches; while on the southern coast a huge tidal wave rose as if to dam back the waters rushing from the land.

This disaster widened sympathy with the view, already prevalent, that our markets should be open for Porto Ricans selling or buying, since the doors of Spain and of Cuba, till lately open to them, were now closed. By Act of Congress, April 12, 1900, fifteen per cent of the Dingley rates were levied against Porto Rican products, to cease, however, at latest, March 1, 1902. The actual end came earlier, July 25, 1901, when civil government was proclaimed.

The inhabitants now formed a body politic as "The People of Porto Rico." All Porto Rico citizens were "entitled to the protection of the United States." Insular laws so far as consistent with our own, also our own laws locally applicable, were made valid on the island, subject to modification by the insular legislature. This consisted in a House of Delegates—five members elected biennially from each of seven districts—and an Executive Council of eleven appointed for four years by the President. Six of these, known as "portfolio members," constituted the Governor's Cabinet. Five were native Porto Ricans. The Governor was appointed for four years. The Act provided for a resident Commissioner to the United States, paid by the United States. A Commission to codify the maze of Porto Rican laws was to be appointed. The established courts were maintained, but an appointive district judge was placed at the head of the system, with appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The suffrage was restricted with close educational or property and residential qualifications, and the Executive Council was given power to narrow it still more.

"All grants of franchises, rights, and privileges or con-

cessions of a public or quasi-public nature" were to be made by the Executive Council with the approval of the Governor. All franchises granted in Porto Rico had to be "reported to Congress, which reserved the power to annul or modify the same."

Hon. Charles H. Allen, of Massachusetts, the first Civil Governor, was inducted into office May 1, 1900. In the election which soon succeeded the Republicans were sweepingly victorious. The Federal Party, which had carried the island by 6,500 within the year, took no part, alleging that United States officiousness made all effort vain.

Governor Allen cabled to Washington that this Republican victory meant legislation for the good of the island, education, public works, stable government, and the protection of property interests. Many feared, however, lest American suzerainty should prove too paternal, overshadowing the worthy beginnings of self-government. It was the President whom 6,000 Porto Rican workingmen petitioned, as "the father of their country," to see that they got employment on public works, and other relief. The House of Delegates could hardly muster a quorum for its humble routine, while its members continually went to "portfolio" councilors for direction. The richest and ablest element in the island, mostly of Federal proclivities, held aloof from such little part in political life as the law permitted.

In other respects results were happy. The Insular Treasury credit balance trebled in a year, standing, July 1, 1902, at \$314,000. The exports for 1902 increased over 50 per cent, most of the advance being consigned to the United States. The principal exports were sugar, tobacco, the superior coffee grown in the island, and straw hats. Of the coffee, the year named, Europe took \$3,000,000 worth, America only \$29,000 worth. Porto Rico imported from the United States \$7,415,000 worth of commodities, from Spain over \$808,000 worth. The first year under our government there were 13,000 fewer deaths than the year before, improvement due to better sanitation and a higher standard of

living. Mutual respect between natives and Americans grew daily.

Touching Cuba, the course to be pursued by the United States was clear. We were in the island as trustees for the Cubans. The fourth Congressional resolution of April 20, 1898, gave pledge as follows: "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control of said island (Cuba) except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people." This self-denying ordinance, than which few official utterances in all our history ever did more to shape the nation's behavior, was moved and urged, at first against strong opposition, by Senator Teller, of Colorado. Some thought it likely that but for the pledge just recited European States would have formed a league against the United States in favor of Spain.

December 13, 1898, a military government was established for "the Division of Cuba." The New Year saw the last military relic of Spanish dominion trail out of Cuba and Cuban waters. The Cuban army gradually disbanded. The work of distributing supplies and medicines was followed by the vigorous prosecution of railroad, highway, and bridge-repairing, and other public works, upon which many of the destitute found employment. Courts and schools were resumed. Hundreds of new schools opened—in Santiago sixty, in Santiago province over three hundred. Brigandage was stamped out. Cities were thoroughly cleansed and sewer systems constructed. The death-rate fell to a lower mark than ever before. In 1896 there were in Havana 1,262 deaths from yellow fever, and during the eleven years prior to American occupation 440 annually. In 1901 there were only four. Under the "pax Americana" industry awoke. New huts and houses hid the ashes of former ones. Miles of desert smiled again with unwonted tillage.

A census of Cuba, taken by the War Department, October 16, 1899, showed a population of 1,572,797, a falling

off of nearly 60,000 in the twelve years since the last Spanish census. The average density of population was about that of Iowa, varying, however, from Havana Province, as thickly peopled as Connecticut, to Puerto Principe, with denizens scattered like those of Texas. In the island at large two-thirds of the people—in the rural districts eighty per cent—could neither read nor write.

In December, 1899, Governor Brooke retired in favor of General Leonard Wood. A splendid object-lesson in good administration having been placed before the people, they were, in June, 1900, given control of their municipal governments and the powers of these somewhat enlarged.

In July, Governor Wood summoned a constitutional convention, which, meeting in November, drafted a ground-law modeled largely upon our Constitution. The Government was more centralized than ours. The President was to be chosen by an electoral college. His term of office was four years. Six Senators from each of the six departments were elected for a term of six years, one-third coming in every two years. Representatives in the lower House were elected, one-half every two years, to serve four years, apportioned in the ratio of one Representative to every 25,000 people. Suffrage was universal.

The bill of rights was more specific than ours, containing, among other things, a guarantee of freedom in "learning and teaching" any business or profession, and in peaceably assembling, "without arms, for all licit purposes." A provision was inserted calculated to prevent "reconcentration," another forbidding confiscation of property as a penalty, still another against retroactive laws except new penal statutes more favorable to delinquents. For usurpation and for certain other offences the President might be suspended from office by the Senate on motion of the House, and, if found guilty, deposed.

Upon a hint from Governor Wood the convention took up the subject of Cuba's relations with the United States. It laid stress upon reciprocity, but entirely ignored conditions

which President McKinley deemed precedent to the cessation of our control. March 2, 1901, Congress adopted as a rider to the Army Appropriation Bill an amendment, named from its author, Senator Platt, of Connecticut, which embodied the necessary conditions and enacted that until they were fulfilled the control of the island was not to be turned over to its people. The points to be safeguarded were that Cuba should permit no foreign lodgement or control, contract no debt beyond the resources of the ordinary net revenues to pay interest and provide a sinking-fund for the principal, permit our intervention to protect Cuban independence or to maintain a government competent to protect life, liberty, and property, and to sustain international obligations undertaken by the United States under the Paris Treaty on behalf of Cuba. Cuba must further ratify the acts of the military government, protect rights acquired thereunder, continue to improve city sanitation, give the United States certain coaling and naval stations, and finally by treaty confirm these things and adjust our title to the Isle of Pines. Upon June 12, 1901, the convention, not without much opposition, adopted the amendment.

The first President of the Cuban Republic was Tomas Estrada Palma. He had been years an exile in the United States and was much in sympathy with our country. His opponent in the canvass, General Bartolomo Maso, withdrew before the end of the campaign, alleging United States pressure in favor of Estrada Palma. The eastern provinces nevertheless gave Maso eight electoral votes. Maso and his supporters joined in the ovation which greeted Estrada's home-coming. In May, 1902, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down and the Cuban tricolor raised. The Military Governor and his soldiers, as the Spaniards had done so recently, left the island, going with a record of dazzling achievements that had in a few months done much to repair the mischiefs of centuries.

From the moment Spain evacuated, Cuban affairs began as by a "manifest destiny" to shape themselves toward an

nexation to the United States. Put to proof, the Cubans revealed less power of self-government than had been hoped. Such Spaniards and Spain-adherents as remained—all, in fact, who prized honest and virile government—preferred United States to Cuban rule. Cuban sovereignty must at best be more formal than real. The industries of the island would be immensely benefited by the demolition of tariff walls between Cuba and the United States. Withal, that the United States needed Cuba our wisest statesmen had always seen. It was but natural, therefore, that, soon as our flag was hoisted in Cuba, the influence of the United States authorities was used in all legitimate ways to create a public opinion in the new Republic favorable to incorporation with us. It was charged, and many believed, that our authorities used certain illegitimate means to this end. President Estrada Palma no doubt favored annexation. Leaders with a contrary thought were in one way or another silenced.

Cut off from her former free commercial intercourse with Spain, Cuba looked to the United States to market her raw sugar, most of our people wishing to assist. Advocates of reciprocity urged considerations of honor and fair dealing with Cuba, where, it was said, ruin stared planters in the face. Senators and representatives from beet-sugar sections opposed the step as ruinous to a distinctively American industry, while calculated to be helpful not to the American public but to the Sugar Trust alone. The Sugar Trust, of course, favored reciprocity, and was charged with the expenditure of large sums in that interest. Against it was pitted the Sugar Beet Trust, a new figure among combinations.

During the long session of the LVIIIth Congress, the House "insurgents," as the Republican opponents of reciprocity were called, joining the Democratic members, overrode the Speaker and the Ways and Means Chairman, and attached to the Reciprocity Bill a rider cutting off the existing differential duty in favor of refined sugar—a dart aimed at the

vitals of the Sugar Trust. This clash of the trusts outlasted the session, neither side being able to convince or outvote the other. At the polls next year the reciprocity cause seemed to be vindicated. A reciprocity treaty was negotiated and promptly ratified in Cuba. Radically amended in the United States Senate, it returned to Cuba, was reconsidered and sent back to Washington. The United States Senate passed the Cuban reciprocity act in December, 1903. President Roosevelt signed it on December 17, 1903, declaring its provisions effective in ten days from that date.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE UNITED STATES A PACIFIC OCEAN POWER.

Native Tribes of the Philippines—The Moros and Visayans—Chinese in the Philippines—The Religious Question—Aguinaldo—The Philippine Republic—The Philippine Congress—Affairs in Samar—General Miles's Report—The Schurman Commission's Report—The "Insular Cases"—The Anti-Imperialist Discussion—Inauguration of Governor Taft—The Pacific Cable.

AT the end of the war with Spain the United States, with 84,233,069 citizens and dependants, stood fourth in population among the nations of the world, the Chinese and the British Empire holding each from 350,000,000 to 400,000,000, the Russias 131,000,000, and France with her dependencies about 83,666,000. Our acquisition of the Philippine Islands suggested these comparisons almost imperatively.

The Philippines formed a section of the insular cordon southeast of the Chinese coast, approaching Formosa to the north and Borneo and Celebes to the south. Their extent was 1,152 miles meridian-wise by 682 miles across. A third of their area, which nearly doubled New England's, was taken up by Luzon, a fifth or a sixth by Mindanao. There were seventeen principal isles besides, with 1,500 or more islets. Luzon, to the north, with Marinduque, Mindoro, Masbate, and others, formed one group, the most civilized; Mindanao, to the south, with the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan, comprised another group, the wildest; while between them lay a third group, the Visayas (Negros, Panay, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, Samar, and lesser land-dots), "median" in civilization as well as geographically.

Fifty or more volcanoes, twenty of them active, besides

innumerable hot and cold springs, revealed the geological origin of the archipelago. The characteristic tropical seasons, dry in winter, rainy in summer, were well marked, save on the eastern coasts, where precipitation was more uniform. Southwardly the temperature averaged much as at the north, but varied less. There were high altitudes comfortable for Europeans the year round, but the climate generally was trying. Intense home-sickness, nervous collapse, even insanity attacked many a white sojourner. Numerous harbors notched the coasts, Manila the best and best located.

Manila hemp, tobacco, sugar, copra (dried cocoanut kernels), coffee, rice, and indigo made up the islands' most prized tribute to world-markets. Mindanao and Palawan furnished spices also. Most of the archipelago's 73,000,000 acres, fertile beyond conception, were virgin soil. From 200,000 to 400,000 civilized natives held squatters' tenure on public lands. Only 4,940,000 acres were subject to recognized private ownership. Deposits of gold, copper, high-grade iron ore, coal, and other minerals underlay large tracts, and valuable timber-lands abounded.

The inhabitants numbered from 6,900,000 to 8,000,000. Some reckoned even 10,000,000. There were 25,000 resident Europeans. Of every twenty natives one might be a Mohammedan, one a pagan, the rest Christian. The common calling was agriculture, but it was of a primitive sort. A little lumbering was carried on, less mining and manufacturing.

There were eighty-four native tribes, mainly of the Malay type, which cropped out persistently despite Mongolian, Caucasian, and Negrito admixtures. The Negritos, black, stunted savages, represented the earliest known inhabitants, now driven to forest and mountain hidings and, as a separate stock, nearly extinct. Other savages, distinct from the Malays as from the Negritos, were the so-called Indonesians, of Mindanao. These, not numerous, were a fine, tall, strong race, with large heads, high foreheads, aquiline noses, wavy blond hair, and abundant beards. Savage Malays ranged the unexplored wilds. Sections of the Philippines were reported as given

over to slavery, polygamy or concubinage, head-hunting, even cannibalism.

The hardy bronze Igorrotes of northern Luzon appeared to be at bottom Malays, though Negrito blood ran in their veins and Mongolian features marked many a face. They had withstood all attempts to Christianize them, and stubbornly clung to their primitive mode of life as tillers of the soil. Nevertheless they adhered to the American arms and rendered valuable porter-service.

Their religion had elements of sun and ancestor worship. The one tangible feature in it was the "kanyan," a drunken feast held on such occasions, fifteen in all, as marriage, birth, death, and serious illness. The feast began with an invocation to Kafunion, the sun-god, and a dance much like that of the American Indians. Then came the swilling of tapi, a strong beer made from rice, and gorging with buffalo, horse, or dog meat, the last being the greatest delicacy. Till the Americans vetoed the practice, the Igorrotes were "head-hunters." The theory was that the brains of the captured head became the captor's.

The Igorrotes had magnificent chests and legs and were extensively used as burden-bearers. Sustained by only a few bowlfuls of rice and some sweet potatoes, a man would carry fifty or seventy-five pounds on his head or back all day over the most difficult mountain trails. The Igorrotes had a mild form of slavery, and, though good-natured and at times industrious, appeared utterly without spirit of progress or moral outlook.

The Malay-Filipinos comprised, upon the lowest estimate, forty-seven tribes and 5,700,000 souls. In the southern or Mindanao group were the fierce Arab-Malay Mohammedans known as Moros, owning allegiance first to their local dattoes, then to the Sultan of Sulu. They loved war, despised work, practiced polygamy. Their piracies had been curbed only within fifty years, and their depredations and slave-raiding by land were never wholly prevented. The slaves consisted of such as had succumbed in fight, such as

had sold themselves for debt, and the descendants of both. Slaves seemed to be humanely treated and were often permitted to earn money and buy their freedom. The Moros liked the Americans, and were suspiciously eager to "assist" our forces in subduing the insurgent Tagals.

The Visayans, 2,500,000 strong, belonging to the Middle Group, were Christians. A warlike Visayan variation upon the Mindanao coast had for centuries held its own against Moro and Indonesian alike. Also Christian were the most advanced of all the tribes, the Tagals or Tagalogs, numbering 1,500,000. They dominated the Northern or Luzon Group, though not to the exclusion of an equal or greater number of others, the Ilocanos, Cagayans, and Pangasinans in North Luzon, the Bicol and Pampangan in South Luzon.

Many Filipinos had studied in Europe. There was a select class possessing information and manners which would have admitted them to the cultivated circles in Paris or London, and thousands were the peers of average middle-class Europeans. Perhaps 500,000 were hybrids, "mestizos," clustering at the commercial centres—white, yellow, or brown, according to the special blend of blood. By heredity and contagion they emulated Europeans. They were intelligent but uneducated, active but not industrious, fond of pomp and display. Below the élite and the mestizos were the vast toiling masses, some, like the Ilocanos, intelligent, enterprising, spirited, eager for education, but mostly passive and abject.

The typical Filipino was vain and lazy, but cheerful and quick to learn whatever did not require reasoning power. His ethical level was low. An American teacher related to her small charges the edifying story of George Washington and the cherry-tree, while a group of native mothers listened agape. She reached the climax: "Father, I did it. I can not tell a lie." "Pobre Madre!" ejaculated a little brown woman, with a fond glance at one of the children. "Poor mother! to have such a blockhead for a son!"

The Filipinos possessed marvelous musical talent and appreciation. Bugle-calls were the delight of their soldiers.

Any evening in Manila one might hear the latest music from Paris or London, even Sousa's marches, discoursed by native performers in the band out-of-doors or in the theatrical orchestras, and eagerly drunk in by high and low.

Some 40,000 Chinese were an essential if an unpopular element of Philippine life. They were the pushful, daring traders of the islands—for local purposes the only traders. They were as ill-liked as the Jews in Russia, being not infrequently maltreated, in out-of-the-way places killed. The Yellow Peril threatened the Philippines as it did the American West, competition in the labor-market being fierce. Coincidentally with the same movement here, Spain ineffectually sought to shut the Chinese from her Oriental colony. After American occupation our Chinese Exclusion Act was in force there, though yearly arrivals from the Celestial Empire still considerably exceeded the departures.

Spain had done in the islands much civilizing work, though none of a very advanced kind. Dethroning petty broiling rajahs, curbing piracy, establishing public order, planting the Cross, and introducing letters were grand performances, far better effected than the analogous work anciently done by the Romans. In 1893 Spain gave the Filipinos a measure of home rule, a system not unlike the Russian Zemstvos or village communities. At the American occupation schools were numerous, but not general. The University of St. Thomas graced Manila, and some seventy colleges and academies at various centres professed to prepare pupils for it.

But the shield had its dark other side. If Spain spared the Philippines the worst barbarities marking her rule in Peru and Mexico, she inflicted here other iniquities in sum nearly as indefensible. Government monopolies were numerous. Private property was confiscated, now openly, now by indirection. Compulsory labor was exacted. The old system of farming the revenues was as great a curse as the friars. Liberty was not regarded, nor, upon occasion, life itself. The wonder was not that the natives rebelled, but that they were patient so long. Senator Hoar wrote: "I should as soon give

back a redeemed soul to Satan as give back the people of the Philippine Islands to the cruelty and tyranny of Spain."

The Christian Filipinos were Catholics. There were 746 regular Catholic parishes, all but 150, which were small, administered by Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan friars, to whose orders natives were ineligible. After generations of evangelical devotion, during which they did creditable work, of lasting value, these orders had ceased to be aggressive religiously, growing opulent and oppressive instead. They owned 420,000 acres of the best land.

Once settled in his parish the friar stayed, becoming a fixed political factor, while a Spanish officer never held a post over four years. Thus the friars were the pedestal of the civil government. Their influence could unseat a refractory officer; it could and often did cause natives to be deported, even put to death. One of their victims was that beautiful spirit, Dr. Rizal, author of "Noli me Tangere," the most learned and distinguished Malay ever known. He had taken no part whatever in rebellion or sedition, on the contrary was quoted as, just before his death, denouncing the folly of Aguinaldo's 1896 rebellion. Yet, because he was known to abominate clerical misrule, he was, without a scintilla of evidence that he had broken any law, first expatriated, then shot. This murder occurred December 30, 1896, doing much to further the rebellion then spreading. Forty of the obnoxious friars were killed, 403 imprisoned till released by the Americans. Of the 1,124 in the islands in 1896 but 472 remained in 1898.

"Every abuse leading to the revolutions of 1896 and 1898 the people charged to the friars; and the autocratic power which each friar exercised over the civil officials of his parish gave them a most plausible ground for belief that nothing of injustice, of cruelty, or oppression, or narrowing liberty was imposed on them for which the friar was not entirely responsible. The revolutions against Spain began as movements against the friars."¹

¹ Abridged from Reports of Taft Commission.

Free Masonry was a redoubtable antagonist to the Orders. Other secret leagues, as the Liga Filipina, also opposed. Most belligerent of all was the "Katipunan." It was formed after the 1872 outbreak, adopting as its symbol the sinister initials "K. K. K.," "Kataas-Tassan Kagalang-Galang, Katipunan"—"sovereign, worshipful association." If the Ku Klux Klan gave the hint for the society's symbol it also pre-figured its programme. It was the Katipunan which, catching and truly expressing popular Filipino feeling, led in bringing on the insurrection of 1896.

In December, 1897, the conflict, marked by frightful atrocities on both sides, had, as in Cuba, degenerated into a "stalemate." The Spaniard could not be ousted, the Filipino could not be subdued. Spain ended the trouble for the time by promising reform and hiring the insurgent leaders—prominent among them Don Emilio Aguinaldo—to leave the country.

Aguinaldo was born March 22, 1869, at Cavité, of which town he subsequently became mayor. His blood probably contained Spanish, Tagal, and Chinese strains. He had supplemented a limited school education by extensive and eager contact with books and men. To a surprising wealth of information he added inspiring eloquence and much genius for leadership. He had the "remarkable gift of surrounding himself with able coadjutors and administrators." The insurrection early revealed him as the incarnation of Filipino hostility to Spain. Judging by appearances—his zeal in 1896, bargain with Spain in 1897, fighting again in Luzon in 1898, acquiescence in peace with the United States, reappearance in arms, capture, and instant allegiance to our flag—he was a shifty character, little worthy the great honor he received among his own people and, for long, here.

But if he lacked in constancy he excelled in enterprise. Spaniards never missed their reckoning more completely than in thinking they had quieted Aguinaldo by sending him to China with a bag of money. He simply held the treasure for future use as a war fund. Since Spain had not redressed and

showed no disposition to redress Philippine abuses, he regarded the Spanish-American War as an auspicious chance for renewed activity in the cause of Filipino home rule.

Consul Wildman, at Hong Kong, saw the value to us of Aguinaldo's co-operation. Aguinaldo and those with him declared that Wildman, alleging authority from Washington, promised the Filipinos independence; and other Hong Kong consuls and several press representatives had the impression that this was the case. Wildman absolutely denied having given any assurance of the kind. Admiral Dewey also denied, in the most positive manner, that he, Dewey, had done so.

Whatever the understanding or misunderstanding at Hong Kong, Aguinaldo, some twenty-four days after Dewey's victory, was brought home by the Americans, in the evident belief that they were to co-operate with him for Filipino independence. He easily resumed his leadership, and in three weeks proclaimed an independent republic, announcing that an American protectorate would not be opposed. Dewey furnished him arms and ammunition.

June 19, 1898, the Spanish Government attempted, as in Cuba, to mend matters by instituting autonomy; but the failure was farcical. Aguinaldo roused and solidified the opposition with consummate skill. Nearly every province of Luzon had its rebel organization. Aguinaldo's men assumed the offensive, and with effect. At last only Manila remained to the Spaniards. Even Manila the insurgents hemmed in by a line reaching from water to water. They must have captured ten thousand prisoners, though part of those they had at the Spanish evacuation were from the Americans.

September 8, 1898, the American commander ordered the insurgents out of Manila, and, October 10th, still further away. Although the Paris Treaty was not yet ratified, the President, believing that it would be, and wishing to widen forthwith the sphere of American authority, ordered our Government, December 21, 1898, extended with despatch over the archipelago. In January he appointed Jacob G. Schur-

man, of New York, Admiral Dewey, General Otis, Charles Denby, ex-Minister to China, and Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan, a commission of conciliation and investigation.

Conciliation was sorely needed. The Treaty of Paris summarily gave not only the islands but their inhabitants to the United States, entirely ignoring the people's wishes in the matter. It seemed to guarantee perpetuation of the friar abuses under which the Filipinos had groaned so long. Outside Manila threat of American rule awakened bitter hostility. In Manila itself thousands of Tagals, lip-servants of the new masters, were in secret communion with their kinsmen in arms.

As the year 1899 opened the Spanish troops embarked for Spain. The Philippine "republic," from Malolos, its capital, still effectively controlled at least the Tagal provinces of Luzon. Aguinaldo, its soul from the first moment, was president. This republic assumed to act for the archipelago, taking the place of Spain. It, of course, had neither in law nor in fact the power to do this, nor, under the circumstances, could the Administration at Washington, however desirable such a course from certain points of view, consent that it should at present even try.

It was wholly problematical how long Aguinaldo, unaided, could dominate Luzon, still more so whether he would rule tolerably, and more uncertain yet whether Centre or South would ever yield to him. Insurrection had foothold in four or five Visayan islands, but never, it seems, in Negros, which of its own accord raised our flag. In Mindanao, the Sulu islands, and Palawan the insurgents had practically no influence. The propertied minority in the commercial sections preferred seeing the American Eagle spread his wings from Sulu to north Luzon to feeling the beaks of native vultures pecking at their vitals. They, as well as the foreign commercial interests, dreaded Aguinaldo and his braves more than they had dreaded Spain. The business men of Iloilo, in December, 1898, petitioned for American protection. The insurgents burned the town.

Even should the native government succeed in establishing order over the entire archipelago, clearly it must for an indefinite period be incompetent to take over the international responsibilities connected with the islands. To have at once conceded Filipino sovereignty could have subserved no end that would have been from any point of view rational or humane.

The American situation was delicate. We were present as friends, but could be really so only by for the time seeming not to be so. At points we failed in tact. We too little recognized distinctions among classes of Filipinos, tending to treat all alike as savages. When our thought ceased to be that of ousting Spain and attacked the more serious question what to do next, our manner toward the Filipinos abruptly changed. Our purposes were left unnecessarily equivocal. Our troops viewed the Filipinos with open contempt. "Filipinos" and "niggers" were often used as synonyms.

Imperialism of the greedy sort was in evidence, the worst enemy of sane or successful expansion, bringing to the islands carpet-bag adventurers and other would-be exploiters with dreams of rich spoils. Unlovely incidents of our occupation got undue prominence by being officially suppressed or distorted. Alike from harpy imperialism and from anti-imperialist assertions the Filipinos received the impression that we were there to out-Spaniard the Spaniard in oppression.

No blood flowed till February 4, 1899, when a skirmish set off by the shot of a bullyragged American sentry, led to war. February 22, 1899, the insurgents attempted to fire Manila as they had fired Iloilo. From now on their towns were seized, one "capital" after another captured, and their forces driven north beyond the foothills.

May 1, 1899, the Philippine Congress almost unanimously voted for peace. Aguinaldo consented. Mabini's cabinet, opposing, was overturned, but Mabini had General Luna arrest the peace emissaries, sentencing some to prison, some to death.

Thereafter the very skeleton of the republic vanished.

Most of the incorrigibles were soon captured, some, among them Mabini, deported to Guam. The insurgents, like the Macedonian Committee in European Turkey, still wielded a midnight authority, making secret levies—robbers rather than tax-gatherers. They inflicted capital punishments, but as murderers rather than as executioners. Like the untamable mountain Greeks under Turkish rule, they were styled, and in fact more and more became, highwaymen, “ladrones.”

By the end of 1899 Central Luzon seemed pacified. Meantime our power was recognized in the Southern group by a treaty with the Moro Sultan and his dattoes. This instrument confirmed the custom whereby bondmen had been permitted to buy freedom. Datto Mandji, of Zamboanga, went further and abolished slavery among his subjects. Most of the Visayas also, sometimes willingly, usually perforce, accepted our sovereignty.

Systematic opposition to our arms ended in March, 1901, by a stratagem involving much nerve, and also that clever duplicity which, when successful, is a high merit in war. A captured message from Aguinaldo asking reinforcements gave clew to his whereabouts. General Frederick Funston, with four comrades and a picked body of trustworthy natives, set out for the rebel lair. Aguinaldo, informed that reinforcements were at hand with five captured Americans, sent provisions and directed that the prisoners be treated with humanity. On March 29th he received the officers, but had hardly excused them when a volley leveled his bodyguard. Next moment, with a rush, the American officers seized him, his chief of staff, and his treasurer. Four days later Aguinaldo swore allegiance to the United States, and in a proclamation advised his followers to do the same. Great and daily increasing numbers of them obeyed. Even the irreconcilable exile Mabini took the oath and returned to his home in time to die.

From May 5, 1900, to June 30, 1901, there were in the Philippines 1,026 hostile contacts. Two hundred and forty-five Americans were killed, 490 wounded, 118 captured, 20

missing. Three thousand eight hundred and fifty-four Filipinos were killed, 1,193 wounded, 6,572 captured, and 23,095 surrendered.

Everywhere and always Americans had to guard against treachery. Americans and, even more, native "Americanists" falling into rebel hands suffered outrages inspired rather by the teachings of their old Spanish masters than by their leaders' desire or by the conduct of our troops. In Samar treacherous guides abandoned to die in a wilderness an expedition of our Marine Corps under Major Waller. Eleven prisoners subsequently captured were shot without trial as implicated in the barbarity. The Major was court-martialed, but acquitted, in that he had acted under superior orders and military necessity. A sensational feature of his trial was the production of General Smith's order to Major Waller "to kill and burn," "make Samar a howling wilderness," "kill everything over ten" (every native over ten years old). "Hell-roaring Jake Smith," as the General was dubbed, was in turn court-martialed and reprimanded. President Roosevelt considered this not severe enough, and summarily retired him from the service.

Lieutenant-General Miles thought our Philippine operations attended with unnecessary severity, referring for proof to serious but then unpublished charges of cruelty made by the civil governor of Tayabas. February 18, 1902, he asked permission to take to the islands a committee of Cubans and Porto Ricans to explain to the Filipinos the benefits of American rule, also to bring a Filipino delegation to Washington to make our personal acquaintance, as it were. Secretary Root declined, declaring that the war had been conducted with "marked humanity." "It is to be regretted," he continued, "that the officer of highest rank in the army should assume the truth of charges reflecting upon the credit of the army without giving General Chaffee an opportunity to be heard." Miles was taxed upon the Senate floor with having supplied to anti-Administration Senators official War Department matter which his superiors did not desire to give out.

At last the General got leave to make a tour of inspection, in the course of which he issued orders against practices contrary to civilized warfare. Challenged for facts that could render such orders appropriate he, on February 19, 1903, made a report upon the condition of the archipelago, naming some abuses which had been charged. The reconcentration of non-combatants had been practiced, 600 being imprisoned in one building. Reconcentrados had been compelled to pay for food largely above its cost. Natives at Laoag, Luzon, deposed that numbers of them had been whipped, two dying under the infliction, but this testimony, so far as it reflected upon the officer in command, was discredited. The water torture had often been used to extort information. It was charged that Philippine scouts had taken prisoners into the country with orders not to bring them back unless they guided our force to the rebel camp, and that all but one were shot or bayoneted to death.

Such of these outrages as occurred were sporadic, caused by a sort of calenture destroying the mental poise of unacclimated officers. Major Waller's sufferings nearly drove him insane. Similar lapses into barbarous ways had been observed among troops in other torrid regions.

"It is most gratifying," wrote General Miles, "that the serious offences have not been committed by the soldiers unless they were under the direct orders of certain officers who were responsible. Soldiers have withheld fire when ordered to shoot prisoners, protested against acts of cruelty, and written to relatives at home urging them to take action to put a stop to those crimes. It will ever be one of the glories of the army that such deeds committed by whatever authority are abhorrent to the American soldier. The officers who are responsible, using chiefly cruel Macabebes, do not by any means constitute the American army, and there must be a very unmistakable line drawn between the great body of honorable and faithful officers and brave soldiers whose records have been commendable, and those of whatever station

whose acts have received and should receive earnest condemnation of all honorable men."

Constructive civilization work went hand in hand with the enforcement of our sovereignty. Order was re-established in the Cavité Province so early as 1898. In the next two years several municipal governments were erected under military protection, and six ports of entry opened, two more than Spain permitted, with seventy-three ports for coastwise trade.

March 20, 1899, the Schurman Commission began its labors, working with great zeal, discretion, and success to win the Filipinos to the American cause. On April 4th they issued a proclamation which had excellent effects. While unqualifiedly asserting United States supremacy, it assured the natives of self-government so far as compatible with our rule, disclaimed all purpose of exploiting, guaranteed civil and religious rights, with equality before the law, and an honest, effective, and beneficent administration through natives where and when possible. United States sway in the archipelago would be made "as free, liberal, and democratic as the most intelligent Filipino desired," "a firmer and surer self-government than their own Philippine Republic could ever have guaranteed." In September, after collecting much testimony from representatives of the well-to-do and intelligent classes, the Commission was recalled.

Its preliminary report, published just before the 1899 elections, exercised notable influence. The Commission's conclusions, elaborated in its final report, were that the United States could not then withdraw from the Philippine Islands, that the Filipinos were unprepared for independence, that Aguinaldo had never been promised independence, that there was no general public opinion among the Filipino peoples, but that men of property and education, who alone interested themselves in public affairs, favored American suzerainty.

American opinion was far from clear upon the tangled problems of fact, law, policy, and ethics which the Philippine

situation involved. Some wished our demands in the Orient confined to Manila, with a few harbors and coaling stations. Others thought it well to take all Luzon. Nearly all were surprised when the Administration insisted upon appropriating the whole Philippine domain.

Then arose the question what the Filipino's status was to be under our flag. Only the Vice-President's casting vote defeated a resolution, introduced in the Senate by Senator Bacon, of Georgia, declaring our intention to treat the Filipinos as we were pledged to treat the Cubans. After ratification the Senate passed a resolution, introduced by Senator McEnery, of Louisiana, avowing the purpose not to make the Filipinos United States citizens or their land American territory, but to establish for them a government suited to their needs, in due time disposing of the archipelago according to the interests of our people and of the inhabitants.

In international law, though Spain's sovereignty was at last hardly more than nominal, our title to the Philippines, whether or not good as based on conquest, was unimpeachable, considered as a cession by way of war indemnity or sale. Nor, according to the weight of authority, could the constitutional right of the Federal power to acquire these islands be denied. It was indeed ably contended that unless made for specific constitutional purposes, such as national defence, the annexation would not be lawful, but the judiciary would not be apt to review the action of the co-ordinate treaty-making branch of the Government upon such a question of public policy.

However, did "the Constitution follow the flag"? If not, what were the relations of those outlands and their inhabitants to the United States? Could people and products from the new possessions come to the United States proper with the same freedom as our own passed from State to State? If not, on what terms could they come? Would our continental laws regulate insular importation and immigration from foreign parts? Could we tariff our own exports to the islands without violating the constitutional inhibition of State-

export taxes? Could we, on the other hand, enter them freely, taxing competitive foreign imports, without violating open-door and most-favored-nation treaties? Could we recognize slavery in the Sulus? Might Filipinos peaceably assemble and petition our Government for redress of grievances? Might they demand jury trials? Or could only Americans to the manner born do these things?

On the fundamental question whether the dependencies formed part of the United States the Supreme Court passed in certain so-called "insular cases" which were early brought before it. Four of the Justices held that at all times after the Paris Treaty said islands were part and parcel of the United States. Four were moved by the exigency to hold that the islands at no time became part of the United States, but were rather "territories appurtenant" thereto.

Mr. Justice Brown read the Court's decree, "eight justices dissenting." In his logic, that is, his reasoning upon the law of the case, not one of his colleagues concurred. On the practical issue, however, he agreed with the latter four justices, making it the decision of a majority, and so of the Court, that Porto Rico and the Philippines did not fall within the United States proper. On the other hand, they were not foreign. The revenue clauses of the Constitution did not forbid tariffing goods from or going to the islands. In the absence of express legislation the general tariff did not obtain as against imports from the dependencies. The Court intimated that, so far as applicable, the Constitution's provisions favoring personal rights and liberty accompanied the Stars and Stripes beyond the sea as well as between our old shores.

Unsatisfactory as was this utterance of a badly divided Court it sanctioned the Administration policy and opened way for necessary legislation. It did nothing, however, to hush the anti-imperialists' appeal, based more upon the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of our national ideals.

It was said that having delivered the Filipinos from Spain "we were bound in all honor to protect their newly acquired liberty against the ambition and greed of any other nation

on earth, and we were equally bound to protect them against our own. We were bound to stand by them, a defender and protector, until their new government was established in freedom and in honor; until they had made treaties with the powers of the earth and were as secure in their national independence as Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, Santo Domingo, or Venezuela."

The Filipinos, it was urged, had inalienable right to life and liberty; our policy in the Philippines was in derogation of those rights; Japan left to herself had stridden further in a generation than England's crown colony of India in a century; the Filipinos could be trusted to do likewise; our increments of territory hitherto had been adapted to complete incorporation, while the new were not; and growth of any other character would mean weakness, not strength. These were the views of eminent and respected Americans like George F. Hoar, George S. Boutwell, Carl Schurz, and William J. Bryan. Our two living ex-Presidents, Harrison and Cleveland, also ex-Speaker Reed, sympathized with the same.

The mistakes, expense, and difficulties incident to expansion and the misbehavior and crimes of some of our officers and soldiers, referred to above, were exhibited in their worst light.

Rejoinder usually proceeded by denying the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government. Even waiving this, men found in international law no such mid-status between sovereignty and non-sovereignty as anti-imperialists wished to have the United States assume toward the Philippines while the Filipinos were getting upon their feet. Many made great point of minimizing the abuses of our military government and dilating upon native atrocities. The material wealth of the archipelago was described in glowing terms. Only American capital and enterprise were needed to develop it into a mine of national riches. The military and commercial advantages of our position at the doorway of the East, our duty to protect lives and property imper-

iled by the insurgents, and our manifest destiny to lift up the Filipino races, were dwelt upon.

The argument having chief weight with most was that there seemed no clear avenue by which we could escape the policy of American occupation save the dishonorable and humiliating one of leaving the islands to their fate—anarchy and intestine feuds at once, conquest by Japan, Germany, or Spain herself a little later.

All demanded that abuses in connection with our rule should be punished and the repetition of such made impossible, and that our power should, without regard to party, be administered for the benefit of our wards by men of approved fitness and high and humane character. American tutelage, if it were to exist, must present the best and not the worst side of our civilization, and to do so with tact and sympathy.

In the spring of 1900 a second Philippine Commission—William H. Taft, of Ohio; Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Bernard Moses, of California—was appointed to conciliate still further the Filipinos and to institute civil government. Better men could not have been chosen.

The Commission attacked its work with vigor. Its first year saw passed no less than 263 laws. Its members laboriously toured the provinces, considering and sometimes adopting Filipino recommendations touching local governments. As provinces were pacified, municipal and provincial civil governments took the place of the military arm, such transfers growing more and more extensive, though occasional relapses made military government again necessary. A native Federal party, organized November, 1900, to secure peace under United States sovereignty, made rapid progress.

On July 4, 1901, Judge Taft was inaugurated civil governor, General Adna R. Chaffee military governor under him, and civil executive power was given to the provincial governors. Taft was extremely popular with the natives,

who found him the soul of justice. The American and foreign business public specially liked the Vice-Governor, having more to do with him. September 1, 1901, the President added four native members to the Commission. He also divided its work into departments: interior, commerce, police, justice, and finance, and public instruction. By May 1, 1902, the insurrection was confined to the Luzon provinces of Batangas, parts of Laguna and Tayabas, and the Visayan islands of Samar and Bohol.

July 1, 1902, an act of Congress confirmed all that Taft and his associates had done to date. Appointments to chief offices in the archipelago were henceforth subject to confirmation by the Senate. Upon pacification of the islands a census was to be taken as basis of a representative assembly to be elected two years later, making, with the Commission, a bicameral legislature. To vote, a Philippine citizen must read and write English or Spanish, also own \$250 (American currency) worth of property, or pay \$15 yearly in taxes, or have held municipal office under Spain. This excluded all but about two per cent of the population and all but ten per cent of the adult males. Absolute Congressional veto was reserved upon insular legislation. There were to be two resident commissioners at Washington. The insular Supreme Court had appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The law carefully guarded against the unjust exploitation of public lands, timber, mineral, and water rights, and franchises. Involuntary servitude was prohibited and penalized, a provision made necessary by the wish of certain interests (as in Hawaii) to import Chinese and Japanese coolies under contracts amounting to leasehold slavery. A bond issue was authorized in order to purchase the friars' lands, the bonds to be paid so far as possible from the sale of such lands. Schemes of taxation and of coinage were features of the measure. There was also a bill of rights containing most of the guarantees provided in our Constitution, not giving, however, the right to bear arms, to be tried by jury, or to be exempt from having soldiers quartered upon

them. The Philippine Act made bailable all offences not capital and forbade imprisonment for debt.

It was a fit time to promulgate the new law. Peace was making headway. Cost of living was higher, but so seemed the standard of living, and so, certainly, were wages. In addition to the 610 miles of commercial cables already existing, the Americans had laid 6,000 miles of permanent telegraph, telephone, and cable wires, with 203 offices open for commercial business. In 1903 was completed the new Pacific Cable, from San Francisco to Manila. Over it, on July 4, 1903, President Roosevelt, from Oyster Bay, Long Island, sent the first message around the world. Schools of telegraphy had been opened to Filipinos. We were operating, at little loss, twenty post-offices in Luzon, one to three each in Negros, Marinduque, Samar, Mindanao, Cebu, Corregidor, Panay, and Sulu—thirty-two in all. We had established a weather bureau with fifteen stations. In thirty-two provinces a native constabulary was functioning. The board of health for the archipelago, instituted a year before, had vaccinated 1,000,000 natives, opened leper hospitals for that frightfully common blight, made provision against the plague, and begun to teach natives how to treat and immunize their carabaos, decimated by the rinderpest.

Though we abolished the state lottery and sale of monopolies whence Spain gleaned fifteen per cent of her Philippine revenues, our balance-sheet showed the islands still able easily to pay running expenses. By a wholesome provision provincial governments were required to levy a land-tax for roads and bridges, and municipalities such a tax for schools.

Educational work in the Philippines was pressed from the very beginning of American control. Our military authorities reopened the Manila schools, making attendance compulsory. The schools were systematically organized, placed under able headship, and taught in chief by devoted teachers from the United States. These advanced into the interior, to the neediest tribes. Nine early settled among the Igorotes, scattered in towns along the Agno River, and an in-

dustrial and agricultural school was soon planned for Igorrote boys. In 1901 150,000 Filipino pupils were enrolled in free primary schools. By July, 1902, there were 1,835 schools, with 2,625 native and 806 American teachers.

The Manila Normal School was a model institution. It occupied beautiful grounds and a magnificent building. In 1903 twelve American teachers formed the nucleus of its faculty. Four hundred pupils, the élite of all the islands, attended. In furnishing and carrying it on the Government spent much money, with the design of making it, in connection with a new university of Manila, soon to rise, the best seat of Western learning in all the East.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POLITICS AND PROGRESS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.

Issues of the Campaign—The Porto Rico Tariff—The Trusts—The Causes of Democratic Defeat—The Financial Issue—The Census of 1900—The Pan-American Exposition—The St. Louis Exposition.

FOR the sake of continuity, events in our island possessions have been traced to a certain *dénouement*, but during the Presidential campaign of 1900 they were mainly unfinished business. The insular cases had not been decided; Cuba was in metamorphosis from colony to republic; Porto Ricans peacefully, Filipinos through blood and fire, were changing sovereignty. It was inevitable that the campaign of 1900 should deeply involve the question of "imperialism."

The money question and other issues, of course, came in. The Prohibitionists, now reunited, found a good issue in the "army canteen" and the exports of liquor to our Philippine soldierly. Middle-of-the-road Populists were again in the field with their own ticket and platform, their zeal imitated in both particulars by Socialist-Laborites, Socialist-Democrats, and United Christians. The Gold-Democrat National Committee made no nominations, contenting itself with a stout reaffirmation of faith.

Again in 1900 McKinley and Bryan were Presidential standard-bearers, each unanimously chosen by his party's convention. These choices were so inevitable long beforehand that Admiral Dewey's announcement of his availability met with no response. Unanimously, also, though against his will, Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was assigned second place upon the Republican ticket. His Democratic opponent was ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson.

For a time Democratic success seemed possible if not

probable. Democratic State organizations were, to all appearance, solid for Bryan. The Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, through its Supreme Council, gave him anticipatory indorsement so early as February. The regular Populists and the Silver Republicans in national conventions subscribed his candidacy. The Populists made no Vice-Presidential nomination; and the Silver Republicans' candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Hon. Charles A. Towne, withdrew in Stevenson's favor. The fusion of these organizations with the Democrats was thus complete. Lastly, the Anti-Imperialist League gave Mr. Bryan its support.

Personally Mr. Bryan was stronger than in 1896. Hosts of voters who had then supported McKinley now favored his opponent. Powerful newspapers that once vilified Bryan now extolled him. Strangest of all, an organization of Civil War veterans electioneered for him among the old soldiers. The man had proved fearless, sincere, and straightforward to a fault. His declaration that unless the 1900 platform specifically reaffirmed the silver plank of four years before he would not run signally illustrated these qualities. While probably impolitic, this attitude repelled fewer Eastern and Middle State voters than one might at first suppose, for a silver President, even should he be so inclined, was now powerless for evil, owing to the Gold Standard Law of March 14, 1900, which it would take a majority of both Houses of Congress to repeal. For at least four years gold was inexpugnably entrenched in the Senate. The silver Democracy had lost ardor for free coinage. The Nebraskan himself explicitly subordinated this cause to anti-imperialism, which he championed with his most persuasive eloquence and logic.

Owing to its novel nature and even more to our awkwardness and errors in prosecuting it, our campaign in the Pacific was a tempting theme for opposition oratory. Had greater frankness, tact, and forbearance been used toward the Filipinos imperialism might not have been an issue at all. The Filipino was not what anti-imperialist imagination pictured him, a brown Anglo-Saxon, jealous of hard won individual

rights and liberties, and cherishing like an Ark of a Covenant the formulas of such rights from a Magna Charta to a Declaration of Independence. Bestowed at the right time on the revolutionist chiefs in Luzon, the consideration accorded the Sulu Sultan and his dattoes might have procured us in the Philippines a hearty welcome, involving every substantial prerogative which we asserted. Cuba, so desirable an acquisition, led by our behavior in the Orient to insist on independence, might have been willing, even eager, to make our flag her own.

The tariff question inevitably became bound up with imperialism. The Republicans wished to use "Protection" as the keynote vocable of the campaign. Press and platform dilated on the fat years of McKinley's Administration. "The full dinner-pail," said ardent speakers, "is the paramount issue." But the suggestion of allowing the Dingley Tariff to "follow the flag" gave pause.

Constitutionally, as was in 1900 all but universally held, duties must be uniform at all United States ports. If Luzon was part of the United States in the usual sense of the words, rates of duties at Manila and at New York must be the same. No considerable or general tariff reduction for the continental domain was to be thought of by the Republicans. However, it would not do to burden our vassals with the high duties prevalent at home. That act would in effect be forcing them to buy and sell in the suzerain country alone, precisely George III's policy toward Americans in those Navigation Acts which occasioned the Revolutionary War. Such a system all parties were certain to condemn.

Out of this dilemma was gradually excogitated Mr. Justice Brown's theory mentioned in the last chapter, that the United States can possess "appurtenant" territory, subject to but not part of itself, to which the Constitution does not apply save as Congress votes that it shall apply. Thus construed the Constitution did not *ex proprio vigore* follow our flag, nor could inhabitants of the acquired islands plead a single one of its guarantees unless Congress voted them such

a right. They were subjects of the United States, not citizens.

The first avowal of this "imperialist" theory and policy was the Porto Rico tariff bill, approved April 12, 1900, establishing for Porto Rico a line of customs duties differing from that of the United States. President McKinley disapproved this bill, urging that it was "our plain duty to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico and give her products free access to our markets." Until after its passage the bill was earnestly opposed both by a number of eminent Republican statesmen besides the President, and by nearly all the leading Republican party organs. Every possible plea—constitutional, humanitarian, prudential—was exhausted against it. The bill passed nevertheless.

Great numbers of Democrats were naturally expansionists, execrating "little Americanism" as heartily as any Republicans did. The Porto Rico tariff act closed this Democratic schism at once. Besides, many Republicans who had deemed the taking over of the Philippines simply a step in the nation's growth, similar in nature to several preceding steps, and had laughed at imperialism as a Democratic "bogy," now changed their minds and sidled toward the Democratic lines. Able arguments which Republican editors and Congressmen had urged against the Porto Rico bill furnished the Democrats in 1900 with their best campaign material. Balaam, they said, prophesied for Israel. That imperialism was not only an issue, but one of the most important ones ever agitating the Republic, was as certain as Republican logic could make it.

Campaigners dwelt upon several minor matters, with a net result favorable to the Democrats. A suspicion gained currency that powerful financial interests had in effect coerced the President in forming his policy. The commissariat scandal in the Spanish War incensed many, as did the growth of army, navy, and "militarism" incident to the new order. The sympathy of official Republicanism with the British in the South African War tended to solidify the Irish vote as

Democratic, but—and it was among the novelties of the campaign—Republicans no longer feared to alienate the Irish. It also drove into the Democratic ranks for the time a goodly number of Dutch and German Republicans. The Democracy, once the slave-power party, posed as the heir of Abraham Lincoln's mission. Colored Republicans came out for Bryan, declaring that the "subject-races" notion in American public law and policy would be the negro's despair and that the acceptance thereof by the Republican party was a renunciation of all its friendship for human liberty.

The wide and intense hostility toward trusts and monopolies promised something for the Democracy. Trusts had rapidly multiplied since the Republicans last came into power, and nothing had been done to check the formation of them or to control them. Republicans decried these no less lustily than Democrats, naturally, however, taking occasion to remark that monopolistic organizations "had nothing to do with the tariff." It was argued that trusts tended to depress wages, to crush small producers, to raise the prices of their own products while lowering those of what they bought, to deprive business officials and business travelers of positions, and to work vast other mischief politically, economically, and socially.

Why, then, was not Democracy triumphant in 1900? A majority of the people, no doubt, disapproved the Administration's departure into fields of conquest and empire. Many Republicans denied that a "full dinner-pail" was the most vital consideration presented by the Presidential year. Few anti-imperialists were saved to the Republicans by Senator Hoar's faith that after a while the party would retrieve the one serious mistake marring its record. Nor was it that Andrew Carnegie, who to ransom the Filipinos offered to repay the United States the \$20,000,000 we had given for the islands, could not possibly put up with the Kansas City and Chicago heresies. Nor was it, either, that the Republicans had ample money, or that the Administration made votes by its war record and its martial face. Agriculture had, to be

sure, been remunerative. Also, the strike in the hard-coal regions had, at the instance of Republican leaders, been settled favorably to the miners, thus enlisting extensive labor forces in support of the *status quo*. But these causes also, whether by themselves or in conjunction with the others named, were insufficient to explain why the election went as it did.

A partial cause of Mr. Bryan's second defeat was the incipient waning of anti-imperialist zeal in the very midst of the campaign, discussion more and more begetting the conviction, even among such as had doubted this long and seriously, that the Administration, painfully faulty as were many of its measures in the new lands, was pursuing there the only honorable or benevolent course open to it under the novel and peculiar circumstances.

A deeper cause—the decisive one, if any single circumstance may be pronounced such—was the fact that Mr. Bryan primarily, and then, mainly owing to his strong influence, also his party, misjudged the fundamental meaning of the country's demand for monetary reform. The conjunction of good times with increase in the volume of hard money made possible by the world's huge new output of gold, might have been justly taken as vindicating the quantity theory of money value, prosperity being precisely the result which the silver people of 1896 prophesied as certain in case the stock of hard money were amplified. Bimetallists could solace themselves that if they had, with all other people, erred touching the geology of the money question, in not believing there would ever be gold enough to stay the fall of prices, their main and essential reasonings on the question had proved perfectly correct. Good fortune, it might have been held, had removed the silver question from politics and remanded it back to academic political economy.

Probably a majority of the Democrats in 1900 felt this. The Kansas City Convention would never have thought of aught more than a formal reassertion of the Chicago creed had not Mr. Bryan flatly refused to run without an explicit

platform restatement of the 1896 position on silver. His hope, no doubt, was to hold Western Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, his anti-imperialism meanwhile attracting Gold Democrats and Republicans, especially at the East, who emphatically agreed with him on that paramount issue. But it appeared as if most of this, besides much else that was quite as well worth while, could have been accomplished by frankly acknowledging and carefully explaining that gold alone had done or bade fair to do substantially the service for which silver had been supposed necessary; for which, besides, silver would really have been necessary but for the unexpected and immense increase in the world's gold crop through a long succession of years.

The Republican leaders gauged the situation better. Mr. McKinley, to a superficial view inconsistent on the silver question, was in fact, on this point, fundamentally consistent throughout. With other non-inflationist monetary reformers he merely wished the fall of prices stopped, demanding only such increment to the hard-money supply as would effect that result. The metal—the kind of money producing the needed enlargement to the hard-money pedestal underneath the nation's paper money and credit—might look yellow or it might look white. That was of no consequence. When it became practically certain that gold alone, at least for an indefinite time, would form a sufficiently broad pedestal, he was willing to relinquish silver except for subsidiary coinage. A sweeping rise in general prices would be hardly less an evil than the sweeping fall over which all complained. It could and would be used by mere speculators at the expense of honest industry, just as the fall prices had been used.

The law of March 14, 1900, put our paper currency, save the silver certificates, and also all national bonds, upon a gold basis, providing an ample gold reserve. Silver certificates were to replace the treasury notes, and gold certificates to be issued so long as the reserve was not under the legal minimum. If it ever fell below that the Secretary of the Treasury had discretion. The law provided for refunding the national

debt in two per cent gold bonds—a bold, but, as it proved, safe assumption that our national credit was the best in the world—and allowed national banks to issue circulating notes to the par value of their bonds.

Our money volume, also our volume of credit, now expanded as rapidly as in 1896 advocates of free coinage could have expected even with the aid of free silver. July 1, 1900, the circulation was \$2,055,150,998, against \$1,650,223,400 four years before. Nearly \$163,000,000 in gold certificates had been uttered. The gold coin in circulation had increased twenty per cent for the four years; silver about one-eighth; silver certificates one-ninth. The Treasury held \$222,844,953 of gold coin and bullion, besides some millions of silver, paper, and fractional currency.

The Republican victory was the most sweeping since 1872. Of the total popular vote (13,970,300) President McKinley scored a clear majority of 443,054, and a plurality over Bryan of 832,280. Of the Northern States Bryan carried only Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada. He lost his own State and was shaken in the traditionally "solid South." Unnecessarily ample Republican supremacy was maintained in the legislative branch of the Government.

The turn of the century placed in the triumphant party's hands enormous and complex responsibilities aside from those connected with our insular wards. The new census emphasized this. As it disclosed, 76,303,387 people inhabited the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii. Though less than for any previous decade the ten-year increase approached twenty-one per cent. Alone among our States and Territories Nevada had declined in numbers, resuming nearly the place she held in 1870. The loss was about one in ten of her people, against about one in four between 1880 and 1890. Oklahoma had quintupled and more. The Indian Territory—now, with Alaska and Hawaii, canvassed for the first time—grew next most rapidly, followed by Idaho and Montana. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware, Kansas, and Nebraska crawled at a snail's pace. In numerical advance New York,

Pennsylvania, and Illinois led. Texas marched close to them, overhauling Massachusetts. In percentage of increase the southern, central, and western divisions were in the van.

Almost a third of our people were now urban, ten times the proportion of 1790, but the rate of urban increase (36.8 per cent) was, barring the decade from 1810 to 1820, the smallest ever noted, and was only three-fifths the rate for 1880-1890. The 546 folk-clusters called cities ran in population from 8,000 upward, averaging 45,857. Greater New York, a colossus of nearly three and a half millions, having swallowed Brooklyn, ranked second only to London among the world's cities. Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, and Baltimore followed in the same order as a decade before. The enterprising lake rivals, Cleveland and Buffalo, had raced past San Francisco and Cincinnati. Pittsburg instead of New Orleans now came next after the ten just named.

The first two cities following New York held more than a million apiece, the three succeeding these more than half a million apiece. Five other cities came within 200,000 of the second class, none within 100,000. In numbering their people thirty-eight cities used six figures or more each. More than half the larger municipalities adjoined the Atlantic, but those on the Pacific also showed noteworthy increase. Rural districts waned, especially in Kansas, Nebraska, and the far Northeast.

Rhode Island, 407 inhabitants to the square mile, was the most densely peopled State. Massachusetts came next. Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, and Nevada could not show two souls to the square mile. Several far Western States hardly had ten to the mile. Alaska had a little over eight per mile, having doubled population since 1890.

The centre of population, neither Hawaii nor Alaska being considered in computing it, stood six miles southeast of Columbus, Ind., drawn southwardly two and a half miles and westwardly fourteen miles since 1890. Never before had the occidental shunt of this point been less than thirty-six miles a decade. For six decades it had not fallen under forty miles.

Its inertia hinted the exhaustion of free land in the West and the immense growth of Eastern manufactures, mining, and commerce.

United States families were smaller than ever; averaging only 4.7 members, in place of 4.9 in 1890 and 5 in 1880. Except in the South—it was particularly true in southern New England—the old American stock, though still stamping its influence upon communities' lives, was declining in numbers. Massachusetts kept her census position only by taking in foreigners. The educated classes appeared less and less inclined to rear families of size, those prudential checks which amazed the world by keeping the population of France stationary being also in full play among American Anglo-Saxons. Warning was sounded against this "race-suicide," but in vain. The very race-pride thus appealed to, with its instinct for getting on in the world, strongly deterred men from marriage. The frequency of divorces and the ease with which these were obtained also wrought to keep down the census.

Of the total population barely one-ninth were negroes, against one-fifth in 1790. They numbered 8,840,789, an increase of 18 per cent in ten years, or 3.3 per cent less than the white increment. The border States now held a smaller proportion of colored, but both at the North and at the far South their proportion had augmented. Yet little more than one in ten of them lived at the North, and, except Pennsylvania, no Northern State had large numbers. In the black belts, especially that of Alabama, blacks multiplied faster than whites. In Alabama as a whole, however, the negro element had not relatively increased since 1850. In Delaware and Georgia the pace of the races was even. In Louisiana blacks no longer outnumbered Caucasians. In South Carolina they still did so, while in Mississippi their majority shot up phenomenally.

The foreign-born fraction of our population, which had alternately risen and fallen since 1860, now fell again from 14.8 per cent to 13.7 per cent. The South retained its distinction as the most thoroughly American section of the land.

The foreign-born were conspicuous in the Northwest and in the Northeast, everywhere clinging to cities. The residuum of ten years' immigration was less than a third that from 1880 to 1890, and only about two-thirds the total recorded influx from 1890 to 1900. Many foreigners, notably Canadians, had returned to their native lands.

Not immigrants from Canada, the United Kingdom, and Germany, but those from Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, Italy, Russia, and Poland now preponderated. Poles, Bohemians, Austrians, Huns, and Russians comprised 13.4 per cent of the foreign-born, against 6.9 per cent in 1890, and less than one-third per cent in 1850. Natives of Germany still constituted the largest body of our foreign-born, being 25.8 per cent of the whole, compared with 30.1 per cent in 1890. The proportion was about the same in 1900 as in 1850. The Irish were 15.6 per cent of the foreign-born. The figures had been 20.2 per cent in 1890 and 42.8 per cent in 1850. The proportion of native Scandinavians and Danes had slightly increased.

In 1900 the United States proper had 89,863 Chinese, against 107,488 in 1890. Of Japanese there were 24,326, against only 2,039 in 1890. In the Hawaiian Islands alone the Chinese numbered 25,767 and the Japanese 61,111.

The Congressional apportionment act based on the twelfth census and approved January 16, 1902, avoided cutting down the representation of laggard States by increasing the House membership from 357 to 386. Of the twenty-nine new members, twelve hailed from trans-Mississippi (including Louisiana), two from New England, three each from Illinois and New York, four from the Southern States east of the Mississippi, two each from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and one from Wisconsin.

The census showed over five and one-half million farms, four times the number reported in 1850, more than a million above the number reported in 1890. Over two hundred thousand of the new farms were in Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Texas. Not quite one per cent of the farm acreage was

under irrigation. The abundant year 1899 yielded farm products worth \$4,717,069,973, the best part, \$828,192,388, in corn. Next to corn stood hay and forage, \$484,254,073; wheat, \$369,945,320; and cotton, \$323,758,171. The total value of farm and range animals in 1900 was close to three billion dollars.

The census of 1850 registered 123,000 manufacturing establishments with a capital of \$533,000,000. In 1900 there were 512,000 such establishments, capitalized at \$9,800,000,000, employing 5,300,000 wage-earners, paying \$2,327,000,000 yearly wages, and evolving \$13,000,000,000 worth of product. Their number appeared to have increased some 44 per cent over the number in 1890; the investment embarked in them slightly more, about 53 per cent. The number of employees had risen but a fourth, betokening the greater efficiency of the individual laborer and the substitution of machine-work for that of men's hands. The heaviest investments among classified industries were in foundries and machine-shops, and these also employed the most men. Establishments making lumber and timber products came next. Third came manufactories of iron and steel.

Our foreign commerce for the fiscal year 1899-1900 reached the astounding total of \$2,244,424,266, exceeding that of the preceding year by \$320,000,000. Our imports were \$849,941,184, an amount surpassed only in 1893. Our total exports were \$1,394,483,082. The favorable balance of trade amounted for three years to \$1,689,849,387. Much of this meant the lessening of United States indebtedness abroad.

The chief commodities for which we now looked to foreign lands were first of all sugar, then hides, coffee, rubber, silk, and fine cottons. In return we parted with cotton and breadstuffs each exceeding \$260,000,000 in value. Next in volumes exported were provisions, meat, and dairy products, worth \$184,453,055. Iron and steel exports, including \$55,000,000 and more in machinery, were valued at about \$122,000,000. The live-stock shipped abroad was appraised at

about \$43,500,000. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of our imports came from Cuba, about $2\frac{1}{3}$ per cent from Hawaii, and about 1 per cent from Porto Rico, Samoa, and the Philippines.

In 1902 the tables were turned somewhat. American exports fell off and the home market was again invaded, imported steel billets being sold at the very doors of the Steel Corporation factories.

So abundant were the revenues in 1899-1900, exceeding expenditures by \$79,500,000, that war taxes were shortly repealed. "A billion-dollar Congress" would now have seemed economical. Our gross expenditures the preceding year had been \$1,041,243,523. For 1900 they were \$988,797,697. Our national debt, lessened during the year by \$28,000,000 or \$30,000,000, stood December 31, 1900, at \$1,042,617,638.

Our new relations with the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico forced our attention as never before to the Spanish-American world at large. United States people and Spanish-Americans were deplorably ignorant of each other; our commerce with them languished; at the same time the *rap-prochement* invited by our liberation of Cuba was hindered by our acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The Pan-American Exposition, inaugurated at Buffalo, May 20, 1901, was calculated to quiet Spanish-Americans touching our intentions, to illustrate the community of interests between the western continents, and to promote mutual knowledge and friendliness.

On Opening Day a grand parade, in cadence with the music of twenty bands, marched out from Buffalo to the grounds. Ten thousand pigeons soared away in all directions carrying announcements that the Fair had begun. In the Temple of Music the Hallelujah Chorus was rendered, after which Vice-President Roosevelt delivered the dedicatory address. At night fireworks painted the sky.

Entering the Park Gateway you passed the terraces and colonnades of the forecourt of the Triumphal Bridge, guarded by monumental piers. Thence stretched the Court of Honor,

double the size of that at the Chicago Exposition, gemmed with fountains, lakes, and gardens. The central court bore the form of a cross. On the east of it was the Government group of structures, on the west that devoted to horticulture, mines, and the graphic arts. The Esplanade, at the intersection of the two arms of the cross, could have held two-thirds of Buffalo's people without crowding. Connected by pergolas with the buildings in the transverse ends, the Temple of Music and the Ethnology Building stood at the entrance to the Court of Fountains, terminating in the Electric Tower at the north, the central point in the scheme of architecture, surmounted by the Goddess of Light, and combining massiveness with airiness.

From the tower round to the gateway again all the buildings were coupled by cool colonnades. The plaza pleasingly repeated the artistic effects of the other courts—greenery, blossoms, crystal lakes, and fountains, interspersed with statuary. The ensemble was charming beyond description—not classic, not even serious, but romantic, picturesque, even frivolous. No style of architecture could have contributed better to such gayety than the Spanish Renaissance, light, ornate, and varied, lending itself to endless decoration in color and relief; and no more delicate compliment could have been paid our guests from Spanish America than the choice of their graceful designs for this purpose. Each building was unique. Domes, pinnacles, colonnades, balconies, towers, and low-tiled roofs offered bewildering but pleasant variety.

As a testimony to the progress of American art, the exhibit was astonishingly successful. The most daring novelty connected with the architecture was its color-scheme, making the Rainbow City at Buffalo a startling contrast to the Chicago White City. Rich, warm tones were used to form a background. The Temple of Music was a Pompeian red; Horticultural Hall orange, with details of blue, green, and yellow. In his gradation of hues Mr. Turner, the color-artist, sought to suggest man's struggle with the elements and his progress from barbarism. Thus, as you advanced, the

barbaric warmth of color at the gate yielded to milder and lighter tints, culminating in the ivory and gold of the Electric Tower, symbol of man's crowning achievements. Everywhere, too, you detected the note of Niagara green. Buffalo revealed what rich effects may be produced by appropriate out-of-door coloring. We saw—as did the artists who built the great Athenian temples—that in exterior decoration cheerful colors may well supplant the more usual sombre of gray and brown.

At Buffalo statues were not placed in ceremonious rows, but grouped naturally amid the foliage or about the buildings, thus teaching another of the many lessons which the sculpture at Buffalo, like the architecture and color, had for the appreciative. Much of the sculpture was careless in execution owing to the rapidity with which it was necessary to create. Artists' models had to be enlarged by machinery.

Its electrical displays were the features wherein the Exposition mainly surpassed all its predecessors, outdoing even the wonderful display at Paris in 1900. No steam was used upon the grounds. From Niagara Falls power enough was taken to do the work of half a million men. Niagara circulated the salt water in the aquaria and kept it at proper temperature. It operated telephones, phonographs, soda-fountains, searchlights, elevators, machinery, telegraphic typewriters, moving pictures, and the shows and illusions of the Midway. Never before had telegraph messages been registered with such speed or telephone messages been sent so far; never before had artificial lighting been so brilliant or covered such large areas. A number of wires conducted the currents from Niagara to the grounds, where a water rheostat regulated them, at the same time making it possible to turn on the electrical illumination gradually.

Every evening when the moment for lighting the Exposition approached music and merriment were hushed. As you watched the dim mass of the vast piles, all their lines began gleaming with a tracery of faintest light, that waxed to a pink flush, then to red, then to a luminous yellow splen-

dor. The centre of radiance was the tower, suffused with the loveliest glow of gold, ivory, and delicate green, all blending. A hundred beautiful hues glanced from the fountains or flashed like gorgeous blossoms from the depths of the basin.

At one side were all the riotous fantasies of the Midway. As at the World's Fair of 1893, "natives" gathered from every strange land. The Hawaiian and Philippine villages were centres of interest. After dining in Alt-Nurnberg, you might, for less money than would carry you to New York, take through passage on an airship for the moon, where queer little natives, as yet unclassified in anthropology, conducted you to his Lunar Majesty, a potentate till now overlooked by students of politics. Darkness and Dawn repeated Dante's visit to the Inferno, with modern embellishments.

Ten acres were devoted to an amphitheatre for athletics, modeled upon the marble stadium of Lycurgus at Athens. An Athletic Congress celebrated American supremacy in athletic sports. The programme included basket-ball tournaments, automobile, bicycle, track, and field championship races, lacrosse matches, and canoe meets.

Though less ample, the exhibits at Buffalo naturally showed advance over the corresponding ones at Chicago. The guns and ammunition of the United States ordnance department excited keen interest. A picturesque log building was dedicated to forestry. The Graphic Arts Building set forth the great strides recently made in printing and engraving. In paper-making the United States was found to be fast rivaling England. A model dairy was operated on the grounds. South and Central America contributed a fine collection of food plants, Mexico a small coffee plantation and some vanilla vines. South Carolina sent eight different kinds of tea-plants.

Nearly every country in Spanish-America was represented. Cuba, San Domingo, Ecuador, Chile, Honduras, Mexico, and Canada had buildings. Exhibits from our de-

pendencies occupied sections. Each of the greater States had its building. One roof sheltered all New England, but, unfortunately, it was burned before the Fair closed.

In the United States Government edifice class-room songs and recitations were reproduced by the graphophone. The biograph showed naval cadets marching and you actually heard the music of their band. Pictures were sent by telegraph, type set by electricity. Every day a crew of the Life-Saving Service gave a demonstration, launching a life-boat and rescuing a sailor. Near by was a field hospital where wounded soldiers were cared for.

Like its predecessors, and better than most of them, the Pan-American performed an invaluable office in summarizing our modern life, so vast and diverse, so vitally dependent part on part, and so swift in evolution.

The Pan-American was the fourth American event of the kind since the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, expositions at Atlanta, Nashville, and Omaha having preceded. Plans were already afoot for similar fairs at Charleston and St. Louis.

In the World's Columbian Exposition and in that of 1900 at Paris, most people supposed world's fairs to have reached their utmost development. Not so the St. Louisans, who prepared to celebrate in 1904 the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase by an exposition which should eclipse all preceding ones.

The lightning progress of the civilized world supplied each year with wonders unknown a twelvemonth before. Among many other things, St. Louis could display a great variety of automobiles, even automobile chairs replacing the man-pushed wheel-chairs of 1893. Through pipe-line connections the Refrigeration Building would bridle the thermometer at any required point anywhere. Smoke-consuming devices and artificial fuel briquettes, cheap and smokeless, were to be a commentary upon the smoke-nuisance and all coal strikes. Air navigation, which had not yet left the tongue of the scoffer, was to be a reality of the

Fair, or at worst a prophetic dream, for airships and dirigible balloons were to fly a prescribed course for a \$100,000 prize. Our new island possessions and Cuba were to exhibit lavishly. Half a million dollars were to go for the Philippine exhibit alone, as much or twice as much more for one from Alaska.

Such were the wealth and prosperity of the country and of the Mississippi Valley in 1904 that St. Louis could easily outdo Chicago in the panic year 1893. Already in 1903 \$17,000,000 had been, by city, State, nation, and sister-States, to say nothing of foreign nations and concessionaires, appropriated to the uses of the St. Louis enterprise. An available ultimate total of \$50,000,000 was looked for. Foreign countries cordially responded, United States friendship being supremely desired by them all. Only the Chinese held aloof, resenting the Treasury restrictions and surveillance prescribed to carry out the Chinese Exclusion Act.

The city of St. Louis fenced in for the Fair close to 1,200 acres, twice the superficies of the World's Fair, with Forest Park adjacent covering nearly two-thirds the area that was inclosed. Two hundred and fifty acres were to be under roof, as against 200 at Chicago and 125 at Paris. The chief exhibition buildings, twelve, thus more numerous than at any such event before, were also, with the exception of the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Buildings, individually larger than their respective prototypes at Chicago. Any one of the main buildings at St. Louis contained within its four walls an exhibit area greater than that which the entire Pan-American could offer.

The Exposition was fittingly staged upon a landscape just sufficiently removed from being level. Upon a terrace-crescent the colonnade of the States curved around Festival Hall, at the wings of the colonnade two pavilions, behind it the Art Palace, designed for permanence. From the height of the terrace three crystal cascades leaped downward to a large basin, whence ramified the two miles of arti-

ficial waterways. From Festival Hall as a nucleus radiated fan-wise the whole system of vari-colored buildings.

The St. Louis artists excelled not alone in material and utilitarian magnificence. They aimed to fill coarse, unmanageable matter with pulsating life, thought, and beauty. They planned for kinetic rather than static display, processes more than products, activities instead of actors. Their utterances were to be in verbs rather than in nouns. A coal mine was to be kept in full operation, and the actual Olympic games were to be celebrated. Excepting heroic statues of Jefferson and Napoleon, the very sculpture was to be symbolic rather than portraiture. Half a million dollars were provided for this feature—sculptured art—alone. An equal sum went for music, the largest organ in the world being one expense item. Bands from all peoples attended, joinable at will into one vast orchestra of 2,000 pieces.

A programme of world's congresses, held upon the grounds and in the buildings of the Washington University, essayed canvassing the tremendous empire of human knowledge, procuring the exposition of each general province by its greatest living master, and of lesser sections by eminent specialists. The idea was to digest, codify, and set forth the conquests of the human intellect in their proper correlation as had never yet been done.

In a pleasant respect the St. Louis Fair builders affected catholicity less than their predecessors. While the Chicago Midway harbored whatever ministered to men's craving for amusement or to their proverbial desire to be humbugged, even to be a little demoralized, the St. Louis managers proposed a Midway that should be interesting but at the same time "fakeless" and strictly moral.

CHAPTER XXX

MCKINLEY'S END AND THE RISE OF ROOSEVELT.

Assassination of President McKinley—Directions to the Taft Commission—The American Army in China—McKinley's Private Character—Czolgosz and the Anarchists—The New President—Our Policy in the East—Vices of Corporations—The Northern Securities Merger—Carnegie and the Steel Corporation—Confederate Industry Efficient—The Grosseup Injunction—The Coal Strike of 1902—The Elkins Act—Efforts for Reform in Cities.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1901, President McKinley, present upon invitation at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, delivered an address which proved to be his last public utterance. It was memorable both as a sagacious survey of affairs and as indicating some modification of his well-known tariff opinions in the direction of freer commercial intercourse with nations under other flags.

We could not, he implied, forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. The period of exclusiveness, he said, was past. Reciprocity treaties were in harmony with the spirit of the times, measures of retaliation were not. If some of our tariffs were no longer needed for revenue or to protect home industries why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? The President expressed further the conviction that in the same commercial interest we must encourage our merchant marine and construct both a Pacific cable and an Isthmian canal.

These projects of Mr. McKinley's statesmanship, approved by nearly the entire public, he did not live to put in execution. On his second day at Buffalo, Friday, September 6th, about four in the afternoon, the President stood in the Temple of Music on the Fair grounds, shaking hands with hundreds as they filed past. A boyish workman came

along, his right hand in a handkerchief. Mr. McKinley extended his hand to the youth's unencumbered left. The bandaged right arm quickly rose, two shots rang on the air, and Mr. McKinley staggered back into the arms of a bystander, grievously wounded. The President's first thoughts were for others. He requested that the news be broken gently to Mrs. McKinley, and expressed fear lest the occurrence should injure the Exposition. As cries of "Lynch him!" arose from the maddened crowd, the stricken chief begged those about him to see that no hurt befell the assassin. The latter was forthwith taken into custody to await the result of his deed. President McKinley was with equal despatch conveyed to the Emergency Hospital, where his wounds were probed and dressed.

Spite of considerable weakness and too rapid heart-action, the symptoms for several days gave strong hope that the patient would recover. At the home of Mr. Milburn, President of the Exposition, whither President McKinley had been carried, he received the tenderest care and the most skilful treatment. The Cabinet officers were reassured, and left Buffalo. Vice-President Roosevelt retired to the Adirondacks. The President himself, vigorous and naturally sanguine, did not give up hope till Friday, a week from the date of his injury.

Then his condition became alarming. Digestion ceased, nourishment even by injection became impossible, traces of septic poison appeared. By night the world knew that McKinley was a dying man. In the evening he regained consciousness. "Good-by, good-by, all," he said. "It is God's way; His will be done." "Nearer, my God, to Thee; e'en tho' it be a cross that raiseth me," he murmured. Before the dawn of Saturday the soul was loosed from its suffering body.

After a simple funeral at the Milburn mansion the remains lay at the Buffalo City Hall till midnight, then for a day at the Washington Capitol, whence they were borne to the old home at Canton, O.

September 19th, the day of the interment, was feelingly observed all over the country and even in foreign parts. In no considerable American town could one building hold the mourning concourse. By King Edward's orders special commemorative services were held in Westminster Cathedral. Messages of condolence from the four quarters of the globe poured in upon the widow. For five minutes telegraph clicks and cable flashes ceased, and for ten minutes the wheels upon many lines of steam and street railway stood still.

It was too early to determine the exact altitude at which the name of William McKinley would stand upon the roll of America's illustrious men, yet all but the narrowest partisans believed that it would be high, where all posterity could see and read it. Ardent eulogists made him the peer of Washington and Lincoln. Some thought this extravagant, but few if any regarded it strange. The President had been taxed with opportunism, with inconsistency, and with partiality to moneyed interests, but sober review, after the man was gone, removed emphasis from these charges. Some of his views had certainly changed. His altered attitude concerning silver was much remarked upon, but this, as pointed out in a previous chapter, was apparent only and not a modification of principle. If, in regard to protection, he at last swung to Blaine's position favoring reciprocity, which, as the author of the McKinley Bill, he had been understood to oppose, it should be remembered that the United States had meantime become a mighty exporter of manufactured products, competing effectively with England, Germany, and France, the world over.

Mr. McKinley's progressive insight into the tariff question betrayed his mental activity and hospitality, as his final deliverances thereupon exhibited fearlessness. None knew better than he that what he said at Buffalo would be challenged in the name of party orthodoxy. Even greater firmness was manifest, when at an earlier date, speaking in Savannah, he ranked Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson

as among America's "great" sons. With this brave tribute should be mentioned his nomination of the ex-Confederate Generals FitzHugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler as Major-Generals in the United States Army. Such words and deeds showed skilled leadership also. Each was fittingly timed so as best to escape or fend criticism and to impress the public.

Mr. McKinley's apparent vacillation, also his complaisance toward men and interests representing wealth, was due in no slight degree to an exquisite finesse in virtue of which he stooped to conquer. He led by seeming to follow, or by yielding an inch took an ell. He possessed by inheritance a quick sense of the manufacturer's point of view, for his father and grandfather had been ironmasters. He also had a certain conservative instinct, characteristic of his party, which deemed the counsel of broadcloth wiser than the clamor of rags, and equally patriotic withal. Notwithstanding this, history can not but pronounce McKinley's love of country, his whole Americanism, in fact, as sincere, sturdy, and democratic as Abraham Lincoln's.

The deceased President's power and breadth as a statesman were greatly increased by the responsibilities of the Presidency. Before his accession to that office he had helped shape but one great public measure, the McKinley Bill, and his speeches upon his chosen theme, protection, were more earnest than varied or profound. But witness the largeness of view marking the directions of April 7, 1900, to the Taft Philippine Commission: "The Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

President McKinley judged men well. His appointments were nearly always wise. He managed discreetly in crises.

He saw the whole of a situation as few statesmen have done, penetrating to details amid obscure aspects which others, even experts, had overlooked. During the Spanish War his advice was always helpful and at points vital. Courteous to all foreign powers, and falling into no spectacular jangles with any, he was obsequious to none.

No other ruler, party to intervention in China during the Boxer rebellion of 1900, acted there so sanely or withdrew with so creditable a record as the President of the United States. Our new foothold in the Orient was opportune in enabling our forces to join without delay those of the other Powers in rescuing foreign residents of Peking from Chinese anti-foreign fanatics, members of a Buddhist sodality, and known, from a loose rendering of their fraternal name, as "Boxers." By the middle of June they had penned surviving foreigners and native converts from the provinces about the capital in two last refuges, 3,000 at the Pe-Tang Cathedral, 3,500 near the foreign Legations, which for two months were pelted with shot, shell, fire-pots, and huge iron rockets. The German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, on his way to the Tsung-li-Yamen (Foreign Office) was murdered by his native bodyguard. A messenger from the Cathedral to the Legation was caught, flayed alive, and his head and skin hung aloft. Food grew scarce, even dog-meat became a luxury. Many starved to death.

Meantime the allied forces had captured the Taku forts, eighty miles distant, and relieved Tien-tsin. On the 13th of August they reached Peking. The Russians established themselves upon the city wall the same day. Next morning the Americans planted thereon the first foreign flag. They would have been the first, too, to enter the inner "Imperial City," had they not, lacking support, been recalled at the moment of success. The besieged were speedily succored.

The Allies régime following was discreditable to Western civilization. The Empress-Dowager and her Court fled. On August 28th the Allies marched in triumph through the inmost or "Forbidden City." Europeans followed the Box-

ers' example in pillage and looting. "Punitive" expeditions made sorties into the surrounding country. Drastic terms of quarter and peace were dictated, softened somewhat by American intercession. Exemplary damages were levied, the punishment of conspicuous Boxer leaders demanded, as also the erection by China of monuments to victims, especially one to the late Baron von Ketteler, and the despatch of a penitential embassy to Berlin. China was bidden to remove military obstructions between coast and capital, forego for a term replenishing her armories, and permit the Legations to be fortified.

Our Government's soberness throughout this international mêlée gave us not only China's good-will, assuring us increased influence and trade there, but prestige with the thoughtful everywhere. Not alone our diplomacy was praised; it inured to the credit of the President, of General Chaffee, who commanded our land forces in China, and of the entire American people, that in so novel and trying an emergency the conduct of our officers, soldiers, and sailors there was blameless in almost every detail.

The certainty that Mr. McKinley's name would be forever remembered with honor was not due merely or mainly to the fact that his Administration marked a great climactic in our national career. His intimates in office and in public life unanimously testified that in shaping the nation's new destiny he played an active and not a passive rôle. He dominated his Cabinet, diligently attending to the advice each member offered, but by no means always following it. Party bosses seeking to lead him were themselves led, oftenest without being aware of it, to accomplish his wishes.

As a practical politician, in the better sense of the word, McKinley was a master. Repeatedly, at critical junctures, he saved his following from rupture, letting the opposition become an impotent rout. What contrast in American political warfare more striking than the pitiful demoralization of the Democracy at the end of the 1900 campaign, compared with the closed ranks and solid front of the Republican

party! Anti-imperialists like Carnegie and Hoar, silver men like Senator Stewart, low-tariff Republicans of the West, all kept step and held aloft the McKinley banner.

The discipline proceeded from the candidate's influence, from his harmonizing personal leadership, exercised not through oratory, for he had none of the tricks of speech, not even the easy knack of story-telling, but by the mere force of his will and his wisdom.

Mr. McKinley's private character was exemplary. His life-long devotion to an invalid wife, his fidelity to friends, the charm, consideration, and tact in his demeanor toward every one, and, above all, the Christian sublimity of his last days, created at once a foundation and a crown for his fame.

The assassin, Leon Czolgosz, was promptly indicted, placed on trial, convicted, sentenced, and executed, all without any of the unseemly incidents attending the trial of Guiteau after Garfield's assassination. These rapid but perfectly orderly and dispassionate proceedings were a great credit to the State of New York.

The murderer was born in this country, of Russian-Polish parentage, in 1875. He received some education, was apprenticed to a blacksmith in Detroit, and later employed in Cleveland and in Chicago. It was said that at Cleveland he had heard Emma Goldman deliver an anarchist address, and that this inspired his fell purpose. No accessories were found. Nor did the dreadful act betoken that anarchism was increasing in our country, or that any special propagandism in its favor was on. To all appearance, so far as America was concerned, the assassination was an unrelated deed. A far more serious symptom was the lawless passion of those who, some of them from pulpits, fulminated anarchy as bad as that of the anarchists by demanding that Czolgosz be lynched.

The murderer's heart had caught fire from the malignant, red type of anarchy abroad, which had within seven years struck down the President of France, the Empress of Austria,

the King of Italy, and the Prime Minister of Spain. In their fanatic diabolism its devotees impartially hated government, whether despotic or free. They were no less hostile to one than to the other of our political parties. The murder had no political significance, though certainly a tragic rebuke to virulent editorials and cartoons in papers went to season political debate with too hot personal condiment. President McKinley had suffered from this and so had his predecessor.

Upon such an occasion orderly government, both in the States and in the nation, reasonably sought muniment against any possible new danger from anarchy. McKinley's own State leading, States enacted statutes denouncing penalties upon such as assailed, either by speech or by act, the life or the bodily safety of any one in authority. The Federal Government followed with a similar anti-anarchist law of wide scope.

Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt took over the Presidency with as little jar as a military post suffers from changing guard.

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. He graduated from Harvard at the age of twenty-one. When twenty-three he entered the New York State Assembly, where he served with great credit six years. Ill-health took him West, where for two years he "roughed it" as a "cowboy." Afterward he was a member of the United States Civil Service Commission and president of the New York City Police Board. In 1897 he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, holding his position long enough to indite the despatch which took Dewey to Manila. He then raised the United States Volunteer Cavalry, commonly spoken of as "Rough Riders," and went to Cuba as their Lieutenant-Colonel, declining the colonelcy in favor of Leonard Wood. Gallantry at Las Guasimas raised Colonel Wood to be Brigadier-General and gave Roosevelt command of the regiment. Returning from war, Colonel Roosevelt soon found himself Governor of his State.

He here continued his course as a conservative reformer.

He urged compulsory publicity for the affairs of monopolistic combinations, and was prominently instrumental in the enactment of the New York Franchise Tax Law. Mere politicians began to account Roosevelt "dangerous." Party managers in the 1900 convention hoped by making him Vice-President to remove him from competition for the Presidency in 1904; but the tragic death of President McKinley foiled their calculations.

The new Chief Magistrate was no less honest, fearless, or public-spirited than the recent one; it only remained to be seen whether he was equally astute and cautious. Coming to the office unfettered as he did, might, in one of so frank a temperament, prove a danger. He was popular. Though highly educated and used to the best associations, the people found him more approachable than any of his predecessors. At a public dinner which he attended one round of cheers was given him as "The President of the United States," another as "Roosevelt," and a third as "Teddy." Had McKinley been in his place a corresponding variation would have been unthinkable.

President Roosevelt's temper and method were in pointed contrast to McKinley's. McKinley seemed simply to hold the tiller, availing himself of currents that deviously, perhaps, yet easily and inevitably, bore him to his objective. Roosevelt strenuously plied the oar, recking little of cross currents or head winds, if, indeed, he did not delight in such. Mr. Depew aptly styled McKinley "a Western man with Eastern ideas"; Roosevelt "an Eastern man with Western ideas"; Roosevelt was the first President since William Henry Harrison to bring to his office the freshness of the frontier, as he was, anomalously, the first city-born or wealthy-born incumbent.

Only at the South was the President for a time positively disliked. Soon after his accession he invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him at the White House. Washington was the ablest and most interesting colored man in the country. He first saw day on a Virginia plantation about 1859.

After the war his mother took him to West Virginia, where he dug in a coal mine. Overhearing miners speak of Hampton Institute as a place where a black boy would be welcome and might work his way, he determined to go there. Saving so as to lay by a small sum, he started for Hampton, walking most of the way. Stranded at Richmond, penniless and friendless, he wrought at unloading iron ore from a vessel, sleeping in a hole under a board sidewalk.

Graduating from Hampton in 1881, he made his way to Tuskegee, in the heart of the Alabama Black Belt, determined to devote his life to the uplifting of his race. A leaky cabin was his first schoolhouse, where on rainy days the oldest of his thirty pupils would stand and hold an umbrella over the teacher. Later an abandoned henhouse was annexed. Thenceforth, spite of dire discouragements, Booker Washington's Institute advanced, step by step, till in 1902 it was free from debt, with over two thousand acres of land, twenty-six buildings, put up by the pupils themselves, who even made the bricks for the chapel, 117 instructors, teaching 1,400 pupils in over 60 branches of industrial training.

Southerners admitted the man's strength and deserts; nevertheless, as, in their belief, the social recognition of him by the head of the nation made negroes in general feel that whites were trampling their rights and wantonly rendering their lot hard, the President's act was taken by the South as a snub. At the North, as well, many deemed it unwise, "one of Teddy's breaks."

The new Administration followed President McKinley's course in the Philippines, vigorously hunting down "ladrones" and punishing rebellious Moros. In 1902 the unhappy archipelago endured the threefold tribulation of war, famine, and pestilence. The rinderpest destroyed ninety per cent of the carabaos, while the plague carried off 83,282 human beings. Congress voted liberal relief, and, under the able direction of Governor Taft, much was done to repair these ravages and to prevent their recurrence.

It was obvious that the United States had become a Pa-

cific Ocean power. After the Boxer rebellion, Great Britain being busy with her South African War, Russia having joined the ice-free harbor at Port Arthur, at the southern extremity of Manchuria, to St. Petersburg by 6,500 miles of railway, thought not only to appropriate this province of China, an aim sure to succeed in time, but also to make the trade thereof a snug Muscovite monopoly. Leading all other Powers in promptness and positiveness, our State Department demurred, demanding that some of Manchuria's doors be left open to general commerce. China, as yet titular sovereign there, did not object save as inspired by Russia. After causing, at Peking, long delay in the preparation of our treaty with China, the Czar's Government yielded. In June, 1903, we were informed that China would order the ports of Mukden and Ta Tung Kao kept open to the trade of the world, and that Russia would acquiesce.

It was through the new President's urgency that the first national irrigation law was passed, and a national system of afforestation actually launched, both calculated to spread fertility over vast areas in the West. He stood for liberal reciprocity with Cuba, being in accord with Mr. McKinley's final views on the tariff. As to the easing of custom-house levies, however, Roosevelt's Administration soon frankly avowed itself unable to proceed further than high-protectionists would allow.

Mr. Roosevelt signalized his accession by effort to make the Federal Anti-Trust Law something more than a cumberer of the statute-book. In his inaugural address and in numberless speeches boldly handling the trust evil, he called for the regulation of capitalistic combinations in the interest of the public. As with Marconi's wireless telegrams now beginning to be used, the mere air of the commercial world instantly announced everywhere this attitude of our new Executive.

Appreciation of the President's policy on this subject may be assisted by some notice of the then threatening vigor and universality of the movement toward industrial combination.

Mr. Beck, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, declared in 1902:

“Excessive capitalization of corporations, dishonest management of their executive officers, the destruction of the rights of the minority, the theft of public utilities, the subordination of public interests to private gain, the debauchery of our local legislatures and executive officers, and the corruption of the elective franchise, have resulted from the facility afforded by the law to corporations to concentrate the control of colossal wealth in the hands of a few men. . . . The question presses ever more importunately for decision whether these marvelous aggregations of capital can be subordinated to the very laws which created them.”

Charles Francis Adams had long before noted the subversion of stockholders' corporate democracy as threatening the overthrow of civic democracy. He lamented the want of a word to name this growing sway of wealth, as “democracy” and “aristocracy” expressed other régimes. In response to the demand soon came the now familiar vocable, “plutocracy.”

Commodore Vanderbilt led in the centralizing movement when he pieced a dozen or more short lines into the New York Central and Hudson River, which was soon, in effect, extended to Chicago, via both the Lake Shore and the Michigan Central. A great number of other trunk lines and systems were founded, among which there developed a wild warfare of competition, alternating with truces of exhaustion, and ending in the absorption, by lease or by purchase, of all but the strongest rivals.

These, tired of rate-cutting, open and secret, more and more sought amity in management. Pooling agreements prevailed for a time, but were rendered insecure by State and Federal legislation. The “community of interest” plan came next, by which heavy owners of competitive lines acquired holdings in each other's stock. Or, again, either dominant individual stockholders of a railroad, or the company in its corporate capacity, obtained control of the stock of one or more parallel or co-terminal lines.

The Union Pacific acquired large holdings from Collis P. Huntington's estate, and controlled the Southern Pacific. The power behind the Southern Railway placed its hand upon nearly all the other southern railways, including the Atlantic Coast Line, the Plant System, and at last even the Louisville and Nashville. The New York Central dominated the other Vanderbilt roads. The Pennsylvania secured decisive amounts of Baltimore and Ohio stock, as well as weighty interests in the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western, and so on.

Great banking establishments, foremost among them the house of J. P. Morgan & Co., took to financing these schemes. Morgan reorganized the Northern Pacific, and it would forthwith have pooled issues with the Great Northern but for opposition by the State of Minnesota. James J. Hill was master of the Great Northern, and confidence existed between him and Morgan.

They wished ample outlet for the products of the Northwest, and, in particular, access to Chicago over a line of their own, such as the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy would offer. Purchase of shares in this corporation was quietly begun. Soon the Burlington road was apparently in hand. Shares rose in value.

In this campaign by the two northern lines the Union Pacific control perceived a menace to its northwestern and Pacific Coast connections. The Union Pacific leader resorted to a strategic *coup*. He attempted to purchase the Northern Pacific, Burlington and all. A mysterious demand set Northern Pacific shares soaring. The stock reached \$1,000 a share, and none was obtainable. Panic arose; brokers who were involved faced ruin.

The two sides now declared a truce. The Northern Securities Company was created, with a capital approaching a billion dollars, to take over the Burlington, Northern Pacific, and Great Northern stocks. It was a scheme to provide a single stock control of several railroad systems naturally rivals. The logical sequence of this seemed almost in sight.

The control of two or more securities companies might easily fall into the hands of a third, which, governed by a mere majority of its own shares, would make a small coterie of men the railway kings of the continent.

The States of Minnesota and Washington, unable in their own courts to thwart the Northern Securities merger, sought the intervention of the United States judiciary. Their suit was vain till the Administration came to the rescue. At the instance of the Attorney-General an injunction was issued forbidding the Securities Company to receive the control of the roads and the holders of the railroad stocks involved to give it over.

Side by side with this railway development arose another class of combinations, "trusts" or "industrials," holding to manufactures the same relation as the railways held to transportation. Secret railway rebates to large shippers, motivated by railway competition, gave tremendous impulse to industrial monopoly. The same evolution as with railways was observable here; the primitive trust agreement, the parceling among competitors of exclusive distributing territory, "the gentleman's understanding," yielded to the more compact plan of a single, giant corporation, quite as efficient as the old combine and less vulnerable in law.

The number of establishments engaged in 97 important industries out of about 342 in all actually decreased from 1890 to 1900. In 1902 over 1,600 industrial corporations were absorbed or controlled by larger corporate aggregates.

The process of confederation was conspicuous in the iron and steel trade. In rapid succession the National Steel Company, the American Sheet Steel Company, and the American Tin Plate Company were each created out of numerous smaller plants. Each of these corporations, with a capital of \$12,000,000 to \$40,000,000, owned the mines, the ships, and the railways for hauling its products, the mills for manufacturing, and the agencies for sale. Numerous wire and nail works were combined into the American Steel and Wire Company. The Federal Steel Company, the American Bridge

Company, the Republic Iron and Steel Company, all huge and complete, were dictators each in its field.

The Carnegie Steel Company long remained independent. Andrew Carnegie, the great Scotch-born iron-king, distrusted combination save as the constituent concerns were individually strong. "You can not make a giant," he said, "by tying together a score of invalids." He fortified his position. He obtained a fleet of ships upon the Lakes, purchased mines, undertook to construct tube works at Conneaut, Ohio, and planned for railroads. A battle of the giants, with loss and possible ruin for one side or the other, impended.

Carnegie was finally willing to sell. Hence, the United States Steel Corporation, a securities-holding corporation like the Northern Securities Company, capitalized for a billion dollars. It purchased ninety-nine per cent of the stocks of ten subsidiary corporations, which operated 149 steel works, 78 blast furnaces, and over 18,000 coke ovens, and owned 71,000 acres of coal lands, 30,000 acres of surface coke lands, 125 lake vessels, and over seventy per cent of the Lake Superior iron ore. Carnegie and his partners got about \$144,000,000 in bonds of the new corporation, secured by first lien upon the stocks of the subsidiary corporations. A creditable portion of what came to Mr. Carnegie he gave to erect popular educational institutions. Noble public library buildings paid for by him arose in numbers in all parts of the United States. Bond-holders of the Carnegie Company received dollar for dollar of similar bonds, \$160,000,000 in all, while the other trusts and the promoters absorbed the stock for their properties and services. The underwriting syndicate probably realized \$25,000,000.

The trust creators extended their operations abroad. In 1901 J. P. Morgan and associates acquired the Leyland line of Atlantic steamships. British nerves had not recovered when a steamship combination was announced, embracing not only American and British, but also German lines, likewise shipbuilding firms at Belfast and on the Clyde. Of the great Atlantic companies, only the Cunard line remained indepen-

dent, with war in prospect between it and the combination.

One effect of this organization at home was to place the Ship Subsidy Bill, which passed the Senate in 1901, for the time, at least, on the table. The sentiment of the country, especially of the Middle West, would not permit the payment of public money to a concern commercially able to defy Britannia on the sea.

The shipbuilding industry followed the same trend, but with unfortunate consequences. The new combine found itself in the hands of a receiver. This threatened serious complications, as the Government had several warships building with the Trust, one of which private creditors attempted, through a State court, to subject to their claims.

The efficiency of confederate industry, for the time, could not be denied. We prospered at home; we sent products abroad as never before. American material supplied in large part the Russian Trans-Siberian Railroad. American food-stuffs and meats wakened agrarian frenzy in Germany. German cartoons figured Morgan as a huge feline reaching a long predatory paw into the "Vaterland." The island-hive of England buzzed with jealous foreboding lest America capture her world-markets. From an average of close to \$163,000,000 annually, 1887 to 1897, United States exports of manufactured products reached in 1898 over \$290,000,000, in 1899 over \$338,000,000, in 1900 nearly \$434,000,000, and in 1901 \$412,000,000. The United States led Britain as a coal-producer, American tin-plate reached Wales itself, American locomotives the English colonies and even the mother-country, while boots and shoes from our factories ruled the markets of Australia and South Africa. For bridge and viaduct construction in British domains American bids heavily undercut British bids both in price and in time limit. The Yankee peril confronted Londoners when they saw American capital securing control of their proposed underground transit system and were daily forced to eat products sold them by American food-trusts.

During 1903 Carnegie's scepticism about the concentrating movement considerably infected the public. Industrial stocks showed lassitude. Bankers complained about "undigested" securities.

"The tendency to combine had been carried beyond its legitimate purpose. Corporations had been organized with an inflated capitalization based upon an assumed earning power which could prove successful only in case of absolute control by some particular branch of the industry to the exclusion of others legitimately entitled to their shares. These inflated organizations must depend for their existence and for their ability to pay dividends on the stock as issued upon a suppression of the trade and upon the taking of it into their own hands, to the exclusion of others entitled to it. Such institutions succeed, if they succeed at all, but temporarily, and upon a basis of control repugnant to the American people. A certain class of the labor element had combined upon precisely the same principle, suppressing production to increase artificially the price of the article created, in this case labor. The result had been to raise the price of many of the commodities of life so that the middle class were put to a greater cost of their living without proportionately sharing the profits. This middle class, the great majority, resented the arbitrary increase in the cost of living."¹

Partial failure of the corn crop in 1900, with diminution of free pasture on Government lands, sent up the price of beef, till in 1902 complaints became loud and general. This drew forcibly to view the control held by six slaughtering concerns acting in unison through a cipher code of communication.

The President ordered an investigation, and, as a result, proceedings under the Sherman Act to restrain the great packers from continuing their alleged combination. An injunction was granted, the slow machinery of chancery working out a decree. At the same time, though the packers' plans

¹ Abridged from a statement by the eminent corporation lawyer, James B. Dill.

“for a more perfect union” tarried, and they were not observed zealously to compete in the old-fashioned way, meat did not materially decline in price.

If the public suffered from these phalanxed industries while they ran smoothly, it endured peculiar evils from the periodical conflicts between the capital and the labor in them, for everywhere labor unionized as capital combined.

The steel strike of 1901 was a fight over the unionizing of certain hitherto non-union plants in the United States Steel Corporation. It resulted in defeat for the strikers and in the disunionizing of plants. For the consuming public, this strike had no such consequence as attended the anthracite coal strike of 1902, which was more bitterly fought in that it was a conflict for wages and for the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, John Mitchell at their head. The strike began May 12, 1902, when 147,000 miners went out. Though the record was marred at places, they behaved well and retained to a large degree public sympathy. When the price of anthracite rose from about \$5 a ton to \$28 and \$30, the parts of the country using hard coal began to realize a fuel famine. For the five months ending October 12th, the strike was estimated to have cost over \$126,000,000. The operators stubbornly refused to arbitrate or to recognize the union. The miners with equal constancy held their ranks intact.

The problem of protecting the public pressed for solution as never before. The only suggestion at first discussed was arbitration. Enforced arbitration could not be effected without infringing the workingman's right to labor or to decline to do so; without reducing him, in case of adverse decision by arbitration, to a condition of involuntary servitude. It looked as if no solution could be reached till State or nation condemned and acquired ample portions of the mining lands to be worked under its own auspices and in a just manner. This radical course was not likely to be adopted by Congress or by the Pennsylvania Legislature should these powers deal with the problem.

On October 3d President Roosevelt called the coal operators and President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers to a conference at the White House, urging them to agree. After much parley each side consented to intrust its case to an impartial commission to be appointed by the President. Such was soon created, and it gave long weeks to investigation and hearings. Not sparing strictures upon the belligerents, and declining to require recognition of the union, it finally decreed a substantial minimum wage-advance for a term of years, with a sliding-scale arrangement whereby wages should be further advanced should the trade justify it.

The coal strike, with the Government's action against the Northern Securities Company and the Beef Trust, prompted William R. Hearst to attack before the Interstate Commerce Commission the combination of hard-coal railroads, which practically monopolized the mining as well as the transportation of anthracite. It appeared that by manipulating freight rates they at will reduced ostensible mining profits to the vanishing point, which afforded convenient excuse for raising prices to the consumer. Mr. Hearst's onset was balked by the limited powers allowed the Commission by the courts. Sustained for this reason in their refusal to testify, the hard-coal managers were left in an unenviable light, since they had based their recalcitrancy upon another ground, viz., that their testimony would tend to incriminate them.

The President's energy in executing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was supplemented by his efforts for additional legislation upon the subject, and rewarded by the Elkins Anti-Trust Act of the Fifty-seventh Congress, short session, the mildest of several measures proposed, but probably the most radical which could pass the Senate. This law abolished the more drastic penalties against railroad rebates, denounced against shipper as well as carrier those which remained, and expedited legal procedure. The Elkins Act also created the Department of Commerce and Labor, absorbing the old Labor Bureau. The new branch embraced a Bureau of Cor-

porations for the official collecting and publishing of authentic information concerning these entities.

If laws fell short, the industrial world at points voluntarily adopted some of the innovations which radical reformers would have imposed; and this result, again, was no doubt due in part to the known sympathy of the President. The greatest of the trusts often scaled wages up, to attract and maintain a high grade of labor. As yet, the way stood open from the ranks to the highest positions. The Standard Oil Company, the Carnegie Company, and its successor, the Steel Corporation, introduced a species of profit-sharing by which employees were encouraged to invest in stock of the employing enterprises. The Pennsylvania Railroad and the Illinois Central provided old-age pensions for their workmen.

Captains of industry often sought to fortify their securities by scattering them as widely as possible. To invite investment they gave their balance-sheets complete publicity. Street-railway and other municipal monopolies sheltered their interests under the ægis of widely distributed holdings. The argument for a fifty-year franchise in Cincinnati was pushed in the name of widows, orphans, and other small investors. In Philadelphia, when a large hall was filled to overflowing with remonstrants against some street-railway proposal, a "magnate" observed, "Our stockholders in this town would fill half a dozen such halls."

Some large concerns gave workmen voice upon the vital questions of wages, discharge, and reinstatement among employees. Others made their establishments "co-operative" in every essential particular.

All this appeared to be enlightened policy forestalling the inevitable. It was increasingly clear that labor worth having about a modern factory would insist upon living wages, the more so that employers made the wish for such wages the basis of their plea for protective tariffs. Good laborers were also bound to insist upon hearings in cases of "hiring and firing." The American workingman felt a proprietary tenure in his job and respected this in another's.

"Strike-breakers" were loathed. Social ostracism, suggested by President Hadley as a weapon against piratical capitalists, was in labor circles wielded with tremendous effect against the "scab." Unfortunately for union labor, upon "strike-breakers" for whom taboo had no terrors, the secular arm of violence sometimes descended heavily.

Hideous misgovernment cursed many American cities. The trail of this serpent—crime and vice tariffed for revenue to public officers and for protection to offenders, blackmail, franchise-looting, and manifold other iniquities—would be too long for our space. Greater New York, which had narrowly escaped the radicalism of Henry George only to suffer from an unregenerate Tammany management, was, under her second reform administration, that of Mayor Low, dissatisfied still, yet aware that the moral level of her government was slowly rising. Minneapolis succeeded in smashing a notorious machine. St. Louis, by the help of her great champion, Circuit-Attorney Folk, hoped to do the same, working on, nothing daunted by the unprecedented floods of 1903, to complete her preparations for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Cincinnati and Pittsburg were ring-ridden, abiding the ringsters while decrying the rings. Philadelphia, expecting relief by concentrating vast powers in the Mayor's hands, found this arrangement, like the former one, compatible with desperate corruption, and lit her lantern in search of a man. In Mayor Weaver her quest seemed rewarded.

Tendencies radical for conservative America appeared in municipal politics. In many cities, as San Francisco and Hartford, labor unionists became mayors. Even in New England socialists were elected to that office. Some very large municipalities committed themselves to radical leadership. Under Mayor Harrison, Chicago set sail for the municipal ownership of public utilities. Four times in succession Toledo elected the unique Mayor Samuel M. Jones, who eschewed all political parties and defied a unanimous newspaper opposition. He conducted a campaign much as an

evangelist would a revival, leading off with songs, proclaiming the Golden Rule, and favoring a co-operative commonwealth. Cleveland twice elected Mayor the single-taxer Tom L. Johnson, upon a platform calling for three-cent fares on city street railways, with ultimate public ownership.

Flagrant corruption hung about many a State capital, suspicions of it about most of them. In a few States rotten boroughs made it easy for a skilled manager with money to command legislative majorities on notification. The legislative election of Federal Senators debauched Montana and Delaware. In Delaware, owing partly to its large negro vote, mere brute money was able for years to obstruct if not quite to conquer the opposition of decency to its claims.

In 1903 notorious scandals were uncovered in the National Post-Office Department, connected with the Rural Free Delivery Service. "Rake-offs" had been accepted upon contracts for supplies. The guilty were indicted and held for trial. The probe reached back even to the McKinley days, when dummies were placed upon the pay-roll, moneys illicitly drawn, extravagant expenditures made, one person sometimes receiving two salaries and a fictitious expense allowance.

Like President Grant, years before, President Roosevelt determined to "let no guilty man escape"; and he found in Mr. J. L. Bristow, Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, an aide worthy the name borne by the destroyer of the Whiskey Ring.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE PANAMA REPUBLIC.

The Hay-Herran Treaty with Colombia—Colombian Discontent—Panama Secession—Attitude of the United States—The Republic of Panama—Recognized by European Powers and the United States—Ratification of Reciprocity with Cuba—Distrust of President's Policy with Panama—Congressional Debates—Final Ratification—Panama Canal Treaty—The Chicago Theatre Fire—The Baltimore Fire—The New Canal Commission.

A QUESTION of greatest interest and importance to the nation has (1904) just reached a climax in the ratification of the Panama treaty, which apparently brings us to a point where the dream of years is to be realized. The project of the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama, so disastrously unsuccessful in the hands of the de Lesseps Company,¹ has never been lost sight of by European powers, among which the United States has long of necessity been classed.

For years the impression has been becoming more and more decided that such a canal if built at all must be built by national and not private enterprise; but the United States was not disposed to allow it to be built by European powers as it was felt that our interests demanded that if built it must be under the control of the United States, though open to the commerce of the world.

The Spanish-American War, whose results no one had been able even dimly to foresee, gave us vast Asiatic possessions as well as control of territory in the Gulf and the Caribbean Sea, which seemed to point in the direction of our assuming this gigantic task. Our trade interests in the Pacific took a rapid stride forward and by degrees we se-

¹ Vol. VIII., pages 306-308.

cured possession of strongholds commanding each of the three chief passages of approach to the Panama coast on the side facing the Atlantic.¹

These points if properly fortified will give us practical command of every important entrance from the Atlantic to the mouth of the canal, the British position at Jamaica being the only central point held by any European power which might prove serious in case the day should ever arrive when the control of the canal will depend upon military ability.

Accepting the responsibility so clearly pointed out by the progress of events, the United States Senate passed the Spooner Act instructing the President to secure the necessary concessions and to begin the construction of the canal. It clearly stated that the Panama route was to be given the preference, but that, if concessions sufficient could not be secured from Colombia, then sovereign of the Panama region, within a reasonable period, the President should turn to the task of securing concessions and constructing the canal over the Nicaraguan route, which experts had declared perfectly practicable.

Acting under these instructions the Administration proceeded to negotiate the Hay-Herran treaty with Colombia, which gave the necessary concessions in consideration of the payment by the United States of \$10,000,000. The rights of the French Company could then be purchased, the sum having been fixed at \$40,000,000.

This treaty, negotiated in good faith by the United States, was sent to Colombia for ratification and was promptly rejected. The State of Panama, already burdened by unjust and unequal laws, and cut off from enjoying the rights legally belonging to her as a State of the Colombian con-

¹ 1. The Yucatan Channel is covered by the Isle of Pines and Bahia Honda. 2. The Windward Passage by Guantanamo. 3. The Anegada Passage by Culebra, while the Mona Passage is of little value, as it is out of the direct line to any important point. Key West commands the Straits of Florida.

federacy, promptly rebelled at the news of the rejection of the treaty which she rightly regarded as of vital importance to her interests. She declared herself independent (November 3d), and seized and imprisoned the officials in her territory, counting without doubt upon the moral support of both France and the United States.

The insurgent government was then (November 4th) placed in the hands of a "junta" composed of Jose Augustin Arango, Frederico Boya, and Tomas Arias, until such time as a Constitution could be drawn up and adopted.¹ Just at the critical moment United States marines were landed from newly arrived United States naval vessels, and under cover of a clause of the treaty of 1846,² which bound the United States to keep open traffic across the Isthmus, Colombia was prevented from any attempt to reassert her sovereignty over the revolted territory. On November 4th an order was issued from Washington forbidding the troops of either belligerent power transportation upon the Transisthmian Railroad of Panama, and the next day (November 5th) the Colombian troops sailed away for Cartagena.

With unprecedented promptness, and in confessed violation of the well-recognized rules of international law, the United States (on November 6th) formally recognized the new republic, *de facto*, and entered into relations with her temporary Government.

At once negotiations looking to the construction of a

¹On December 27th, the election for delegates to a Panama Constitutional Convention was held.

²This treaty was concluded December 12, 1846; ratifications were exchanged at Washington on June 10, 1848, and on June 12, 1848, it was proclaimed. The part of the treaty referring to the duty of the United States to maintain open traffic across the Isthmus reads thus:

" . . . The United States guarantee, positively and efficaciously, to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and, in consequence, the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

Panama Canal across the revolted territory with the consent of the infant republic were entered into, and, on November 9th, that Government appointed a commission to negotiate a treaty with the United States.¹

On November 13th M. Bunau-Varilla, Minister of the Republic of Panama, reached Washington, and within the short period of a week, in spite of the protests of Colombia against the hasty and unfriendly actions of the United States, he concluded with Secretary Hay (November 18th) an Isthmian Canal treaty,² granting to the United States concessions sufficient to enable her to carry out the long-deferred project of connecting the two oceans. On December 2d this treaty received the ratification of the Panama Government, and ten days later (December 12th) W. J. Buchanan was despatched as our accredited representative to Panama.

Meanwhile the Fifty-eighth Congress had been called together in special session³ by the President to consider the question of carrying out our promises of reciprocity with Cuba. Those promises had been made when the Cuban commissioners had agreed to recommend to their Government the Platt Amendment,⁴ which embodied serious restrictions upon the autonomy of the island. At that time we had given a pledge that in return substantial tariff concessions should be made to Cuban commerce by the United States. The Fifty-seventh Congress had attempted to fulfil this promise and the House had passed a Cuban reciprocity bill containing a proviso which was aimed at the Sugar Trust; but the

¹ On November 10th France recognized the new Republic; on November 23d Germany followed her example, and on November 24th England declared her recognition.

² It makes the canal strip several miles wider than was arranged in the Hay-Herran treaty, and gives the United States all necessary jurisdiction over it for the purposes of protection, order, and sanitation, and allows room for "the assertion of our national dignity on the scene of our greatest public work."

³ The special session began on November 9th, and Representative Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, was elected Speaker of the House.

⁴ See pages 246-248.

Senate had failed to act upon it. A new method had then been tried by the friends of the measure. A reciprocity treaty had been negotiated with Cuba which provided for Cuban goods a preferential duty of 25 per cent and at the same time arranged for a reduction of duty upon many American products shipped to Cuba. The Senate had ratified this in the spring of 1903, but it was not to become operative until it had received the approval of the House.

The object of this special session was stated in the President's brief message of November 10th. In this the status of the Cuban reciprocity treaty was explained and Congress was asked to enact the tariff legislation necessary to give practical effect to that treaty.

The House passed the requisite bill,¹ but the Senate neglected to confirm it. This session came to an end and the regular session was called to order (December 7th) before the Senate (December 16th) passed the Cuban Reciprocity Bill.²

On December 17th President Roosevelt signed it and issued the proclamation declaring that the treaty would take effect in ten days from that date.³

Thus our obligations in this respect were faithfully observed, though the incident may not yet be considered as finally closed, as several European nations have "favored-nation" clauses in their commercial treaties with us and naturally claim that under these their products are entitled to the same privileges as those just granted to Cuba.

Meanwhile the public had been busy speculating as to whether the National Government had not perhaps quietly taken a hand in bringing about the revolution and the establishment of the new government in Panama, which had

¹ This bill was introduced on November 12th by Mr. Payne, of New York, and on November 16th was passed by a vote of 325 to 21.

² Among other business which the extra session failed to complete was that of the confirmation of General Leonard Wood. President Roosevelt renewed the appointment at the regular session, and on January 4, 1904, the Senate Committee of Military Affairs, by a vote of 8 to 2, decided to report favorably upon it.

³ On February 5th the new Cuban tariff was made public.

fitted in so perfectly with the needs of the moment and which the Executive, with such unusual haste, had recognized.

This suspicion was most natural in view of the fact, proven by certain despatches which the newspapers had brought to light, that the Administration had apparently been informed that a revolution in Panama was contemplated and had managed to get a fairly definite idea of when it would occur before any such news had reached the offices of the Associated Press.

From this time to the adjournment for Christmas recess (on December 19th) there was manifest a continual tendency to return to the topic of suspicions and speculations about the President's Panama policy.¹

On December 30th one of the most disastrous fires in history occurred in Chicago. The Iroquois Theatre, one of the newest and most beautiful playhouses in the country, took fire on the stage during a matinee performance, and owing to the criminally faulty construction the flames spread, covering the entire theatre almost in an instant, and as the exits were not in working order about 600 lives were lost. The awful affair was due to the utter failure of the proprietors and contractors to meet the building laws of the city, and the utter failure of the city authorities to see that these laws were properly enforced.

When Congress reconvened (January 4th) after the Christmas recess the most serious of these suspicions, that which ventured to attribute to the Chief Executive or his agents or friends, secret understandings with the revolu-

¹ This programme was varied by discussions upon a variety of topics, most conspicuous among which was the Cuban reciprocity bill already discussed, the pension appropriation bill, and the new commercial treaty with China.

This last was ratified by the Senate, sitting in executive session, on December 18th. On January the 13th, ratifications between the United States and China were exchanged at Washington, and the President issued his proclamation putting the treaty into effect.

On this same day (December 18th), the House adopted a resolution authorizing the Committee on Expenditures in the Post-Office Department to call for papers in the postal investigation.

tionary leaders of Panama, was answered.¹ In his special message of that date the President stated explicitly that the Government had not been in any manner connected with that movement. Even this statement did not silence suspicion and comment, and impassioned charges against the Administration continued to add a somewhat unusual interest to the debates of the Senate, Senators Morgan and Gorman leading in the most interesting of these attacks.

On January 18th the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported to that chamber, meeting in executive session, that it favored the proposed Panama Canal treaty.² It was, however, well understood that the treaty could not be ratified unless some of the Democratic Senators should consent to it, for the Republicans did not have the two-thirds majority necessary for ratification; but as the discussion continued there was a manifest tendency toward the breaking up of the opposition which was encouraging to the friends of the measure and of the Administration. An agreement was finally reached (February 15th)³ that the final vote upon the Panama treaty should be taken on February 23d.

When the final vote came the triumph of the Administration was complete. Sixty-six votes were cast in favor of the treaty, of which fourteen Democratic votes, while only fourteen votes, all Democratic, were cast against it. This vote is conclusive evidence that whatever doubts may still be entertained as to the propriety of the Administration's acts during the period covering the formation and precipitation of the Panama Revolution, there is a fairly

¹ In his message of January 4th, President Roosevelt says: ". . . No one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama."

² On January 7th, Secretary Hay had refused the request of Colombia to reopen the Panama question. The correspondence between Hay and Reyes, the Colombia representative at Washington, was made public by the President on January 18th.

³ On this same day, February 15th, Dr. Manuel Amador was chosen President of the Panama Republic. On the same day, Senator Marcus Alonzo Hanna, of Ohio, died in Washington, D. C., after an illness of two months, which culminated in an attack of typhoid fever.

strong sentiment, aside from partisanship, which favors the proposed policy of constructing the canal under the concessions thus gained from that republic.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty the Administration proceeded to make arrangements for beginning the actual construction of the canal. Bills were introduced providing for the government of the territory which that treaty brings under the control of the United States.

A Canal Commission was at once selected by the President, which consists of General George W. Davis, a retired army officer and an expert in engineering work; Colonel F. F. Hecker, of Detroit, who was Director of Transportation in the war with Spain; William Barclay Parsons, the engineer lately in charge of the New York Subway, and W. H. Burr, Professor of Engineering in Columbia University. Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, whose intimate acquaintance with the problems to be considered was gained during his service at the head of the former Isthmian Commission, has been placed at the head of this important Commission.¹

The character of this Commission gives assurance that the process of cutting through the remaining three-fifths of the Isthmus will be conducted in the most scientific and expeditious manner possible.

On February 7th and 8th occurred a disastrous fire in the city of Baltimore which destroyed over 75 blocks of buildings and covered an area of about 140 acres. Conservative estimates place the loss at about \$80,000,000, of which perhaps \$65,000,000 were covered by insurance. The fire was largely confined to wholesale and financial districts of the city, which goes far to account for the fact that only one life was lost.

During the progress of all these events the threatening condition of affairs in the Far East developed into a condition of war between Russia and Japan.

¹ Other appointments in connection with this Commission are yet to be announced.

Russia, unable to extend her authority in a westerly direction to the sea, had for years been patiently pushing her way eastward and seeking points of commercial and military value on the Pacific coast of Asia. She had settled herself in Manchuria with a grim determination to stay there. Her promises to evacuate had been broken upon the ground that the danger of attacks by robbers upon the railroad made such evacuation impossible, but had attempted to allay suspicion by semi-official announcements that she did not contemplate a permanent occupation of Manchuria. Manchuria, however, did not satisfy her expanding needs. She had pushed on into Korea, where she could have ice-free ports and where her ever-increasing Eastern trade could have still greater facilities.

Japan, on the other hand, has, since the period of her modernization began, been looking forward to the leadership of Asia. She wished to have Korea open for her surplus population and the ports of Manchuria for her largely increasing commerce.

Our interests in this conflict are not sentimental. Our trade, important even now, has every prospect of enormous extension in these regions in case they are left under Chinese and Japanese influences, but with Russia's ambitions consummated these rights are certain to be seriously hampered.

Hitherto we have stood in the forefront of nations insisting upon the integrity of China and the open door policy therein. Thus we as a nation stand committed by action as well as by self-interest to the policy, also upheld by England and Japan, of preserving the integrity of China and equal trade rights therein to all the world.

This was the policy which Secretary Hay was attempting to conserve when (February 8th) he issued an invitation to England, Germany, and France to unite with the United States in suggesting to Russia and Japan the neutralization of China and the restriction of the operations of the coming war to as small an area as possible, in order that foreign interests should not be needlessly disturbed.

On February 10th¹ the United States made her own recommendation directly to the two belligerent powers, and on February 11th the invitation regarding the neutralization of China was extended by the United States to Italy, Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, and Belgium. On the same day (February 11th) President Roosevelt issued a proclamation declaring the absolute neutrality of the United States in the war.

Prompt and favorable action was taken by all the powers addressed, but France and Russia, in giving their approval to the suggestion, carefully excepted Manchuria from its provisions.

In taking this action the Secretary of State has certainly ventured to commit the United States to a policy never before ventured upon by this nation. It is a radical departure from the old beaten path which we have followed with more or less consistency since the days of Washington's great neutrality proclamation. What its ultimate effects will be is a question hidden as yet by the veil of the future.

¹ On the same day, the Czar issued his proclamation of war, serious engagements at Port Arthur having already occurred on February 8th and 9th.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

Long Ascendency of the Republican Party—Roosevelt's Majority—Intervenes in Russo-Japanese War—Treaty of Portsmouth—Japanese Coolie Troubles in the West—Reforms in the Philippines and Porto Rico—The President's Visit to Panama—Pan-Americanism—New Occupation of Cuba—Troubles in Venezuela—Santo Domingo Treaty—Railroads and Rate Bills—Anti-Trust Prosecutions—Insurance Scandals—Oklahoma a State—Prohibition Gains—The Brownsville Affair—New Treaties—Second Peace Conference—Cruise of the Battleship Fleet—Two Great Expositions—The "Rich Man's Panic"—The "House of Governors"—Presidential Campaign of 1908.

WHEN Theodore Roosevelt, standing on the steps of the Capitol at Washington on the fourth of March, 1905, took the oath of office for the second time as President of the United States, the Republican Party, of which he was the acknowledged supreme leader, had been in complete or partial control of the government for forty-four years. This long tenure of power was construed as a demonstration that the party had, for nearly two generations, commanded the confidence of the people in a degree unequaled in the history of American political parties.

When Mr. Roosevelt was sworn in for a second term in the White House, therefore, he knew that not only he, but his party as well, possessed the trust of the nation. The people on their part, inspired by the proofs of earnest patriotism and of high ideals of public duty and public service which Mr. Roosevelt had furnished in his previous administration, had shown, at the polls, their faith in his readiness for every emergency and in his ability successfully to meet each new and vital question.

Entering now upon his duties as the Chief Executive of the nation for another four years, Mr. Roosevelt was pledged to many great tasks and policies, the principal of which were: To uphold the gold standard and the integrity and

value of the national currency; to the upbuilding of an American merchant marine; to the development of a great navy for defense; to the enforcement of the civil service laws; to the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration; to the prevention of the infringement upon the rights and interests of the people through unlawful combinations of capital; to an aggressive enforcement of the anti-trust laws; to the building of the Panama Canal; and to the conferring of the largest possible civil liberty upon the people of the insular possessions of the United States.

The political campaign that led on to Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration was one of the most exciting the country had ever known. In intensity of popular interest, the campaign was unequaled, Mr. Roosevelt receiving one of the largest popular votes ever polled.

The Republican National Convention, at Chicago, nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President and Charles W. Fairbanks for Vice-President, on June 23, 1904. A week later the Democratic National Convention, at St. Louis, nominated Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, for President, and Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, for Vice-President; Judge Parker sent to the convention a telegram saying that he regarded the gold standard as irrevocably established and that he wished the convention to understand his position. The convention answered that it did not deem the gold standard to be an issue of the campaign. The Republican presidential ticket was chosen by a great popular and electoral majority (November 8)—the count showing over 2,500,000 popular votes for Roosevelt, to less than 1,800,000 for Parker.

The most spectacular; if not the most important, achievement of the President during his second term was that of intervening to end the war between Russia and Japan—an act which led to the meeting of representatives of the two Powers and the signing of a treaty of peace.

Mr. Roosevelt took the first step in this historical proceeding when, on June 8, 1905, he addressed the Russian and Japanese Governments urging immediate and direct peace

negotiations and proffering his friendly assistance. This letter was sent after the fall of Port Arthur and within ten days after the victory of the Japanese Admiral, Togo, at the battle of the Sea of Japan, when the Russian fleets under Admirals Rojéstvensky and Nebogatoff were annihilated. Only three Russian vessels of the line escaped, these putting into Manila and being there interned, following President Roosevelt's refusal to allow them to make repairs. This great naval victory for the Japanese proved to be the last battle of the war.

Both the warring nations promptly accepted the good offices of the United States, made through the President, and agreed (June 12) to appoint plenipotentiaries to discuss terms of peace. Accordingly, Russia chose Count Sergius Witte and the Russian Ambassador to the United States, Baron Rosen; while Japan named Baron Komura and the Japanese representative of the Mikado at Washington, Mr. Takahira.

With great ceremony the envoys and their suites were escorted (August 5) on separate vessels of war, to the President's summer home at Oyster Bay, Long Island, and were there introduced to one another by Mr. Roosevelt on the President's yacht, *Mayflower*.

Meantime it had been decided that the peace negotiations should be discussed at the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Thence, after the ceremonies at Oyster Bay, the plenipotentiaries were conveyed, and there (August 9) they held the first peace conference, the negotiations being conducted through interpreters. Proposal after proposal was accepted or rejected by the Russian envoys, until final accord was reached. The concluding ceremony of signing the peace document occurred on September 5, the envoys attaching their signatures to what was to become known in history as the Treaty of Portsmouth. So ended probably the most important of all the international events in which President Roosevelt played a part in his second administration.

In recognition of his services for peace, Mr. Roosevelt

was (December 10, 1906) awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, of \$40,000. The prize was awarded by the Nobel Institute of Stockholm, in accordance with the terms of a bequest of a fortune of \$9,000,000 by the Swedish scientist, Alfred B. Nobel, the inventor of dynamite. The bequest provided that the fortune named should be used as a fund the interest of which was to be distributed yearly in five equal shares, to those who should have contributed most to the good of humanity through invention, chemistry, medicine, literature, or the promotion of peace. The President, upon receiving the prize, provided for its disposition by asking Congress to pass an act establishing a "Fund for the Promotion of Industrial Peace," using the money representing the prize as the nucleus of a fund, the income of which should be expended for bringing together representatives of capital and labor, for the purpose of arriving at a better understanding between employers and employees.

International interest was aroused (1906) in the treatment of Japanese in the Pacific Coast States, and especially in San Francisco—a matter that caused the press of the world to discuss, more or less seriously, the possibility of war between the United States and Japan.

In Washington, Oregon, and California, Japanese coolies and merchants alike were treated by citizens and labor unions with scant regard for their rights as aliens. Japanese merchants were in some cases boycotted, while rioting broke out against the coolies. The reason for these acts was that the Japanese were "undesirable citizens morally and mentally, as well as in their habits of life." In San Francisco, objection was made to receiving Japanese pupils in white schools, on the ground that such students were in many instances grown men and that these corrupted the morals of white pupils.

In his annual message read at the opening of Congress, December 3, 1906, the President dwelt at length on the "unwarranted ill-treatment" of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast, stigmatizing it as "most uncreditable." He then recommended an act providing for the naturalization of Japanese

intending to become American citizens, and urged the amendment of the existing law to enable the Government to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties.

Meantime the President had sent Secretary of the Navy Metcalf to San Francisco to investigate and report upon the exclusion of the Japanese from the white schools and the proposed plan for providing separate schools for Orientals. As the result of Mr. Metcalf's report, Mr. Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress (December 18) wherein he expressed his intention to employ all the forces of the Government, civil and military, to protect Japanese residents at San Francisco. When this message reached the Pacific Coast, local and State feeling throughout California ran high against the President. Rioting was resumed and many places of business conducted by Japanese in various towns were burned or otherwise wrecked; while San Francisco defied the Federal Government to compel it to rescind the order for separate schools for whites and Orientals—though at the time of the order only ninety-three Japanese were in attendance at the public schools in San Francisco.

In order, then, to arrive at the legal aspect of the question, the United States Government (January 18, 1907) began action in court in a test case against the local authorities. This led to a conference between Federal and State representatives at which the Californians agreed (February 15) to close their separate Oriental schools and to admit Japanese pupils to white schools. On the other hand, the Federal Government agreed to prohibit the immigration into the United States of Japanese labor from Hawaii, Mexico, Canada, and the Panama Canal zone.

Accordingly, on March 13th, the separate Oriental schools were closed, the immigration order went into effect, and the test case was dismissed. In May, however, rioting again broke out in San Francisco against the Japanese. Riots occurred at intervals, too, until October. Meantime, the Japanese Government formally asked that its citizens be protected; and thereupon both Federal and State authorities took

such drastic measures to comply with the reasonable request of Japan, that by the spring of 1908 peace between the whites and Orientals along the entire Pacific Coast was restored.

In our insular possessions great strides in civil liberty were made during Mr. Roosevelt's second term. In the Philippines, especially, measures were taken to strengthen and make more effective the civil government organized in Mr. Roosevelt's previous administration. Governor Luke E. Wright was succeeded, in 1905, by Henry Clay Ide, who in turn was succeeded by General James F. Smith, in 1906. In October, 1907, Secretary of War Taft made a special journey to the Philippines (continuing subsequently on a tour of the world) to open the Philippine Assembly, the first governmental body of the kind in the islands. The Assembly was the result of a call for a general election of delegates, as directed by an act of the United States Congress, and as ordered in accordance with that act by President Roosevelt, March 17th. Public schools were established in most of the islands of the Philippines during 1906, and were formally opened with an attendance of 500,000 pupils, June 11th. An uprising of the Moros near Jolo occurred in March, 1906, a battle between the American troops and the natives being fought on March 8th, when 600 natives were killed.

In Porto Rico, plans for the establishment of civil government were, as far as possible, carried out in the years 1904 to 1908. Porto Ricans, after having been left for years in suspense as to their status as American citizens, were at last definitely informed on this point when the United States Supreme Court decided (January 4, 1904) that they were not aliens. And in his message to Congress in December, 1906, the President recommended the granting of United States citizenship to all Porto Ricans. Meantime the island was well represented "near" the Congress of the United States by a Resident Commissioner. The President, on his return from Panama in 1906, paid a visit to Porto Rico, November 21st.

At Panama, the most important events following those narrated in the previous chapter, were as follows: The first

President of the Panama Republic, Dr. Manuel Amador, was chosen February 15, 1904. The United States Senate ratified the Panama Canal Treaty, February 23d. Five days later, Congress passed an act providing for a temporary government for the canal zone over which the United States held jurisdiction, by an Isthmian Canal Commission to be appointed by the President. Rear Admiral John G. Walker, U.S.N. (retired), was made chairman of the Commission, which included as members, Major-General George W. Davis, U.S.A. (retired), and William Barclay Parsons, of New York. John F. Wallace, general manager of the Illinois Central Railroad, was sent to Panama as chief engineer.

In the fall of 1904 it was reported that the people of Panama showed signs of uneasiness springing from a doubt as to the intentions of the United States in assuming control of the canal zone. Mr. Roosevelt therefore, on October 19th, directed Secretary Taft to go to Panama to reassure the people of the pacific intentions of the United States. This visit of the Secretary of War led to the signing of an agreement with President Amador by which all differences between the United States and the Panama Republic were settled, December 2d.

The first United States Minister to Panama was William Buchanan, of Iowa, who was succeeded by William Russell, and later by John Barrett. All rights of the Panama Canal Company of France were transferred to the United States, at Paris, on April 22, 1904. On May 9th the Secretary of the Treasury paid the Panama Canal Company the stipulated price for its rights, namely, \$40,000,000, while the Republic of Panama was paid \$10,000,000. On May 19th, General George W. Davis, having been appointed Governor of the zone, issued a proclamation announcing the purposes of the administration at Washington and then proceeded to perfect a system of government in conformity with established American ideas.

Meantime the Isthmian Canal Commission resigned and a new Panama Canal Commission was appointed, including

Theodore P. Shonts, of New York, as chairman; Charles E. Magoon, and Chief Engineer Wallace, all of whom were ordered to reside in Panama as an Executive Committee. Congress, after a long debate as to whether to provide for a lock canal or a sea-level canal, passed an act for a lock canal (June 26, 1906). The decision was based on the report of engineers who estimated that while a lock canal would cost only \$140,000,000 and could be completed in eight years, a sea-level canal would cost \$272,000,000 and could not be completed in twelve years and would probably require twenty years. The lock canal, it was estimated, could be opened to traffic by 1914.

In November, 1906, Mr. Roosevelt himself went to Panama, where he spent four days inspecting the work. He was thus the first President of the United States to make a journey outside of the boundaries of the country. On his return he sent a special message to Congress expressing himself as thoroughly satisfied with conditions in the canal zone. Throughout 1907 the work of digging continued with rapidity. Several important changes in the personnel at the zone, however, were made during the year. Theodore P. Shonts resigned as chairman of the Commission, January 23d, his place being taken by the chief engineer who had succeeded Mr. Wallace, John F. Stevens. Mr. Stevens resigned on March 4th, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Goethals, U.S.A.—the whole work of constructing the canal having meanwhile been placed by President Roosevelt in charge of engineer officers of the army, the President saying that he took this step because of "having failed to secure a civilian who would stick to the job." After that the work was not again retarded by change in the personnel. At the end of 1907 there were over 41,000 men at work on the canal and railway at the Isthmus. In the spring of 1907, and again in the spring of 1908, Secretary of War Taft visited the zone, each time reporting: "All well."

In the observance of the Monroe Doctrine during Mr. Roosevelt's second administration, many notable steps were

taken in rearranging and improving relations between the United States and the Spanish-American Republics. One of the most important of such steps was the visit of Elihu Root to South America, in the summer of 1906, Mr. Root having been appointed Secretary of State upon the death of John Hay (July, 1905). Present as the chief delegate from the United States to the Pan-American Congress (opened at Rio Janeiro, July 27), Mr. Root addressed the conference and then proceeded on a memorable journey to the capitals and principal ports of nearly all the republics on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. His trip was fraught with much good, particularly in respect to bringing the two Americas into closer touch commercially.

In Cuba, an insurrectionary movement had its beginning in August, 1906, soon reaching such a serious point that President Palma appealed to the United States (September 8) for intervention on the island. Accordingly, American marines were landed at Havana (September 13), and after remaining on duty there for two weeks were withdrawn. Meantime, President Palma resigned; and, the day following, Secretary Taft, having journeyed to Havana for the purpose of restoring peace, proclaimed United States intervention on the island, and announced himself as Provisional Governor. After establishing peace throughout the island, Mr. Taft returned to the United States (October 12), his place as Governor being taken by Charles E. Magoon, who was appointed to the post by Mr. Roosevelt.

The military occupation of Cuba by the United States thus begun in 1906, continued through 1907, under a civil head in the person of Governor Magoon. It was predicted, in the summer of 1908, that the military occupation would have to be continued through the year, the argument being that conditions in the island could not sooner be restored to such a state as to permit the withdrawal of American troops and the resumption of an independent Cuban Government.

The Isle of Pines, off the coast of Cuba, was long "disputed territory," some of the American and native residents

claiming that the isle rightfully belonged under the American flag and hence should be deemed United States territory. The controversy was settled by the United States Supreme Court, which handed down a decision (April 8, 1907) that the Isle of Pines was Cuban territory.

In Venezuela, the United States representatives continued to be beset by troubles growing out of the annulment, by President Castro, of various American concessions. Complaint was made to the State Department at Washington, by American business men, that, owing to the "high handed and despotic" actions of Castro, the investment of American capital in Venezuela was no longer safe. The chief source of trouble for the United States lay in the long-drawn-out litigation over the Bermudez asphalt concession. By order of Castro, the properties of the Bermudez Company, an American concern, were seized by the Government by force of arms, thus gravely alarming all Americans doing business in the country. Mr. Roosevelt, on August 7, 1904, directed United States Minister Herbert W. Bowen to protest against the Bermudez seizure. Minister Bowen was subsequently dismissed (June 20, 1905) by President Roosevelt for circulating alleged unfounded charges against Francis B. Loomis, Assistant Secretary of State and former minister to Venezuela. In the spring of 1908, Mr. Roosevelt, in the most vigorous language, demanded of Castro that protection be afforded all American citizens in Venezuela. In political parlance, this summary demand of the President was called "wielding the big stick." But it had a salutary effect in that, in the end, at least, Castro allowed the Bermudez matter and difficulties concerning other American concessions to take their course through the proper channels, the courts.

In Santo Domingo, owing to the incessant revolutions and other political disturbances, the Government of the island agreed (January 28, 1905) that the United States should assume charge of the Republic's finances, and, at the same time, guarantee territorial integrity. Accordingly, on March 25th, an arrangement was made with the Dominican Government,

by United States Minister Dawson, for the collection of the public revenues by a United States Commissioner.

The necessity for this temporary arrangement led on to a treaty with Santo Domingo, which was ratified by the United States Senate in February, 1907. This treaty set forth the fact that, because of the disturbed political conditions in the republic, debts and claims had accumulated aggregating over \$30,000,000; the republic therefore had asked the assistance of the United States in the liquidation of these debts and in the settlement of these claims. By the terms of the treaty the United States was to assume control of the customs revenues of the island and the application thereof to the interest upon and the redemption of \$20,000,000 of fifty-year five per cent bonds of the republic. President Roosevelt signed this treaty June 24, 1907.

In regard to the attitude of the Federal Government toward railways, the President, in a speech delivered at Indianapolis, May 30, 1907, said: "The Federal Government must be invested with full power to supervise and control the railways doing Interstate business, to supervise the future issue of stocks and bonds, to prevent over-capitalization, and to prevent the railways from devoting their capital to anything but transportation business, and certainly not to the hazards of speculation."

Previous to this utterance, however, the Hepburn Railroad Rate Bill passed in Congress and became law, in the spring of 1906. By this law the Interstate Commerce Commission was empowered to investigate the question of and to regulate railway rates for the carriage of freight. Immediate consequences ensued, in the form of conviction and heavy fine for one Western and one Eastern railway for granting rebates. Meantime, the United States Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, declared (March 14, 1904) the Northern Securities Company to be a trust and hence illegal (see page 301).

With the appointment of various State railway commissions and with the general agitation against railways, the

individual States and the railways clashed on important questions. Especially notable were conflicts between the railways and the States of North Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, and Arkansas on the question of passenger rates. The strife was most severe in North Carolina, which State compelled the railways to reduce their passenger rates to two and a quarter cents a mile. In Alabama, many disputes arose and were finally submitted to the United States Supreme Court, where the cases were still pending in the summer of 1908, the railroads meanwhile operating under an agreement between themselves and the State authorities. No less than eight other States, including Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Minnesota enacted laws having for their object the lowering of passenger rates. And under the Elkins Act, prohibiting the giving or acceptance of rebates, the United States brought actions against thirty-four different railway, oil, express and other companies, in 1907 alone.

The anti-trust crusade, conducted by the President, by Congress, and by the various State Legislatures, continued intermittently throughout Mr. Roosevelt's second term, and bore many important results. During 1907, alone, indictments were returned in United States courts against no less than seven great corporations charged with being combinations in restraint of trade, these including the Reading Coal Company, the American Tobacco Company, and the National Umbrella Company. The Sugar Trust was indicted, at New York (October 2, 1906), for accepting railroad rebates.

But the most notable of all the prosecutions under the anti-trust laws of the United States was that of the Standard Oil Company, which reached a dramatic climax on August 3, 1907, when this gigantic concern was assessed the largest fine ever recorded against any individual or corporation in the history of American criminal jurisprudence. The fine in question amounted to \$29,240,000 and was imposed by Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, in the United States District Court at Chicago. Resulting from a conviction for accepting rebates from railroads, the fine was imposed on 1,462 counts,

in a trial of the Indiana branch of Standard Oil—the maximum fine being imposed on each count. The specific charge was the acceptance by Standard Oil of a secret rate of six cents a barrel on shipments from Whiting, Indiana, to St. Louis, while the regular rate was eighteen cents.

Simultaneously with this finding against the Indiana branch of the Standard, suits were pending against other branches in Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas. Under the Elkins Law, various Standard Oil corporations were indicted in the States named, and in still other States, on 8,300 different counts for accepting rebates from railroads. In the summer of 1908, all these suits were still pending, together with suits to oust the Standard from Ohio, Kansas, and Missouri for doing business contrary to the anti-trust laws. Texas had previously (1907) ordered all branches of the Standard to cease doing business in that State, after securing a conviction, with heavy fine, against the Waters-Pierce Company, said to be a branch of the Standard.

Furthermore, the Beef Trust, involving the great packing houses of Chicago, was declared illegal by the United States Supreme Court (January 30, 1904); and a country-wide sensation was caused in May and June of 1906 by the publication of "The Jungle," a novel by Upton Sinclair, containing statements relating to the "unclean and reprehensible" conditions in the slaughter and packing houses at Chicago. The President sent a representative to Chicago's "Packingtown" to make an investigation; and, as a result, Mr. Roosevelt sent a message to Congress saying: "The conditions shown are revolting, and it is imperative in the interest of health and decency that they should be radically changed. It is impossible, however, to secure satisfactory results under the existing law." After this, a drastic Meat Inspection Bill was introduced in Congress and soon became law.

Insurance scandals, too, following the investigation held in New York in 1905, continued to hold public attention in both the United States and Europe through the early months of 1906. The result of the investigation led by New York

State Senator Armstrong, and by Charles E. Hughes (afterward Governor of New York) was a report to the Legislature recommending measures having in view the reform of the entire life insurance business of America. Important changes in the personnel of the Equitable, the New York Life, and the Mutual Life followed, civil suits being brought against its ex-president by the Mutual, while the ex-president of the New York Life was arrested.

Coincidental with the exposure and punishment of unlawful acts of combinations of capital, came shocking revelations of criminal acts committed by leaders of "combinations of labor." Members of labor unions throughout the country were greatly agitated, in the spring of 1907, by the arrest of three officers of the Western Federation of Miners, charged with conspiracy in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho. One of these, W. D. Haywood, secretary and treasurer of the miners' organization, was brought to trial. One Harry Orchard testified that he had been employed by Haywood to commit certain crimes, such as the killing of the superintendent of a Colorado mine, and of a detective named Gregory, at Denver. Later, Orchard confessed that at the instigation of Haywood and others of the Miners' Federation, he, with certain fellow-conspirators, had been incited to commit still other crimes, including the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg. Haywood, however, was acquitted (July 28), while Orchard was found guilty.

Revelations of official corruption in various cities, followed by a great "reform wave" in each such place, continued as during Mr. Roosevelt's first administration. In San Francisco an extraordinary system of wholesale blackmail and "graft," by officials of the city, was uncovered in 1907. Aided by a lawyer named Ruef, Eugene E. Schmitz was elected mayor for three successive terms, during which time corruption, as was afterward discovered, continued progressively. Criminal proceedings against the mayor held the attention of the entire country during the spring of 1907, Schmitz being found guilty of extortion and sentenced. Later

the judgment was reversed. Later in the year Mayor Taylor, leader of the reform movement, was installed at the head of the San Francisco government.

An event of nation-wide interest was the admission of Oklahoma into the Union as a State, President Roosevelt issuing the proclamation announcing the creation of the new State on November 16, 1907. On the same day the President signed the Constitution of Oklahoma, a document containing features that caused the State government thus constituted to be compared with that of New Zealand.

Congress, in the same act that provided for Statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one State, provided also for the admission into the Union of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as one State to be known as Arizona. The act stipulated that the people of the two Territories should, on November 6, 1906, vote on the question of Statehood, on the conditions named; and if the majority of the inhabitants of each Territory voted favorably to joint Statehood, then the two Territories would be admitted as one State. Accordingly, an election was held on the appointed day, with the result, however, that both Arizona and New Mexico continued as Territories. For while the majority of the people of New Mexico voted in favor of joint Statehood, the majority in Arizona voted against it.

One great "cause" that gained remarkable power and headway during Mr. Roosevelt's second term was prohibition. The movement to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor made tremendous advances in nearly every State in the Union, particularly in the year 1907. In the Southern States, especially, led by the Anti-Saloon League, prohibition was practically the only issue in the fall elections. Triumph followed triumph in the South, while the brewers and distillers of the country looked on astounded and aghast. Late in 1907 Georgia and Alabama became prohibition States. As Oklahoma, earlier in the year, had come into the Union as a "dry" State, and as Maine, North Dakota, and Kansas had long before voted liquor out of their borders, there were now al-

together six prohibition States at the beginning of 1908. In Mississippi, Florida, Tennessee, and other Southern States, in the first half of 1908, State-wide prohibition campaigns were waged with every prospect of success.

During the memorable campaigns for prohibition in their States in 1907, Southerners referred to the liquor question as "the greatest problem since slavery." In the unrestricted sale of strong drink the South discovered a great menace to public order and industrial progress in the effect of such drink on the negro. Assaults on white women by negroes were in many instances traced directly to the cheap whisky sold in "doggeries." These crimes led to racial battles and mob violence. It was believed that prohibition would reduce the number of such crimes and of such conflicts. Atlanta, Georgia, was placed under martial law, September 22, 1906, as the result of anti-negro riots that involved a number of lynchings.

In Texas, agitation for prohibition greatly increased after the rioting at Brownsville, in that State, between negro soldiers of the regular army and citizens, in the summer of 1906. This riot, indeed, held the attention of the nation for many months after its occurrence, while its consequences called forth bitter discussion throughout the Union. The soldiers involved were all members of the Twenty-fifth United States Infantry, and during the riot they killed and wounded a number of persons. An investigation followed, as a result of which Mr. Roosevelt, in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the army, and therefore, judicial minds argued, with perfect right so to do, issued an order disbanding the regiment "without honor," for complicity in the rioting. As no individual soldier would divulge the names of the actual culprits, the entire regiment was made to suffer.

In carrying out his pledge on behalf of his administration to settle international differences by arbitration, Mr. Roosevelt and members of his Cabinet negotiated a number of important arbitration and commercial treaties with foreign powers, 1904 to 1908, notably with France, November 1,

1904; with Germany, November 15th, and with Panama December 2d.

The thirteenth International Peace Congress was held in Boston, in October, 1904; and a National Arbitration and Peace Congress was held in New York in April, 1907. Early in 1905 the United States was invited to send a delegate to the Moroccan Conference to be held at Algeciras, Spain, in September, the chief object of the conference being the reaching of an agreement between France and Germany on their relations with Morocco, and to regulate otherwise the affairs of the country named. Members of both the great political parties in the United States objected to the acceptance of the invitation, on the ground that the conference concerned Europe only. But Secretary of State John Hay explained that as one of the signatory Powers to the treaty of 1880 at the Madrid Conference, the United States could not decline representation at Algeciras. President Roosevelt accordingly sent a delegate as requested.

On October 20, 1904, the President suggested to the signatory Powers that their representatives meet for a second Peace Conference at The Hague. The Emperor of Russia sent out a formal invitation for such a meeting, and on June 15, 1907, the second Peace Conference at The Hague was opened and continued in session till October 18th, the United States being prominently represented by Joseph Choate, former Ambassador to Great Britain; General Horace Porter, former Ambassador to France; David James Hill, afterward Ambassador to Germany; and others. The most important of the completed results of the conference included: The peaceful regulation of international conflicts; the providing for an International Prize Court; and the application of the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross to sea warfare.

In the execution of his purpose to take every possible measure to enlarge the navy for defense, the President caused national interest to be centred upon the navy on several occasions, the effect being an awakening in the minds of all Americans, in inland States as well as in coast States,

to the knowledge that the common welfare through the maintenance of peace was more dependent upon the navy than had before been believed.

The greatest fleet of United States vessels of war ever seen together at one time, assembled in Long Island Sound, off Oyster Bay, the "summer capital," in September of 1906. This demonstration was held pursuant, of course, to an order issued by the President. It achieved its specific purpose, namely, the revival of popular interest in the efficiency of the defensive force of the nation on the high seas. To the thunder of hundreds of guns, the President reviewed this imposing assemblage of warships, September 18th, every vessel of any class that could be spared from its regular station being present.

But even this great demonstration was eclipsed in importance and national interest as a naval event by the remarkable cruise of the battleship fleet to the Pacific Coast of America and around the world in 1908. The start was made from Hampton Roads, Virginia, December 16, 1907. In this greatest naval cruise of modern times were sixteen ships of the line and a torpedo flotilla. After visiting the principal West Indian and South American ports on the Atlantic Coast, they passed through the Straits of Magellan and put in at the chief South American ports on the Pacific Coast—notably Trinidad, Rio Janeiro, Punta Arenas, and Callao. San Diego, California, was reached in the spring of 1908, two days ahead of schedule time, in perfect condition, and, as the commanding officer of the fleet, Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans, said, "ready for a fight or a frolic." After a visit to all ports of importance on the United States Pacific Coast, after a rousing welcome in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle during the summer of 1908, it was the intention then that the fleet should resume the cruise to complete the circumnavigation of the globe via the waters of Hawaii, Japan, China, Australia, and India, and the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean.

Naval experts said of this cruise that it was the most

extraordinary in the naval history of nations, and that it was "conducted with all the precision expected from the splendid traditions of American seamanship." Members of foreign admiralities declared the cruise "unprecedented in the naval history of the world" and pronounced it to be "the greatest of United States administrative undertakings." The cruise showed, in every way, efficiency of a high order in our navy—in design, in construction, in administration, in seamanship, in discipline; for no greater test could have been imposed than that of sending sixteen Titans of the navy on such a voyage. Some of the larger incidental facts relating to the cruise are as follows: The cost was estimated at about \$25,000 a day, or a total of over \$4,000,000 up to the time the vessels reached San Francisco in May, 1908. Coal, alone, for the trip, cost over \$1,000,000. The personnel of the fleet included over 14,000 officers and men, or about one-half the enlisted force of the entire navy. For the first time in history the people of western America were given an opportunity to see a great fighting fleet with their own eyes. Millions of persons viewed the great "scourges of the salt seas" from the shores of the Pacific; while tens of thousands trod the decks of the vessels; while other thousands met the officers and "jackies" of the fleet at great public receptions in the various coast cities.

Other important naval events included the sending of the entire South Atlantic squadron to Tangier, Morocco, May 20, 1904, as the result of the kidnaping of Mr. Perdicaris, an American citizen, together with his stepson, Varley, by Arabs led by the notorious bandit Raisuli. The captives were released a month later and arrived at Tangier June 24th. Prince Louis of Battenberg, with the British cruiser squadron, paid an official visit to United States waters in the fall of 1905, arriving at Annapolis November 1st, and at New York November 9th, receiving a warm welcome in both places.

A further historical incident relating to the American navy was the finding of the body of John Paul Jones (April

14, 1905), in Paris, by General Horace Porter. With high naval honors the body was brought to the United States and placed in a temporary tomb near the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland (July 24th). The remains of this picturesque naval hero were reinterred at Annapolis, April 24, 1906.

Two great expositions were held in the United States in Mr. Roosevelt's second term. It should first be stated, however, that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held at St. Louis, May to October, 1904, was one of the most brilliant of world expositions. In 1905, the Lewis and Clark Exposition was held at Portland, Oregon, May to October, to exploit the resources and potentialities of the northwestern States, to show the marvelous progress generally of Western America, and to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the first organized exploration of the Great Northwest by the intrepid pioneers, employed by the Federal Government, Lewis and Clark. In 1907 was held the Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition, at Jamestown, Virginia, May to December, to celebrate the achievements of the early pioneers of Virginia and adjacent colonies. This exposition was remarkable particularly for the coincidental display by the naval and military forces of the United States, warships and warriors serving as the chief attractions of a "fair" that was highly successful in all respects excepting financially. In the summer of 1908 preparations were under way for an Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition to be held at Seattle, Washington, in 1909, to call the attention of the world to the remarkable progress made in Alaska and to America's vast interests in the Pacific. Plans were made, too, for a Hudson-Fulton Celebration to be held in New York in 1909, in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson River and the one hundredth anniversary of the first successful steam navigation of that river by Robert Fulton.

Of catastrophes in the United States during Mr. Roosevelt's second term the most terrible was the earthquake at San Francisco, April 18, 1906, and the ensuing fire which

swept a large part of the city. The estimated number of lives lost was 5,000, and the damage to property was given as \$400,000,000. Over 200,000 persons were rendered homeless, the burnt area comprising more than a square mile, covered largely with frame structures. Congress, and the country generally, at once appropriated or donated vast sums of money for the relief of the sufferers. Successive shocks were felt during an entire forenoon, the first occurring at 5.13. With remarkable fortitude and energy, the people of the stricken city began the work of rebuilding, and by June, 1908, the greater part of the burnt area was covered with new structures of steel, concrete, brick and stone, the city having abolished frame buildings forever.

In the summer of 1904, one thousand and more persons, principally women and children, lost their lives with the burning of the excursion steamer *General Slocum*, in the East River, New York. Yellow fever broke out in New Orleans in July, 1905, and extended to neighboring cities, causing serious interruption to commerce at several Southern ports.

A serious financial crisis, or "rich man's panic," affecting most of the banks of the country, prevailed during the closing months of 1907 and the early months of 1908. In Wall Street, crisis had followed crisis until, in October, came a general collapse. So heavy were the demands upon the banks that several such institutions of importance in various States had to close their doors. In October the financial stringency in New York City was such that a number of supposedly strong banking institutions suspended, including the Knickerbocker Trust Company. The situation became so grave, indeed, that the United States Treasury Department issued many millions of dollars of three per cent Treasury notes, and more millions of dollars' worth of Panama two per cent bonds, which were taken by the banks and retaken by small investors, thus releasing enormous quantities of hoarded money. That the hoarding of funds by the owners thereof, who had become apprehensive of their financial safety, was responsible in a

large measure for the monetary stringency, was the opinion of Secretary of the Treasury Cortelyou, of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and of other prominent bankers, all of whom took heroic measures to put millions of cash into circulation to relieve the general distress. So great was the scarcity of currency in November throughout the United States generally, and the West particularly, that clearing houses in many of the largest cities were obliged to issue "certificates" to be used in the transaction of business in lieu of cash. Within four days, when the situation looked gloomiest, \$35,000,000 in cash were transferred from the United States Treasury to the various national banks in every State and Territory of the Union. Widespread industrial depression followed as a result of the panic, and in June, 1908, it was estimated that there were two million unemployed men in the country.

An important historic event of 1908 was the meeting at the White House of the President and the Governors of all the States of the Union, and their organization into what was popularly known as the "House of Governors." The President, November 17, 1907, issued an invitation to the various Governors to meet for the purpose of discussing ways and means for the conservation of the country's natural resources. Invitations were also extended to the members of the two houses of Congress and to the members of the Inland Waterways Commission, while each Governor was invited to bring three representative men of his State. In his invitation the President said:

"The prosperity which we now enjoy rests directly upon the nation's natural resources. It is obvious that the vigor and success which we desire and foresee for this Nation in the future must have this (the natural resources) as the ultimate material basis. In view of these evident facts, it seems to me time for the country to take account of its natural resources and to inquire how long they are likely to last. We are prosperous now; we should not forget that it will be just as important to our descendants to be prosperous in their time as it is to us to be prosperous in our time. Facts which I

can not gainsay force me to believe that the conservation of our natural resources is the most weighty question now before the people of the United States. If this be so, the proposed conference, which is the first of its kind, will be among the most important gatherings in our history in its effect upon the welfare of all our people."

Governors of forty-five States accepted the invitation, and the meeting was formally opened by the President May 13, 1908, and continued till the 18th. Present, besides the various executives of States and the national lawmakers, were such representative men as William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie, and James J. Hill, the total attendance at this meeting of the "House of Governors" being over five hundred. Prominent statesmen, political enemies, who had long criticised one another's policies and acts, now shook hands as friends. Party lines were ignored utterly.

Some of the practical results of the conference were: First, the establishment of the country's appreciation and support of the various undertakings of the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Wilson; second, plans for the conservation of each of the great natural resources of the country; third, measures agreed upon by the various Governors for agitation for State legislation providing for large and comprehensive improvement of the navigable waterways of the land; fourth, specific plans for the preservation of the forests of the country and for the establishment of more national forest reservations; fifth, specific plans for the husbanding of the country's coal and iron resources; sixth, plans for the "House of Governors" to meet once every two or three years, with the idea in view of perpetuating the body to supplement the Federal and State system of government.

As the time approached for the fall elections in 1908, for a successor to Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States, public interest centred more and more upon this great question. At the time of his election to serve a second term, Mr. Roosevelt announced in unqualified terms that he would not, under any circumstances, be a candidate for reelection—

would under no conditions consider a third term in the White House. And as late as December 11, 1907, the President reiterated his determination to refuse a third term, if offered. In June, 1908, the favorite candidate of the Republican Party was William H. Taft, Secretary of War. Secretary Taft, June 2, 1908, announced that, if nominated, his "platform" would be that of Mr. Roosevelt in 1904, Mr. Taft adding that he not only endorsed the Roosevelt policies, but, if elected, would continue them in every respect.

The Republican National Convention, held in Chicago on June 18, nominated Mr. Taft for President on first ballot, giving him 702 votes. On June 19, Congressman James S. Sherman of New York was nominated on first ballot for the Vice-Presidency.

The Democratic National Convention met at Denver, July 7, and on July 10 nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President, and John W. Kern of Indiana for Vice-President.

END OF VOLUME NINE.

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