

II.—POLITICAL HISTORY.

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Formation of the Federal Constitution.—The union of the British colonies of North America was a natural growth, showing itself first in New England, and, at length, in the French and Indian war, including all the colonies. The British policy toward the colonies had been governed by the "colonial system" retained until a much later period as the policy of every other European nation. Under this system colonies were mere trading stations, to be maintained and developed with an exclusive regard to the interests of the mother-country. They were not to trade to or from other countries without the payment of the intermediate duties in home ports; they were to maintain no industries which, in the judgment of the home government, would compete with home industries; they were to be taxed at discretion by the home government, without having any representation in it. At first, while the commerce and industry of the colonies were unimportant, evasions of the British navigation act and kindred legislation were winked at or unnoticed; but the growth of the colonies, as shown by their exertions in the French and Indian war, called instant attention to them. The attempt was made to enforce the "colonial system" in its rigor; Massachusetts met it with an assertion of her charter privileges; Parliament undertook to alter the charter of Massachusetts; and the other colonies supported Massachusetts in forcible resistance. Thus began, in 1775, the war of the American Revolution, which was to end in 1783 with the dismemberment of the British empire.

Distinct political feeling appeared with the attempt of the British ministry, after the

French and Indian war, to impose taxation on the colonies by act of Parliament. The first American political party opposed to taxation (and afterward to legislation) without representation, took the name of American Whigs, about 1768-9. When the dispute came to a settlement by force, those of the Tory upholders of the mother-country who were not coerced or converted were expelled, leaving the Whigs the only American political party. The first form of national government in the United States, the Articles of Confederation, proposed by the Continental Congress in 1777 and ratified by all the states in 1781, was defective in that it gave the central government no powers whatever, beyond the natural powers of persuasion possessed by its members. It could only make requisitions on the states; and the requisitions were so constantly evaded or disregarded that they became a farce. An abortive constitutional convention at Annapolis, called by Virginia in 1786, led to a successful convention at Philadelphia in the following year. After four months of secret debate, it framed the Constitution, which was ratified by eleven states during 1787-8, and went into effect at New York city, March 4, 1789. North Carolina ratified it the same year, and Rhode Island in 1790. Its supporters had taken the name of Federalists, and thus left to their opponents the somewhat misleading name of Anti-federalists.

Washington's Administrations: 1789-97.—A reference to Plate 7 will show that the electoral vote for Washington (throwing out vacancies) was unanimous both in 1789 and in 1792, a mark of national confidence given to no other candidate since. John

Adams receiving the largest number of the electors' second votes, became Vice-President. The Anti-federal party had dropped into a silent opposition with the adoption of the Constitution. The control of the new government was given to its supporters, and their first work was to clothe the dry bones of the Constitution with flesh and blood. The Constitution defines the duties and powers of Congress and the President, with considerable exactness; in other respects it is largely drawn in outline, and the details are left to legislative enactment. The elaborate provisions for the organization of the judiciary, the departments, and the territories, which have really been only developed, not altered, in succeeding years, are the creation of the first two Congresses. The theory of the Constitution and its practical interpretation by these early Congresses alike proved sufficiently elastic to fit the country in all its future growth; and the country is indebted for both to the political skill of the almost forgotten Federal party.

To guard the rights of the people against possible Government encroachments, anticipated by Jefferson and other halting Federalists, the dominant party wisely framed and sent to the legislatures for consideration, twelve amendments in the nature of a bill of rights. Ten of them, having been ratified by three-fourths of the states, became a part of the Constitution.

The looseness of the national ties which connected the states in 1789 was painfully evident to the Federal leaders, at whose head was Alexander Hamilton, of New York, secretary of the treasury; and the great purpose of the Constitution, in their opinion, was to make a real national system possible. Hamilton's

outline plan was to create national interests, which should extend to all the States, and furnish a safeguard against the dissolution of the Union. With this design, and under Hamilton's leadership, the party passed the first tariff law, "to encourage manufactures," transformed the state war debts of the Revolution into a national debt, and chartered a Bank of the United States. To some of the party, headed by Jefferson, the secretary of state, these measures seemed only insidious attacks on the legitimate jurisdiction of the states, and an assumption of powers not given to Congress by the Constitution. The states had been, up to this time, the only instruments of republican government in the country, and Jefferson's section of the party, as upholders of state rights, took the distinctive name of Republicans, about 1792.

This party division was tinged with additional bitterness by the attitude taken by revolutionary France, as the enemy of kings and privileged classes in European countries. Not only were the Republicans inclined to believe that the treaties of 1778 bound the United States to aid France in a defensive war; a new faction appeared under the name of Democrats, who imitated the wildest follies of the Jacobins, and held that the United States were bound to assist France in all wars, offensive or defensive. Washington's proclamation of neutrality between France and her enemies united the Republicans and the Democrats into one party of opposition. Its formal title then became Democratic-Republican, though it was commonly known as Republican until about 1812, as either Democratic or Republican from 1812 until about 1829, and as Democratic thereafter. Its main doctrine has been a strict construction of the powers granted to the General Government by the Constitution; but it has been led repeatedly, by party expediency and the growth of the country, to broaden its constructions of these powers.

The union of the two elements into one party was hastened by the "Whisky Insurrection" in western Pennsylvania. The exercise of the novel excise power by Congress provoked an insurrection near Pittsburgh, which was suppressed by a militia levy. The opposition believed that the insurrection had been provoked intentionally by Hamilton, in order to force the first resistance to Federal authority to show itself on unfavorable ground. A new point of sympathy was the treaty concluded by Chief-Justice Jay with Great Britain. It gave American commerce ten years' security during the wars in Europe; but

this seemed to the Republicans to have been purchased by a practical commercial alliance with Great Britain at the expense of France. The close of Washington's second term left the country with a completely organized party of opposition, based on state rights, and strongest in the Southern States. It was not yet strong enough, however, to carry the presidential election of 1796, in which the Federalists succeeded in electing Adams, through the assistance of two unexpected electoral votes from the South.

The discussion of slavery had not yet reached the bitterness which was to mark it afterward; and the first fugitive slave law was passed in 1793 without any great opposition.

John Adams' Administration: 1797-1801.—

The French Directory undertook to neutralize the Jay treaty by refusing to receive an American minister, and permitting the capture of American merchant vessels by their navy. These tactics, which had been very effectual in the case of the weaker states of Europe, furnished the opportunity which the Federal leaders desired to revive their waning influence. A wave of war feeling ran throughout the country; the Republican leaders were either silenced or won over to the war policy, and the control of the Federal party seemed again as absolute as in 1789. The treaties with France were declared at an end; the army and navy were increased; the navy department was organized; and permission to United States vessels to capture French vessels began a state of *quasi* war with France, in which the little American navy had unbroken success.

Other items in the Federalist programme were not so wisely calculated. The French revolutionists had commonly made great use of agents, volunteer or paid, in the process of "revolutionizing" another country. Such agencies seem to have been used in the United States, and, although with no great success, they furnished a ground for the passage of several doubtful or dangerous statutes by the Federalists. The time of residence necessary for naturalization was increased; the President was authorized to banish or arrest any alien whom he should judge to be a dangerous character; and the publication of language calculated to bring the Government or its officers into contempt was made a penal offence. The rigid enforcement of these statutes would have made party opposition impossible, and Jefferson hurried to array the state legislatures against them. Under the guidance of himself and Madison, the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were passed in

1798, and renewed in 1799, after they had been repudiated by all the other states which passed upon them. Both sets of resolutions asserted the right of the states to veto unconstitutional legislation by Congress. In the case of Madison's Virginia resolutions, the veto intended seems to have been clearly that of "the states" in a Federal convention; in the case of Jefferson's Kentucky resolutions, it is difficult to resist the conviction that the "nullification" spoken of was meant to be that of a single state, and is not to be distinguished from that afterward advocated by Calhoun.

A better weapon in the hands of the Republican leaders than nullification resolutions, was the popular indignation aroused by the enforcement of the sedition law; and it was re-enforced by a split in the dominant party. The President came to believe that his cabinet officers were fostering the war feeling for the benefit of Hamilton's political ambition; and he began negotiations for peace without consulting them. Napoleon, who was now at the head of the French government, promptly seconded the effort, and peace was made. In the election of 1800, Hamilton's supporters did not feel or show great enthusiasm for Adams, the Federalist nominee, and the Republican electors were in the majority. As each elector voted for two names, without distinguishing his vote for President and Vice-President, Jefferson and Burr, the candidates nominated by the caucus of Republican senators and representatives in Congress, were a tie in the electoral vote; but the Federalist House of Representatives chose Jefferson President, after a struggle by some of their number to choose Burr. Before the next election, the twelfth amendment to the Constitution required each elector to specify his vote for President and also for Vice-President.

Jefferson's Administrations:

1801-09.—Jefferson was the first President inaugurated at Washington, to which place the national capital had been transferred from Philadelphia in 1800. His first administration was so successful that he was re-elected in 1804 by a largely increased electoral majority. This success was ascribed by his opponents partly to "proscription" and removal of officeholders by the President; but such removals were really few, and seem to have been intended rather as possible precedents than as direct influences. His strongest appeal to popular support was the acquisition of Louisiana, which has been fully considered in the chapter on TERRITORIAL CHANGES (page xxxiii). Four years afterward, in 1807, Fulton's invention of

the steamboat, indefinitely increased the value of Louisiana and of all the West.

Unwise economy was the curse of Jefferson's administrations. As Hamilton had desired a national debt, as an instrument of national union, Jefferson desired to extinguish it, lest it should breed a privileged class. To this purpose every other interest had to give way. Reliance on a navy was abandoned, although the American navy had just proved its quality again by crushing the piratical powers of Barbary; and the "gunboat system," of relying for coast defense on small and exasperatingly useless gunboats, and of abandoning ocean commerce to its fate, became the touchstone of faith in the dominant party. The same policy governed in every department; and when Jefferson's second term closed he left the balance sheet of the country in a most hopeful condition, while its power of self-defense against the insolence of the European belligerents was almost null. Napoleon, by successive decrees, provoked Great Britain to extraordinary excesses in searching neutral vessels, and prohibiting neutral trade with France; and Great Britain was quite willing to be provoked. When the British policy had gone so far as practically to compel all American merchant vessels to stop in England and pay duties there, it became intolerable; and yet the only measure of retaliation proposed by the Administration was the Embargo, which prohibited American commerce on the ocean. It became a law in 1807; but the intensity of the opposition to it in New England, the commercial section, seemed to be running so rapidly toward forcible resistance that it was replaced in 1809 by the Non-intercourse law, which prohibited commerce with Great Britain and France. Even this was an almost hopeless expedient, and, in the event of its failure, there was no other remedy than war.

Madison's Administrations:

1809-17.—The Non-intercourse law provided that it should stand repealed as to either belligerent which would rescind its offensive decrees. Napoleon made a delusive revocation of his decrees, while continuing to enforce them, and the law was repealed as to France. Great Britain refused to rescind, and war was declared against her in 1812. The popular war cry was "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," the first phrase referring to freedom of commerce from foreign interference, not to domestic customs duties, and the latter to the impressment of American seamen. Neither object was recognized in the treaty of peace,

but both obtained security by the brilliant sea fights which marked the war. A nation whose frigates could hold their own in desperate ship duels with the hitherto invincible British frigates, had little need for treaty stipulations as to its seamen's rights on the ocean. The political consequences of the war were most important in domestic relations.

The Federal party had degenerated into a mere party of factious opposition. It opposed indiscriminately the purchase of the territory of Louisiana, the Embargo, the admission of the state of Louisiana, the war, and every other administration measure; in 1812 it supported Clinton, whose main charge against the Administration was its inefficient prosecution of the war. In 1814, some of its New England leaders seem to have entertained a design of seceding from the Union. They succeeded in inducing the legislatures of three states to send delegates to Hartford, Connecticut, to consider the state of the Union; but the action of the Hartford convention was carefully kept within legitimate bounds, and the only result was an ineffective protest against the methods of the party in power.

On the other hand, uncontrolled power broadened the governmental theories of the dominant party. It chartered a new Bank of the United States in 1816, and in the same year passed a protective tariff, and began to incline evidently toward a scheme of internal improvements on a national scale. The war had built up American manufactures rapidly, and the hopes of the manufacturers for protection against English competition, threw them into the ruling party and increased its broad construction tendency, while the stronghold of the Federal party in New England was steadily growing weaker. After an ineffectual attempt to resist the election of Monroe as Madison's successor, the Federal party ceased to exist, even in form; and its members took advantage of Republican divisions to enroll themselves as members of the now universal Republican party.

Monroe's Administrations:

1817-25.—This long period was one of political stagnation. A portion of it is often called the "era of good feeling," as if lack of party contest were good feeling. The only contest was a demoralizing struggle for office between individuals and factions of the one remaining party.

Slavery had been introduced by custom and sanctioned by law, under Spanish and French domination, in the territory of Louisiana, and

Congress had failed to prohibit it. Louisiana had been admitted as a slave state; but the application of Missouri for admission on a like basis aroused opposition, and the whole North, with Delaware, united against it. By the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820, however, Missouri was admitted as a slave state; but the rest of the Louisiana territory, north of latitude 36° 30', was declared forever free.

A scheme of the "Holy Alliance" of European sovereigns to aid Spain in recovering her revolted American colonies, was balked by Great Britain's refusal to join in it, most effectively re-enforced by a passage in Monroe's annual message of 1823. He declared that any such attempt would be considered unfriendly to the United States. The prospects of a trans-Atlantic expedition, which would have to run the gauntlet of both the English and American navies, were not considered good, and the design was abandoned. This was the first instance in which the pronounced objection of the United States received respectful recognition from the great powers. The "Monroe Doctrine," that no European power shall overthrow any recognized form of government on the American continents, has passed into a settled rule of foreign policy for all parties.

The absence of an opposition party resulted in what was known, among all the contestants, as the "scrub race for the presidency" in 1824. All the candidates were nominally Republicans. No one received a majority of the electoral vote, and the choice went to the House of Representatives, where Clay's friends helped elect Adams. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President without serious opposition.

John Quincy Adams' Administration:

1825-9.—Monroe had latterly inclined more and more strongly toward a broad construction policy, particularly in the matter of internal improvements; Adams and his secretary of state, Clay, declared positively in favor of it. This was enough to crystallize all the elements of strict construction into an opposition party, which took Jackson as its most available leader. No means of party warfare was neglected by the opposition; Jackson's popularity, the cry of "bargain and corruption" between Adams and Clay at the last election, and even the promise of offices under the new administration, were used as party weapons with success. Adams refused to employ his powers of appointment and removal to further his own re-election, and was defeated. His supporters took the name of National Republicans, while the "Jackson men" took

that of Democrats. The differentiation of the old name, and the introduction of the new element, were both significant.

Jackson's Administrations: 1829-37.—Nominations by party conventions, which had been introduced into state politics about 1825, were brought into national politics in 1832. Jackson had also introduced the pseudo democratic notion of "rotation in office," the appointment and removal of public servants for party reasons; and this, added to the new convention system, at once produced the "machine." Against it there was but one dangerous antagonist, the Bank of the United States; but the bank was driven into politics and destroyed. A bill to re-charter the bank was passed by Congress, but the President vetoed it, and the bank could never again secure a majority in the House of Representatives. To hurry its dissolution, the President, through the secretary of the treasury, removed the national deposits from the bank, and placed them in state banks; but the House of Representatives supported him even in this, and the bank ceased to exist as a Government institution when its charter expired in 1836. All Jackson's proceedings seemed to his opponents so arbitrary and lawless that they at once took the name of Whigs, as if contending against a royal power which "had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished."

The protective system had been further extended by acts of Congress in 1824 and 1828; and South Carolina, under Calhoun's lead, declared it null and void within that state. Jackson, in his "nullification proclamation," warned the people of the state that blood would flow if the laws were resisted; and the ordinance of nullification was unofficially suspended until a compromise tariff, decreasing by stated percentages for ten years, was framed and passed. The ordinance was then repealed, and though the nullifiers claimed a triumph, nullification, pure and simple, disappeared from American politics.

The abduction of William Morgan, who had revealed the secrets of Freemasonry in western New York, had produced a strong anti-Masonic party in New York and the neighboring states. Jackson and Clay were both Freemasons, and the anti-Masons made separate nominations for the presidency in 1831. They then subsided into the Whig party, but their influence gave the nomination to Harrison thereafter, instead of to Clay.

This period was marked by an entirely new phase of anti-slavery feeling. Hitherto, the

hopes of all who opposed slavery had been limited to "gradual abolition;" Garrison and his followers now began to urge "immediate abolition" upon slaveholders. They used the mails for the transmission of anti-slavery pamphlets and newspapers; they held public meetings in the North; and they petitioned Congress for the prohibition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The discussion of slavery at once took on a bitterness which it had not known before, since it now had a definite meaning.

The material prosperity of the country was unusual. The development of the West, by railway and steamboat, had begun; and the receipts from public land sales were so great that the public debt was paid off, and a surplus of \$28,000,000 was divided among the states.

Van Buren's Administration: 1837-41.—Multitudes of "wild cat banks," without capital or legal supervision, had arisen to take the place of the Bank of the United States; and their notes were used to buy western lands. In 1836 the "specie circular," ordering land agents to take only gold and silver, had been issued by the treasury, and the paper money flowed back for redemption. The result was the "panic of 1837," and a distress so general that the Whigs used it with success to overthrow their opponents in the "log cabin and hard cider campaign" of 1840. Just before the election the Democrats succeeded, after a three years' struggle, in passing the Sub-treasury law. It broke off connection between the Government and the banks, putting collecting and disbursing officers under bonds for the safe-keeping of public moneys.

Anti-slavery petitions to Congress had become so offensive to Southern members that it was agreed, in 1838, to table them in future without reading or discussing them. This interpretation of the right of petition resulted, of course, in greatly increasing the number of the petitions and the bitterness of the anti-slavery conflict. Mob violence was added; and for some years it was not quite safe to hold an abolition meeting in very many parts of the North and West.

Harrison-Tyler Administration: 1841-5.—The new President, Harrison, died a few weeks after his inauguration, and the Vice-President, Tyler, a State Rights Whig, who had been nominated by the Whigs to gain votes at the South, became President. After signing a bill to repeal the Sub-treasury law, he vetoed two bills to re-establish the Bank of the United States, a measure which the

Whigs were determined to accomplish. A violent quarrel ensued between himself and his party, lasting throughout his term of office. This conflict helped to give the presidential election of 1844 to the Democrats; Clay received his third defeat for the office of President, but the election was one of the closest in our history, and was decided by the few thousand votes for the Abolition candidates in New York, which gave the electoral votes of that state to the Democratic candidates. The Democratic national convention had declared in favor of the annexation of Texas, and Congress, immediately after the election, passed an annexation resolution, which was signed by Tyler. Texas accepted it, and entered the Union.

Polk's Administration: 1845-9.

—The war with Mexico, which followed the annexation of Texas, resulted in the acquisition of a vast extent of new territory, stretching from Texas to Oregon. Just at the outbreak of the war, the Oregon boundary dispute with Great Britain had been settled by treaty. The purchase of a small portion of Mexico's remaining northern territory, in 1853, gave the United States a final territorial *status*, which has not since been altered except by the purchase of Alaska in 1867.

The Mexican acquisition again brought up the question of slavery, for a large party at the North would not agree to vote for the appropriation for the purchase unless the "Wilmot Proviso" was added, forbidding slavery in the new territory. The proviso became the basis of a new party, the Free Soil party, in the election of 1848, but the Whigs took advantage of Taylor's popularity, nominated him, and defeated both the Democrats and Free Soilers. During their term of power, the Democrats had been forced to yield in the reception of abolition petitions; but they had re-enacted the Sub-treasury law, which has remained in force since, and had enacted a tariff for revenue only, which was not increased until 1861.

Taylor-Fillmore Administration: 1849-53.

—California, in which gold had been discovered, applied for admission as a free state, and such a practical application of the Wilmot proviso was very offensive to the Southern members. After a debate of nearly a year, the "compromise of 1850" was agreed upon. It comprised the admission of California; a prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; the organization of the territories of Utah and New Mexico without mention of slavery; the payment of \$10,000,000

to Texas for a shadowy claim to a part of the Mexican acquisition, and a stringent fugitive slave law. These measures, originally united in one "omnibus bill," were separated and passed in September, 1850, shortly after Taylor's death. The fugitive slave law, one of hateful form and doubtful constitutionality, was officially accepted by both the Democratic and Whig parties in 1852. This destroyed the Whig party, for it alienated the Northern wing, and did not retain the Southern wing. The Democrats obtained a victory in the presidential election of that year, and their party was again the only national party in the United States.

Pierce's Administration: 1853-7.

—The culmination of the anti-slavery struggle began in 1854 with the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Both these territories were free soil by the Missouri compromise, but the organizing act declared that Congress had no constitutional authority to make that compromise, and that the people of the territories were to decide the existence of slavery among them. Civil war in Kansas accompanied immigration, for both North and South hurried settlers into the territory, and each party soon had its own organization, the free state men a state government, and the pro-slavery men a territorial government; and neither yielded obedience to the rival organization. The Federal Government took sides against the free state men, and dispersed their organization with an armed force. Debates in Congress began to wear an aspect much like that of Kansas; and the anti-slavery feeling had evidently been brought to a head by this one bill. A sudden union of men of all parties at the North, under the name of Anti-Nebraska men, carried a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, and elected the speaker in 1856. In the presidential election of that year, under the name of Republicans, in opposition to the extension of slavery, they nominated Fremont, and came startlingly near electing him. The remnant of the Whigs, commonly called "Silver Gray Whigs," united with a new secret party, the American party (or Know Nothings), opposed to the easy naturalization of foreigners, and nominated Fillmore. The Democrats, who endorsed the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, secured an electoral, though not a popular, majority for Buchanan.

Buchanan's Administration: 1857-61.—Early in Buchanan's term the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case upheld the extreme claims of the

slaveholders that negro slaves were property, not persons, under the intent of the Constitution; that Congress was bound to defend slaveholding in the territories, and that slavery could be prohibited only by the people of a state. This merely hastened the race between the free state and pro-slavery men in Kansas for the control of the Kansas state organization. The latter, by an unscrupulous maneuver, obtained the insertion of a pro-slavery clause in the Lecompton constitution, against the will of the mass of the inhabitants, and sent it to Congress. The administration desired the admission of Kansas as a slave state, under this constitution; but Douglas, with most of the Northern Democrats, refused to follow the administration, and the Lecompton constitution was sent back to the people of Kansas, under the English bill, and voted down. This division in the Democratic party widened into a complete breach in their national convention of 1860, at Charleston. The Southern delegates withdrew and nominated Breckinridge, on a platform asserting the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the territories. The rest of the convention re-assembled at Baltimore and nominated Douglas, simply promising submission to the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Republicans nominated Lincoln on a platform asserting the duty of Congress to suppress slavery in the territories. The remnant of the Whig and American parties, under the name of the Constitutional Union party, nominated Bell, giving "the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws," as their platform. Lincoln was chosen by an electoral, but not by a popular, majority.

The election of Lincoln, with the attempt of John Brown to excite a forcible negro exodus from Virginia in 1859, were reasons with Southern slaveholders for desiring secession. Beginning with South Carolina, they secured state conventions in the seven Gulf states, and gained a majority of the conventions. They then went on, without submitting their proceedings to popular vote, not only to pass ordinances of secession, but to send to Montgomery delegates who formed the "Confederate States of America." The state conventions ratified the Confederate Constitution and adjourned; and their constituents, without having had any voice in the matter, were made subjects of a new national government. The President, who denied equally the right of secession and the right of the Federal Government to coerce states which should attempt to secede, managed by inaction to keep the peace until the end of his term.

Lincoln's Administration: 1861-5.

—The new President, while admitting the right of revolution in case of intolerable oppression, denied the right of secession; but he announced that the Government would be content with securing and re-possessing its forts and other property, and would not force the mails or public service on unwilling states. In April the *status quo* was broken by the capture of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor by the Confederate forces. The Federal Government called for volunteers to suppress individual resistance to the laws; the Confederate States declared war against the United States, and the question of state sovereignty and the right of secession was brought to the last test. The issue resulted in the secession of four of the border states, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas, which joined the Confederacy rather than aid in "coercing" its members.

The military, naval and financial events of the gigantic war which followed are beyond our province; its politics are too great to be complex. At the outset, the population of the North was nearly united in favor of the war and the dominant party promoted this unanimity by taking the name of Union party, instead of that of Republican. Nevertheless, there was a strong feeling among Democrats that the war could have been averted by a new Federal convention; and a portion of them were "Peace Democrats," utterly opposed to the war *ab initio*. As the war went on, as arrests of suspected persons were found or considered necessary, as the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended, as conscription was resorted to in default of volunteering, and as the Government was steadily forced into an attitude of hostility to slavery, the Democratic party opposed the methods of the war, and, in 1864, the war itself. The Republicans were successful in re-electing President Lincoln, with Andrew Johnson as Vice-President; and the Democratic party, though its popular vote was little decreased, came out of the contest at its very lowest ebb of political power.

At the outbreak of the war, the attitude of the Government toward slavery was absolutely neutral. As events advanced, it was impossible for the United States to shut its eyes to, or restrain its hands from, the vulnerable spot of its adversary. Finally, after a notice of one hundred days, the President issued his Emancipation proclamation, January 1, 1863. To make this organic law, Congress proposed the thirteenth amendment in 1865, forever abolishing slavery in the United States.

Financial and political necessities committed the Republican party to the support of a protective tariff in 1860-1, and this has since been one of its cardinal tenets. It was followed, in 1862-3, by the issue of a legal tender paper currency, the establishment of a national banking system, and a policy of Government aid to Western railways, beginning with the Union and Central Pacific railroads.

Johnson's Administration: 1865-9.—The assassination of President Lincoln made Vice-President Johnson his successor. Johnson's position and career were parallel with those of Tyler in 1841. He was a neutral Democrat, elected by Republicans; and his term was passed in a quarrel with his party on the question of reconstruction. His plan, a continuation of that of President Lincoln, under which four states had already been reconstructed, was completed before Congress met in December, 1865. Under it the seceding states reorganized their governments, repealed or annulled the ordinances of secession, repudiated the war debt, and ratified the thirteenth amendment, which thus became a part of the Constitution in December, 1865. Congress, in which the Republicans had a two-thirds majority, passed additional reconstruction measures in 1867, over the veto. Under them the right of suffrage was secured to the freedmen, and the ratification of the fourteenth amendment in 1868, and of the fifteenth amendment in 1870, made these measures a part of the organic law. The quarrel between the President and Congress caused the passage of the Tenure of Office bill, over the veto, in 1867, for the purpose of limiting the power of removal; and the President was impeached for violating it in 1868, in the case of Secretary Stanton, but was acquitted.

Grant's Administrations: 1869-77.—The work of reconstruction was completed in 1870, by the re-admission of the last of the seceding States; but it did not remain long undisturbed. Negro suffrage resulted in shamefully corrupt government; and the whites, who included all the taxpayers, gradually succeeded, by purchase, by terrorism, or by open violence, in overturning the "carpet-bag" governments, and resuming power. Force bills were insufficient to stop the process, and only

alienated a part of the dominant party, who, under the name of Liberal Republicans, made common cause with the Democrats, in 1872, for the election of Greeley, a former Republican leader, to the presidency. He was defeated, and Grant was re-elected. In the election of 1876 the Democrats had control of all the Southern states, except South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, in which the reconstructed governments were only maintained by Federal troops. The Democratic candidate, Tilden, was one electoral vote short of a majority without the votes of these states, which were claimed for him. The state returning boards, to which had been given an extraordinary power of rejecting county votes, decided that the electoral votes of these states had been cast for Hayes. Congress had never fulfilled its duty of passing a general law for the canvass of votes by the president of the Senate, but had asserted, since 1817, its right to canvass them itself. The two houses were now controlled by different parties, and could not agree in a canvass. As the easiest way out of the dilemma, but with great difficulty, an extra-constitutional Electoral Commission was created, whose decision was to be final unless reversed by both houses. It decided that it had no right to alter the return sent by the state; and the Republican candidates were declared elected.

Politics were given a most unpleasant tinge by the appearance of a great number of public scandals, frauds in Pacific railroad construction (Credit Mobilier), in the payment of whisky taxes, and in the Indian bureau. An attempt to strike at their root was made by introducing the principle of competitive examination for appointment to office; but Congress did not acquiesce, and refused to continue the necessary appropriation. The whole of Grant's second term was covered by a severe financial panic, caused by extravagant railroad building. One of its consequences was the appearance of a new party, the Greenback party, which proposed to confine the issue of paper money to the Government, and abolish the banks of issue.

Hayes' Administration: 1877-81.—The term of President Hayes was fortunate in being uneventful. The panic died away. Specie payment was resumed by the Government in 1879. Over a thousand million dollars of the public debt was placed at lower rates of

interest. Competitive examinations for the public service were again attempted. Finally there was peace at the South, for all Federal support had been withdrawn from the reconstructed governments, they had changed hands, and the South was solidly Democratic. There were but two breaks in the monotony. In 1878 both parties united to remonetize silver, which had been dropped from the coinage in 1873. In 1878-9, the Democratic majority in Congress attempted to attach repeals of some war legislation to the appropriation bills; but the bills were vetoed, and the majority, not being two-thirds, was compelled to yield. The election of 1880 turned largely on the tariff, and the Republicans were successful.

Garfield-Arthur Administration: 1881-5.—The new President began his administration with a quarrel with the two New York senators, who asserted a prescriptive right to supervise the Federal appointments in their state. In the midst of it, the President was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, July 2, 1881. After eighty days of agony, manfully endured, he died, September 19. He was succeeded by Vice-President Arthur, who gave the country a discreet, uneventful, and highly satisfactory administration. The general liking for the dead President, and the universal horror at his taking off, opened the eyes of the people to the fundamental iniquity of the vaunted system of "rotation in office," which had been the moving cause of the assassination. This result reacted on the politicians at once; and it was as difficult in 1884 to find a politician professedly opposed to civil service reform, as in 1880 to find one professedly in favor of it. The competitive system was put in force in the national service by Congress and the President, and was also adopted in the service of the larger states, and even in their cities.

The economic condition of the South has made it clearly evident to its own people that free labor is an enormous improvement on slave labor. The census of 1880, on which this volume is based, bears abundant testimony not only to the economic welfare of all sections of the Union, but to the economic advantage of the current of American history, which has been toward the conservation of national supremacy and state rights, and the excision of the excrescence of state sovereignty.