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From the original painting, made in 1796, by Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), known as the "Athenæum Portrait," now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Larned's
History of the World
or
Seventy Centuries
of the Life of Mankind

A SURVEY OF HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS
THROUGH ALL STAGES OF CIVILIZATION, IN ALL
IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, DOWN TO
THE PRESENT TIME

*WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF PREHISTORIC
PEOPLES, AND WITH CHARACTER SKETCHES
OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES OF EACH
HISTORIC EPOCH*

BY J. N. LARNED

EDITOR OF THE FAMOUS "HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE," AND AUTHOR OF
"A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS,"
"A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS," ETC.

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CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE DEATH OF CROMWELL TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE

(1658 to 1715)

England: Restored monarchy.—Ignoble reign of Charles II.—Protestant hostility to James II.—Monmouth's rebellion.—Revolution of 1688.—Reign of William of Orange and Mary.—Reign of Queen Anne.—Rise of ministerial government.—Literature of the reign.—National union of England and Scotland. *The Dutch Netherlands:* William of Orange, stadtholder.—His organization of resistance to Louis XIV. *France:* Reign of Louis XIV.—His perfidious conquests and wanton aggressions.—His revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—Leagues formed against him by William of Orange.—War of the Spanish Succession.—State of France as left by Louis XIV. *Germany:* Depressed condition of the petty states.—Rise of Prussia to the rank of a kingdom. *Russia:* Advent of Peter the Great. *Sweden:* Extraordinary career of Charles XII. *Italy:* The duke of Savoy made king of Sardinia. *America:* Founding of the Carolinas.—English conquest of New Netherland.—Penn and Pennsylvania.—Political character of the English colonies.—Designs against them by the restored English monarchy.—The Massachusetts charter annulled.—Rule of Andros.—Effects of the English revolution.—The Franco-English wars in America.—Growth of antagonism between the colonies and the home government. *India:* First footing of the English East India Company obtained. *China:* Reign of Kanghi.

Seemingly, the attempt in England to curb an oppressive monarchy and secure constitutional government had resulted in nothing but a fatal discouragement of political hopes, there and abroad. Triumphant absolutism appeared to have been fortified in all its citadels by a new buttress of hard fact. In France and in Germany it rose rampant and defiant, to an insolence of spirit that had never been manifested since the worst days of imperial Rome; and everywhere, for nearly a generation, the prospects of constitutional government, protective of popular rights and interests, seemed newly cast down. But, happily, the reaction was not lasting. It ended

The
temporary
triumphs of
absolutism.

in the generation on which it fell, and a fresh culture of democratic ideas and aspirations was soon thriving in most parts of the civilized world.

Restored monarchy in England

When, in May, 1660, the English nation restored its ancient monarchy, and welcomed Charles II. to the throne from which his father had been cast down, it was tired of a military despotism; tired of Puritan austerity; tired of revolution and political uncertainty;—so tired that it threw itself down at the feet of the most worthless member of the most worthless royal family in its history, and gave itself up to him without a condition or a guarantee. For twenty-five years it endured both oppression and disgrace at his hands. It suffered him to make a brothel of his court; to empty the national purse into the pockets of his shameless mistresses and debauched companions; to revive the ecclesiastical tyranny of Laud; to make a crime of the religious creeds and the worship of more than half his subjects; to sell himself and sell the honor of England to the king of France for a secret pension, and to be in every possible way as ignoble and despicable as his father had been arrogant and false.

With the king, the king's party came back to power, took control of parliament, and reveled in works of ignoble revenge. Fourteen of the prominent Roundheads—mostly "regicides," as the judges of the late king were called—were put to death, and those already dead were pursued

Charles II.,
1660-1685

Macaulay,
*History of
England,*
I : ch. ii-iii

Airy, *The
English
Revolution
and Louis
XIV.*

The
royalists'
revenge

shamefully in their graves. The body of Cromwell was dragged from its tomb in Westminster Abbey to be hanged, and the bodies of Pym, Blake, and others, were disinterred and flung into pits. The spirit of vengeance was nowhere else so rampant as in the church. By one act of parliament, in 1662, every clergyman and teacher was required to give an "unfeigned assent and consent" to everything contained in the prayer-book of the established church, and 2,000 "Nonconformists" who could not do so were driven from their pulpits and chairs. By another act, no Nonconformist minister was permitted to come within five miles of a town or place in which he had preached or taught. By still another, attendance at any religious meeting of more than five persons, conducted otherwise than according to the forms of the church of England, was made a crime, punishable by imprisonment or transportation.

Persecution
of non-
conformists

The king, who was secretly a Catholic, and who wished to give freedom to Catholic rites, claimed authority to relax or dispense with such intolerant laws, by a royal "declaration of indulgence," and hoped to receive support from the Nonconformists, if he extended that favor in common to them and to the members of the church of Rome. But the persecuted Protestants were not at all willing to share a royal "indulgence" with the Romanists, whose persecution they approved.

Secret
Catholic-
ism of the
king

The fact that the king's brother, and probable

successor, the duke of York, was avowedly a Catholic, and that the king himself was believed to be the same in his secret belief, so far as he had any religious belief, was a cause of great anxiety of feeling, as the reign went on. That anxiety became alarm when it was discovered that Charles, in 1670, had entered into a secret treaty with Louis XIV., of France, preparatory to a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion. The treaty pledged large yearly payments of money to him, and the help of French troops, in case his subjects should rebel; in return for which he was to assist the king of France in a projected subjugation of the Dutch. This discovery gave a quick impetus to the growth of a party in parliament, called the Country party, which had been gathering numbers for some time, in opposition to the king and court.

Unfortunately, the better aims of the Country party, led by Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell, became mixed with the lower ones of a movement of popular agitation against the king that was set on foot by the earl of Shaftesbury, the most scheming and adroit politician of the age. Still more unfortunately, a wretch named Titus Oates came on the scene, in 1678, with stories of a pretended "popish plot," which excited the Protestant alarm in the country to a panic pitch. On the perjured testimony of Oates and other creatures who confirmed his tales, some two thousand Catholics, accused of complicity in a gigantic conspiracy with foreigners against the

Avowed
Catholic-
ism of his
brother

The Coun-
try party

Shaftes-
bury

The
pretended
"popish
plot,"
1678-1679

English constitution and the Protestant faith, were imprisoned, and seventeen were put to death.

When the frenzy was spent, and the falsity of the stories that gave rise to it became apparent, a great reaction of public feeling occurred, which broke the strength of the opposition to the king, and made him all-powerful for the brief remainder of his reign. Attempts to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the crown lost popular support; Shaftesbury had to fly to Holland; London, his stronghold, was deprived of its charter, and several other cities fared the same. Not long afterward, Sidney and Russell, accused of some shadowy implication in a project (known as the Rye House Plot) for the seizure and possible murder of the king and the duke of York, were brought to the block.

Reaction in
public
feeling

Execution
of Sidney
and
Russell,
1683

It was in this period that the supporters of the king and court began to be called Tories and their opponents styled Whigs. Both names were meaningless in their political application, the word "tory," coming from Ireland, signifying an outlaw, while "whig" was a Scottish word, meaning sour whey.

Tories and
Whigs

Before the Whigs lost control of parliament, they passed, in 1679, the famous Habeas Corpus Act, which established, finally, an old principle of the English common law, that untried prisoners must be brought on demand before a judge, for investigation of the grounds on which they are held.

The
Habeas
Corpus
Act, 1679
Larned
*History for
Ready
Reference*
(Full text)

An ignoble
reign

The ignoble reign of Charles II. left this one important gift of good to England; there is hardly another to be found. It is a reign marked in the English annals by many pollutions, and many shames, including the shame of the king who took pay from a foreign sovereign for dishonorable services, and the shame of a war with Holland, in which the navy, that Blake and Cromwell left invincible, had so suffered from royal wastefulness and official corruption that it could not defend the Thames from a Dutch invasion and London from some days of blockade. It is marked, likewise, by two dire calamities: the plague of 1665 and the great fire which half destroyed London, in 1666. Its quarter century of evil memory came to an end in February, 1685, when Charles died, leaving no legitimate child.

The plague
and the
great fire,
1665-1666

Sufferings
of Scotland

Scotland suffered more than England in this mean reign. Presbyterianism was abolished and an episcopal church system set up; but certain presbyterian ministers who obtained an "indulgence" were permitted to preach. The strict Scottish "Covenanters" would not listen to these "indulged" preachers, and persisted in resorting to secret meetings, in the mountains and on the moors. For years there was no other rebellion on their part than the endeavor to meet their chosen pastors and unite in prayers and psalms; but they were hunted by wild Highlanders, shot, hanged, imprisoned and tortured, till they took arms in their own defense. Under the direction of the earl of Lauderdale, one of King Charles's

Persecution
of the
Cove-
nanters

favorite ministers, the most energetic and merciless persecutor of the Covenanters was John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who won an evil fame in the work. Claverhouse suffered a sharp defeat at the hands of the maddened Covenanters at Drumclog, in May, 1669. In the last years of the persecution it was directed by the duke of York, who was put at the head of the Scottish government in 1681.

Claverhouse

The prospects of neither England nor Scotland were improved in 1685 by the accession of the duke of York to the two thrones, on one of which he was James II., on the other James VII. James had more honesty than his brother or his father; but the narrowness and the meanness of the Stuart race were in his blood. His religion was dull bigotry, and he opposed it to the Protestantism of the kingdom with an aggressiveness that showed he had learned nothing from his father's fate. In the first year of his reign there was a rebellion undertaken, in the interest of a bastard son of Charles II., called duke of Monmouth; but it was put down savagely, first by force of arms, at Sedgemoor, and afterward by the "bloody assizes" of the ruthless Judge Jeffreys, of evil fame. Encouraged by this success against his enemies, James began to ignore the "Test Act," which excluded Catholics from office, and to surround himself by men of his own religion. The Test Act was an unrighteous law, and the "Declaration of Indulgence" which James issued, for the toleration of Catholics and

James II.,
1685-1688

Macaulay,
*History of
England*,
ch. iv-x

The
Monmouth
rebellion,
1685

Declara-
tion of
Indulgence,
1687

Dissenters, was just in principle, according to the ideas of later times; but the action of the king with respect to both was, nevertheless, a gross and threatening violation of law. England had submitted to worse conduct from Charles II., but its Protestant temper was now roused, and the loyalty of the subject was consumed by the fierceness of the churchman's wrath. James's daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, prince of Orange, were invited from Holland to come over and displace the obnoxious father from his throne. They accepted the invitation, November, 1688; the nation rose to welcome them; James fled,—and the great Revolution, which ended arbitrary monarchy in England forever, and established constitutional government on clearly defined and lasting bases, was accomplished without the shedding of a drop of blood.

The
revolution.
Flight of
King
James, 1688

Ireland in
arms for
King
James,

Ireland was not submissive to the English revolution. King James had put the Catholics of that island in power, giving them a few years of opportunity to oppress, as they had been oppressed. They rose against the new English government, not so much for King James as for themselves, to improve what seemed to be a favorable time for revolt. The fugitive king came from France to their help, in the spring of 1689, with an extensive equipment of ships, arms, officers and money, supplied to him by his good friend, Louis XIV., and there were two years and more of Irish war. The important incidents of

Siege of
London-
derry, 1689

the war were the siege of the Protestant city of Londonderry, which held out for three months, with resolute endurance of starvation and disease; the decisive battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st of July, 1690, and won by King William, in personal command, against the Irish and French army of James; and the reduction of Limerick, in October, 1691, which ended the war. By a treaty then signed at Limerick, the Catholic Irish were promised a small measure of religious freedom, and were assured that submission should save them from a confiscation of estates. But, no sooner was a Protestant parliament reseatd at Dublin than it brushed the treaty of Limerick aside, and proceeded, with infamous perfidy, to the most malignant measures of oppression that the long suffering island had yet known. Catholic Ireland was crushed. Says Macaulay: "There was peace. The domination of the colonists [that is, the Protestant colonists of the 'plantation of Ulster' and the 'Cromwellian settlement'] was absolute. The native population was tranquil with the ghastly tranquillity of despair. There were indeed outrages, robberies, fire-raising, assassinations. But more than a century passed away without one general insurrection. . . . Nor was this submission the effect of content, but of mere stupefaction and brokenness of heart."

Battle of the Boyne, 1690

Treaty of Limerick, 1691

Catholic Ireland crushed

Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. xvii

By an act of parliament, passed in February, 1689, William and Mary were declared to be jointly king and queen; but full regal power was

William III. and Mary II., 1689-1702

conferred on the former, to be exercised in the name of both. "Thus the ancient right of the English people to regulate the hereditary succession of royal-born persons in their monarchy was exercised once more, and established for all time. At the same time, in the same instrument, a broad declaration of the principles of constitutional government, which the late kings had violated obstinately, was made by Parliament and accepted by the new sovereigns, 'so that the right of the king to his crown and of the people to their liberties might rest upon one and the same title-deed.' " In the following October, parliament embodied the Declaration in a Bill of Rights, which takes its place with Magna Carta and the Petition of Right in forming what has been called "the legal constitutional code" of English government. It named the queen's sister, Princess Anne, as the successor to King William and Queen Mary, if the latter should leave no children, and it excluded from the throne every person belonging to the Roman church, or married to one in that church.

"The immense importance, however, of the political revolution of 1688 is not found in the enactments of constitutional law to which it led, so much as in the changed state of mind that it forced upon the people. That obstinate and fatal superstition of loyalty which had looked upon a king as a sacred personage, divinely gifted with an authority that none could resist without sin, had no root left in the English mind.

Macaulay,⁷
History of
England,
ch. xi-xxv

The Bill of
Rights,
1689
Larned,
History for
Ready
Reference
(Full text)

Extinction¹
of super-
stitious
loyalty

Larned,
History of
England,
485-6

The church, which planted that superstition, had now helped to tear it away."

The succession to the crown after Princess Anne was determined by a later act of parliament (the "Act of Settlement"), which positively barred the return of James II. or his descendants to the throne. Queen Mary was then dead, without offspring, and the last of the children of Anne had died in the previous year. By the provisions of the Act of Settlement, one of the children of Elizabeth (called queen of Bohemia), daughter of James I., was made the next heir to the crown after Anne. This granddaughter of the first king James, named Sophia, married to the elector of Hanover, was the only remaining Protestant (excepting Anne) in the Stuart family, and she and her descendants were appointed for that reason to be the future occupants of the English throne.

Act of Settlement, 1701

Queen Mary died in 1694, and King William in 1702. The more important events of their reign are connected with the European combinations against Louis XIV., of France, in which King William bore the leading part, and which involved England in wars, especially affecting her colonies in the New World. These will be told of in another place.

Deaths of Mary and William, 1694, 1702

With no open opposition, Queen Anne received the English crown on the death of King William, as the Act of Settlement had prescribed, and her reign of twelve years was made remarkably important by the mere fact that her character had

Queen Anne, 1702-1714

Morris, *The Age of Anne*

Rise of the
system of
ministerial
govern-
ment

little force. She fell naturally into the background of English politics; the executive functions of government became attached to her ministers more positively and conspicuously than had ever been possible before. For other reasons, as we shall see, the next two successors of Queen Anne were subjected to a similar eclipse by their ministers; and the peculiar English system of ministerial government, in which all executive activity and responsibility were taken from the nominal sovereign, was given half a century of favoring circumstances in which it was to be shaped and fixed in its existing form.

The genesis
of English
political
parties

In the same important period, the political parties which provide a needed mechanism for the system of ministerial government were acquiring, for the first time, a distinctly organized form. Down to the later years of the sixteenth century there were no political parties in England. There were factions that supported great personages or families in their ambitious strifes, but nothing in the nature of a spontaneous division of people by differing opinions, on matters connected with public affairs. The beginning of such divisions appeared first in the reign of Elizabeth, and they were deepened very fast in the time of the first Stuarts and the Cromwellian years; but the animus of parties through all that period was religious far more than political. The strictly political parties date from the reign of Charles II., when Whigs and Tories were lined up in an opposing array that has kept the field in English

politics, through many changes of aim and name, to the present day. In Anne's reign the structure of the parties became definite and distinct, and that of the Whigs was solidified to a strength that kept control of the government for nearly fifty years.

The reign of Anne is one of the shining epochs in English literature, and a singular characteristic of the great writers of that age is the political inspiration of so much of their work. At no other time has so high an order of literary genius been enlisted in party warfare; and never have such masterpieces of literary art been produced in party disputes as were contributed then to enduring literature by Swift, Addison, Steele, Defoe, Arbuthnot, and Gay.

One event of great historical importance occurred in the reign of Queen Anne. For a century the crowns of England and Scotland had been united, but the political distinctness of the two kingdoms had been maintained, except during six years of the Cromwellian régime. Now, 1707, a complete union of the English and Scottish peoples in one nation, to be styled the Kingdom of Great Britain, was brought about. The English parliament became a British parliament, with forty-five Scottish members added to its house of commons, and sixteen elected Scottish peers brought into its house of lords; while the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were conjoined in a British flag.

Literature
of Queen
Anne's
reign

Union of
England
and Scot-
land in the
"Kingdom
of Great
Britain,"
1707

The House of Orange and the Dutch Republic

William of Orange, to whom the English people had given a place in the line of their kings, was holding at the same time the nearly regal office of stadtholder in Holland, as the United Provinces were called more commonly than by their proper name. After a suspension of twenty-one years, that office had been restored, under tragical circumstances, in 1672. During the period of the suspension, the government of the confederacy, administered by the grand pensionary of the Holland province, John de Witt, and controlled by the wealthy commercial class, was successful in promoting the general prosperity of the provinces, and in advancing their maritime importance and power. It conducted two wars with England—one with the commonwealth and one with the restored monarchy—and could claim at least an equal share of the naval glory won in each. But it neglected the land defense of the country, and was found unprepared in 1672, when the Provinces were attacked by a villainous combination, formed between Louis XIV., of France, and his English pensioner, Charles II. The republic, humbled and distressed by the rushing conquests of the French, fixed its hopes upon the young prince of Orange, heir to the prestige of a great historic name, and turned its wrath against the party of De Witt. The prince was made stadtholder, despite the opposition of John De Witt, and the latter, with his brother Cornelius, was murdered by a mob at Amsterdam.

The stadtholdership restored, 1672

Pontalis,
John De Witt

The Provinces attacked by Louis XIV., 1672

Murder of the DeWitts 1672

William of Orange proved both wise and heroic as a leader, and the people were roused to a new energy of resistance by his appeals and his example. They cut their dykes and flooded the land, subjecting themselves to unmeasured distress and loss, but stopping the French advance, until time was gained for awakening public feeling in Europe against the aggressions of the unscrupulous French king. Then William of Orange began that which was to be his great and important mission in life,—the organizing of resistance to Louis XIV. The revolution of 1688-9 in England, which gave the crown of that kingdom to William and his wife Mary, contributed greatly to his success, and was an event almost as important in European politics at large as it was in the constitutional history of Great Britain.

William of
Orange
against
Louis XIV.

France under Louis XIV.

From 1661 until 1715, Louis XIV. was the absolute ruler of France, and during that long period, of more than half a century, his unscrupulous ambition gave little opportunity for western and central Europe to make any other history than that of struggle and battle, invasion and devastation, intrigue and faithless diplomacy, shifting of political landmarks and traffic in border populations, as though they were pastured cattle and sheep.

When Philip IV., of Spain, died, in 1665, Louis began promptly to put forward the claims which he had pledged himself not to make. He de-

The perfidy
of Louis
XIV.

manded part of the Netherlands, and Franche Comté—the old county (not the duchy) of Burgundy—as belonging to his queen. It was his good fortune to be served by some of the greatest generals, military engineers and administrators of the day,—by Turenne, Condé, Vauban, Louvois, and others,—and when he sent his armies of invasion into Flanders and Franche Comté they carried all before them. Holland took alarm at these aggressions, which came so near to her, and formed an alliance with England and Sweden to assist Spain. But the unprincipled English king, Charles II., was bribed to betray his ally; Sweden was bought over; Spain submitted to a treaty which gave the Burgundian county back to her, and surrendered an important part of the Spanish Netherlands to France. Louis' first exploit of national brigandage had thus been a glorious success, as glory is defined in the vocabulary of sovereigns of his class. He had stolen several valuable towns, killed some thousands of people, carried misery into the lives of some thousands more, and provoked the Dutch to a challenge of war that seemed promising of more glory of like kind.

His first
exploit of
brigandage,
1667-1668

The spoil
and the
victims

In 1672 he prepared himself to chastise the Dutch, and his English pensioner, Charles II., with several German princes, joined him in the war. It was this war, as related already, which brought about the fall and the death of John de Witt, grand pensionary of Holland; which raised William of Orange to the restored stadtholder-

His attack
on Holland,
1672-1678

ship, and which gave him a certain leadership of influence in Europe, as against the French king. It was this war, likewise, which gave the Hohenzollerns their first great battle triumph, in the defeat of the Swedes, the allies of the French, at Fehrbellin. For Frederick William, the "great elector," had joined the emperor Leopold and the king of Spain in another league with Holland, to resist the aggressions of France; while Sweden now took sides with Louis.

Battle of
Fehrbellin,
1675

England was soon withdrawn from the contest, by the determined action of parliament, which forced its king to make peace. Otherwise the war became general in western Europe and was frightful in the death and misery it cost. Generally the French had the most success. Turenne was killed in 1675 and Condé retired the same year; but able commanders were found, in Luxemburg and Crequi, to succeed them. In opposition to William of Orange, the Dutch made peace at Nimeguen, in 1678, and Spain was forced to give up Franche Comté, with another fraction of her Netherland territories; but Holland lost nothing. Again Louis XIV. had beaten and robbed his neighbors with success, and was at the pinnacle of his glory. France, it is true, was oppressed and exhausted, but her king was a "grand monarch," and she must needs be content.

Successes
of "the
grand
monarch"

For a few years the grand monarch contented himself with small filchings of territory, which kept his conscience supple and gave practice to

Minor
aggressions
of Louis
XIV.

his sleight-of-hand. On one pretext and another he seized town after town in Alsace, and, at last, in 1681, surprised and captured the imperial free city of Strasburg, in a time of entire peace. He bombarded Genoa, took Avignon from the pope, bullied and abused feeble Spain, made large claims on the Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law, but against her will, and did nearly what he was pleased to do, without any effective resistance, until after William of Orange had been called to the English throne. That completed a great change in the European situation.

Revocation
of the Edict
of Nantes,
1685

The change had been more than half brought about already, by a foul and foolish measure which Louis had adopted in his domestic administration. Cursed with a tyrant's impatience at the idea of free thought and free opinion among his subjects, he had been persuaded by zealots near his person to revoke the Edict of Nantes and revive persecution of the Huguenots. This was done in 1685. The fatal effects within France resembled those which followed the persecution of the Moriscoes of Spain. The Huguenots formed a large proportion of the best middle class of the kingdom,—its manufacturers, its merchants, its skilled and thrifty artisans. Violent efforts were made to detain them in the country, and there force them to apostasy or hold them under punishment if they withstood. But there was not power enough in the monarchy, with all its absolutism, to inclose France in such a wall. Vast numbers escaped—half a million, it is

Exodus of
Huguenots

thought—carrying their skill, their knowledge, their industry and their energy into Holland, England, Switzerland, all parts of Protestant Germany, and across the ocean to America. France was half ruined by the loss.

Poole,
History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion

At the same time, the Protestant allies in Germany and the north, whom Louis had held in subserviency to himself so long, were angered and alarmed by his act. They joined a new defensive league against him, formed at Augsburg, in 1686, which embraced the emperor, Spain, Holland and Sweden, at first, and afterward took in Savoy and other Italian states, along with Germany, almost entire. But the league was miserably unprepared for war, and hardly hindered the march of Louis' armies when he suddenly moved them into the Rhenish electorates in 1688. For the second time in his reign, and under his orders, the Palatinate was devastated horribly with fire and sword. But this attack on Germany, occupying the arms of France, gave William of Orange his opportunity to enter England unopposed and take the English crown. That accomplished, he brought England into the league, enlarging it to a "grand alliance" of all western Europe against the dangerous monarch of France.

War of the League of Augsburg, 1686-1697

Macaulay,
History of England,
ch. xi, xix-xxii

Ranke,
History of England, 17th century,
5 : bk. 20,
ch. i

France had now to deal with enemies on every side. They swarmed on all her frontiers, and she met them with amazing valor and strength. For three years the French more than held their own, not only in land fighting, but on the sea, where they seemed likely, for a time, to dispute the

France against western Europe

supremacy of the English and the Dutch with success. But the frightful draft made on the resources of the nation, and the strain on its spirit, were more than could be kept up. The obstinacy of the king, and his indifference to the sufferings of his people, prolonged the war until 1697, but with steady loss to the French of the advantages with which they began. Two years before the end, Louis had bought over the duke of Savoy, by giving back to him all that France had taken from his Italian territories since Richelieu's time. When the final peace was settled, at Ryswick, like surrenders had to be made in the Netherlands, Lorraine, and beyond the Rhine; but Alsace, with Strasburg, was kept, to be a German graft on France, until the sharp Prussian pruning knife, in our own time, cut it away.

Treaty of
Ryswick,
1697

There were five years of peace after the treaty of Ryswick, and then a new war—longer, more bitter, and more destructive than those before it—arose out of questions connected with the succession to the crown of Spain. Charles II., last of the Austro-Spanish or Spanish-Hapsburg kings, died in 1700, leaving no heir. The nearest of his relatives to the throne were the descendants of his two sisters, one of whom had married Louis XIV. and the other the emperor Leopold of the Austrian house. Louis XIV., as we know, had renounced all the Spanish rights of his queen and her issue; but that renunciation had been shown already to be wasted paper. Leopold had

War of the
Spanish
Succession,
1702-1714

Macaulay,
Essays;
Mahon's
*War of the
Succession*

Lecky,
*History of
England*,
18th
century,
ch. I

renounced nothing; but he had required a renunciation of her Spanish claims from the one daughter, Maria, of his Spanish wife, and he put forward claims to the Spanish succession, on his own behalf, because his mother had been a princess of that nation, as well as his wife. He was willing, however, to transfer his own rights to a younger son, fruit of a second marriage, the archduke Charles.

The question of the Spanish succession was one of European interest and importance, and attempts had been made to settle it two years before the death of the Spanish king, in 1698, by a treaty, or agreement, between France, England and Holland. By that treaty these outside powers (not consulting Spain) undertook a partition of the Spanish monarchy, in what they assumed to be the interest of the European balance of power. In Spain, this proceeding was resented, naturally, by both people and king, and the latter was persuaded to set against it a will, bequeathing all that he ruled to the younger grandson of Louis XIV., Philip of Anjou, on condition that the latter renounce for himself and for his heirs all claims to the crown of France. The inducement to this bequest was the power which the king of France possessed to enforce it, and so to preserve the unity of the Spanish realm. That the argument and the persuasion came from Louis' own agents, while other agents amused England, Holland and Austria with treaties of partition, is tolerably clear.

Attempted
partition of
Spain by
treaty, 1698

The
Spanish
king's will

Near the end of the year 1700, the king of Spain died; his will was disclosed; the treaties were as coolly ignored as the prior renunciation had been, and the young French prince was sent pompously into Spain to accept the proffered crown. For a time, there was indignation in Europe, but no more. William of Orange could persuade neither England nor Holland to war, and Austria could not venture hostilities without their help. But that submissiveness only drew from the grand monarch fresh displays of his dishonesty and his insolence. The government of Spain was guided from Paris like that of a dependency of France. Dutch and English commerce was injured by hostile measures. Movements alarming to Holland were made on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands. Finally, when the fugitive ex-king of England, James II., died at St. Germain, in September, 1701, Louis acknowledged James's son, called "the pretender," as king of England. This insult roused the war spirit in England which King William had striven so hard to evoke. He had arranged the terms of a new defensive grand alliance with Holland, Austria, and most of the German states; there was no difficulty now in making it an offensive league.

A French prince on the Spanish throne

England insulted, 1701

Death of William, Outbreak of war, 1702

But William, always weak in health, and worn by many cares and harassing troubles, died in March, 1702, before the war that he desired had broken out. His death made no pause in the movement of events. Able statesmen, under

Queen Anne, his successor, carried forward his policy, and a great soldier was found, in the person of John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, to command the armies of England and the Dutch. Another commander, of remarkable genius, Prince Eugene of Savoy, took service with the emperor, and these two, acting cordially together, humbled the overweening pride of Louis XIV. in the later years of his reign. He had worn out France by his long exactions. His strong ministers, Colbert, Louvois, and others, were dead, and he did not find successors equal to their work. He had able generals, but none equal to Turenne, Condé or Luxemburg,—none to cope with Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The war was widespread, on a stupendous scale, and it lasted for twelve years. Its campaigns were fought in the Low Countries, in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain. It glorified the reign of Anne, in English history, by the shining victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, and by the capture of Gibraltar, the padlock of the Mediterranean Sea. The misery to which France was reduced in the later years of the war was probably the greatest that the much suffering nation ever knew.

Marl-
borough
and Prince
Eugene

Wide-
spread
war

Misery of
France

Louis sought peace, and was willing to go far in surrenders to obtain it. But the allies pressed him too hard in their demands. They would have him not only abandon the Bourbon dynasty that he had set up in Spain, but join them in overthrowing it. He refused to negotiate on such

terms, and Fortune approved his resolution, by giving decisive victories to his arms in Spain, while dealing out disaster and defeat in every other field. England grew weary of the war when it came to appear endless, and Marlborough and the Whigs, who had carried it on, were ousted from power. The Tories, under Harley and Bolingbroke, came into office and negotiated the famous Peace of Utrecht, in which all of the belligerents except the emperor were joined. The emperor yielded to a supplementary treaty, signed at Rastadt the next year.

Treaties of
Utrecht
and
Rastadt,
1713-1714

These treaties left the Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V., on his throne, but bound him, by fresh renunciations, not to be likewise king of France. They gave to England Gibraltar and Minorca, at the expense of Spain, and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, at the expense of France. They took much more from Spain. They took Sicily, which they gave to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; they took Naples, Milan, Mantua and Sardinia, which they gave to Austria, or, more strictly speaking, to the emperor; and they took the Spanish Netherlands, which they gave to Austria in the main, with some barrier towns to the Dutch. They took from France her conquests on the right bank of the Rhine; but they left her in possession of Alsace, with Strasburg and Landau. The great victim of the war was Spain.

Gerard,
*The Peace
of Utrecht*

Losses of
Spain and
France by
the war

Louis XIV. was near the end of his reign when this last of the fearful wars which he caused was

brought to a close. He died in September, 1715, leaving a kingdom that had reasons to curse his memory in every particular of its state. He had foiled the exertions of as wise a minister, Jean Colbert, as ever strove to do good to France. He had dried the sources of national life as with a searching and monstrous sponge. He had repressed everything which he could not absorb in his flaunting court, in his destroying armies, and in himself. He had dealt with France as with a dumb beast that had been given him to bestride; to display himself upon, before the gaze of an envious world; to be bridled, and spurred at his pleasure, and whipped; to toil for him and bear burdens as he willed; to tread upon his enemies and trample his neighbors' fields. It was he, more than all others before or after, who made France that dumb creature which suffered and was still for a little longer time, and then began thinking and went mad.

France at
the death
of Louis
XIV., 1715

The dumb
creature
that went
mad

Germany after the Thirty Years War

In a natural order of things, Germany should have supplied the main resistance to Louis XIV. and held his unscrupulous ambition in check. But Germany had fallen to its lowest state of political demoralization and disorder. The very idea of nationality had disappeared. The empire, even reduced to a frame and a form, had almost vanished from practical affairs. The numerous petty states which divided the German people stood apart from one another, in sub-

stantial independence, and were sundered by small jealousies and distrusts. Little absolute principalities they were, each having its little court, which aped, in a little way, the grand court of the grand monarch of France—central object of the admiration and the envy of all small souls in its time. Half of them were ready to bow down to the splendid being at Versailles, and to be his creatures, if he condescended to bestow a nod of patronage and attention upon them.

Petty courts
aping the
court of
France

More and more distinctly the emperor drew apart in his immediate dominions as an Austrian sovereign; and more and more completely Austrian interests and Austrian policy became removed and estranged from the interests of the Germanic people. The ambitions and the cares of the house of Hapsburg were increasingly in directions most opposite to the German side of its relations, tending towards Italy and the south-east; while, at the same time, the church influence which depressed the Austrian states widened a hopeless intellectual difference between them and the Germans of the north.

Alienation
of Austria

The most notable movements in dull German affairs, after the Peace of Westphalia, were those which connected themselves with the settling and centering in Brandenburg of a nucleus of growing power, around which the nationalizing of Germany has been a crystallizing process ever since. The Mark of Brandenburg was one of the earliest conquests (tenth century) of the Germans from the Wends. Prussia, afterward united with

Rise and
union of
Brandenburg
and
Prussia

Brandenburg, was a later conquest (thirteenth century) from Wendish or Slavonic and other pagan inhabitants, and its subjugation was a missionary enterprise, accomplished by the crusading order of Teutonic Knights, under the authority and direction of the pope. The order, which held the country for more than two centuries, and ruled it badly, became degenerate, and, about the middle of the fifteenth century, it was overcome in war by Casimir IV. of Poland, who took away from it the western part of its territory, and forced it to do homage to him for the eastern part, as a fief of the Polish crown.

Carlyle,
*History of
Friedrich*
II., 1 : bk.
2-3

Sixty years later, the Reformation movement in Germany brought about the extinguishment of the Teutonic order as a political power. The grand master of the order at that time was Albert, a Hohenzollern prince, belonging to a younger branch of the Brandenburg family. He became a Lutheran, and succeeded in persuading the Polish king, Sigismund I., to transfer the sovereignty of the east Prussian fief to him, personally, as a duchy. He transmitted it to his descendants, who held it for a few generations; but the line became extinct in 1618, and the duchy of Prussia then passed to the elder branch of the family and was united with the electorate of Brandenburg, which the Hohenzollern family had acquired in 1417.

Aggrand-
izement of
the Hohen-
zollerns

The superior weight of the Brandenburg electors in northern Germany may be dated from their acquisition of the important duchy of

"The great
elector,"
1640-1688

Ranke,
*Memoirs of
the House of
Branden-
burg*, I : ch.
iii

Prussia; but they made no mark on affairs until the time of Frederick William I., called "the great elector," who succeeded to the electorate in 1640, near the close of the Thirty Years War. In the arrangements of the Peace of Westphalia he secured east Pomerania and other considerable additions of territory. In 1657 he made his duchy of Prussia independent of Poland, by treaty with the Polish king. In 1672 and 1674 he had the courage and independence to join the allies against Louis XIV., and when the Swedes, in alliance with Louis, invaded his dominions, he defeated and humbled them at Fehrbellin, and took from them the greater part of their Pomeranian territory. When the great elector died, in 1688, Brandenburg was the commanding North-German power, and the Hohenzollern family had entered fully on the great career it has since pursued.

Frederick William's son Frederick, with none of his father's talent, had a pushing but shallow ambition. He aspired to be a king, and circumstances made his friendship so important to the emperor Leopold I. that the latter, exercising the theoretical super-sovereignty of the Cæsars, endowed him with the regal title. He was made king of Prussia, not of Brandenburg, because Brandenburg stood in vassalage to the empire, while Prussia was an independent state.

Prussia
becomes a
kingdom.
1700

Poland

In Poland, the political demoralization had become complete. The elections of Polish kings

were prize contests in which all Europe took part. Every court set up its candidate for the paltry titular place; every candidate emptied his purse into the Polish capital, and bribed, intrigued, corrupted, to the best of his ability. Once, at least, when the game was on, a sudden breeze of patriotic feeling swept the traffickers out of the diet, and inspired the election of a national hero, John Sobieski, to whom Europe owes much; for it was he who drove back the Turks, in 1683, when their last bold push into central Europe was made, and when they were storming at the gates of Vienna. But when Sobieski died, in 1696, the old scandalous vendue of a crown was reopened, and the elector of Saxony was the buyer. During most of the last two centuries of its history, Poland sold its throne to one alien after another, and allowed foreign states to mix and meddle with its affairs. Of real nationality there was not much left to extinguish when the time of extinction came. There were patriots, and very noble patriots, among the Poles, at all periods of their history; but it seems to have been the very hopelessness of the state into which their country had drifted which intensified their patriotic feeling.

The Polish elections

King John Sobieski, 1674-1696

Hopeless Polish patriotism

Russia

Russia had acquired magnitude and strength as a barbaric power, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but it was not until the reign of Peter the Great, which opened in 1682, that the great Slavonic empire began to take on a Euro-

Peter the Great

Schuyler,
Peter the
Great

Conquest
of Siberia

pean character, with European interests and influences, and to assimilate the civilization of the west. Peter may be said to have knotted Russia to Europe at both extremities, by pushing his dominions to the Baltic on the north and to the Black Sea on the south, and by putting his own ships afloat in both. The Russian conquest of Siberia, begun by a Cossack adventurer, Yermac Timoseef, about 1578, became practically complete in Peter's reign, or shortly before. From his day, Russia has been steadily gathering weight in each of the two continents over which her vast bulk of empire is stretched, and moving to a mysterious great destiny in time to come.

Sweden

Swedish
conquests

Just at the close of the century, while the powers of western Europe were wrestling in the great war of the Spanish succession, these nations of the east and their near neighbors in the north were involved in a furious conflict, provoked by a wanton attack from Russia, Poland and Denmark on the possessions of the Swedes. In the past century Sweden had made extensive conquests, and her territories, outside of the Scandinavian peninsula, were thrust provokingly into the sides of all these three neighbors. There had been three Charleses on the Swedish throne in succession, following Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. Queen Christina, an eccentric character, had abdicated in 1654, in order to join the Catholic church, and had been succeeded

by her cousin, Charles X. The six years reign of this Charles was one of constant war with the Danes and the Poles, and he was the aggressor in almost every case. His son and successor, Charles XI., suffered the great defeat at Fehrbellin which gave prestige to Brandenburg; but he was shielded by the puissant arm of Louis XIV., his ally, and lost no territory. More successful in his domestic policy than in his wars, he, both practically and formally, established absolutism in the Swedish realm. Inheriting from his father that absolute power, while inheriting at the same time the ruthless ambition of his grandfather, Charles XII. came to the throne in 1697.

Wars with
Danes and
Poles

The
Swedish
absolute
monarchy

In the first two years of his reign, this extraordinary young autocrat showed so little of his character that his royal neighbors thought him a weakling, and Peter the Great, of Russia, conspired with Augustus of Poland and Frederick IV. of Denmark to strip him of those parts of his dominion which they severally craved. The result was like the rousing of a lion by hunters who went forth to pursue a hare. The young Swede, dropping, instantly and forever, all frivolities, sprang at his assailants before they dreamed of finding him awake, and the game was suddenly reversed. The hunters became the hunted, and they had no rest for nine years from the implacable pursuit of them which Charles kept up. He defeated the Danes and the Russians in the first year of the war. In 1702 he invaded Poland and occupied Warsaw; in 1704 he forced

Charles
XII.,
1697-1718

Voltaire,
*History of
Charles
XII.*

The
coalition
against
Charles,
1700

Its fate

the deposition of the Saxon king of Poland, Augustus, and the election of Stanislaus Lec-zinski. Not yet satisfied, he followed Augustus into his electorate of Saxony, and compelled him there to renounce the Russian alliance and the Polish crown.

Charles
XII. in
Russia

In 1708, Charles invaded Russia, marching on Moscow, but turning aside to meet an expected ally, Mazeppa the Cossack. It was the mistake which Napoleon repeated a century later. The Swedes exhausted themselves in the march, and the Russians bided their time. Peter, the czar, had devoted eight years, since Charles defeated him at Narva, to making soldiers, well trained, out of the mob which that fight scattered. When Charles had worn his army down to a slender and disheartened force, Peter struck and destroyed it at Pultowa. Charles escaped from the wreck and took refuge, with a few hundreds of his guards, in the Turkish province of Bessarabia, at Bender. In that shelter, which the Ottomans hospitably accorded to him, he remained for five years, intriguing to bring the Porte into war with his Muscovite enemy, while all the fruits of his nine years of conquest in the north were stripped from him by the old league, revived. Augustus returned to Poland and recovered his crown. Peter took possession of Livonia, Ingria, and a great part of Finland. Frederick IV., of Denmark, attacked Sweden itself. The kingless kingdom made a valiant defense against the crowd of eager enemies; but Charles had used the

His five
years in
Turkey,
1709-1714

best of its energies and its resources, and it was not strong.

Near the end of 1710, Charles succeeded in pushing the sultan into war with the czar, and the latter, advancing into Moldavia, rashly placed himself in a position of great peril, where the Turks had him really at their mercy. But Catherine, the czarina, who was present, found means to bribe the Turkish vizier in command, and Peter escaped with no loss more serious than the surrender of Azov. That ended the war, and the hopes of the Swedish king. But still the stubborn Charles wearied the Porte with his importunities, until he was commanded to quit the country.

Even then he refused to depart,—resisted when force was used to expel him, and did not take his leave until late in November, 1714, when he received intelligence that his subjects were preparing to appoint his sister regent of the kingdom and to make peace with the czar. That news hurried him homeward; but only for continued war. He was about to make terms with Russia, and to secure her alliance against Denmark, Poland and Hanover, when he was killed during an invasion of Norway, in the siege of Fredrikshald, December, 1718. The crown of Sweden was then conferred upon his sister, but shorn of absolute powers, and practically dependent upon the nobles. All the wars in which Charles XII. had involved his kingdom were brought to an end by great sacrifices, and Russia rose to the place of

Return of
Charles to
Sweden,
1714

His death,
1718

Swedish
losses

Sweden as the chief power in the north. The Swedes paid heavily for the career of their "Northern Alexander."

Spain and Italy

Mahon,
*History of
England,*
1713-1783,
ch. viii-x

European
alliance
against
Spain, 1717

Before the belligerents in the north had quieted themselves, those of the west were again in arms. Spain had fallen under the influence of two eager and restless ambitions, that of the queen, Elizabeth of Parma, and an Italian minister, Cardinal Alberoni; and the schemes into which these two drew the Bourbon king, Philip V., soon ruptured the close relations with France which Louis XIV. had ruined his kingdom to bring about. To check them, a triple alliance was formed between France, England and Holland,—enlarged the next year to a quadruple alliance by the adhesion of Austria.

Revived
kingdom of
the Two
Sicilies,
1720

At the outset of the war, Spain made a conquest of Sardinia, and almost accomplished the same in Sicily; but the English crushed her navy and her rising commerce, while the French crossed the Pyrenees with an army which the Spaniards could not resist. A vast combination which Alberoni was weaving, and which took in Charles XII., Peter the Great, the Stuart pretender, the English Jacobites, and the opponents of the regency in France, fell to pieces when the Swedish king fell. Alberoni was driven from Spain and all his plans were given up. The Spanish king withdrew from Sicily and surrendered Sardinia. The emperor and the duke of

Savoy exchanged islands, and the former (holding Naples already) revived the old kingdom of the Two Sicilies, while the latter became king of Sardinia.

Of Italy at large, in the seventeenth century, lying prostrate under the heavy hand of Spain, there is no history to claim attention in so brief a sketch as this. One sovereign family in the north-west, long balanced on the Alps, in uncertainty between a cis-Alpine and a trans-Alpine destiny, but now clearly committed to Italian fortunes, had begun to win its footing among the noticeable smaller powers of the day by sheer dexterity of trimming and shifting sides in the conflicts of the time. This was the house of Savoy, whose first possessions, gathered in the crumbling of the old kingdom of Burgundy, lay on both slopes of the Alps, commanding important passes. On the western and northern side, the counts, afterward dukes, of Savoy had to contend, as time went on, with the expanding kingdom of France and with the Swiss, falling back before both.

Rise of the
house of
Savoy

Freeman,
*Historical
Geography
of Europe*,
ch. viii,
sect. 7

At one period, in the fifteenth century, their dominion had stretched to the Saône, and to the lake of Neufchatel, on both sides of it, surrounding the free city of Geneva, which they were never able to overcome. After that time, the Savoyards gradually lost territory on the Gallic side and won compensations on the Italian side, in Piedmont, and at the expense of Genoa and the duchy of Milan. The duke Victor Amadeus II. was the most successful winner for his house, and

The free
city of
Geneva

The duke
of Savoy
becomes
king of
Sardinia,
1720

he made his gains by remarkable manœuvering on both sides of the wars of Louis XIV. One of his acquisitions was the island kingdom of Sicily, which gave him a royal title. A few years later he exchanged it with Austria for the island kingdom of Sardinia—a realm more desirable to him for geographical reasons alone. The dukes of Savoy and princes of Piedmont thus became kings of Sardinia, and the name of the kingdom was often applied to their whole dominion, down to the recent time when the house of Savoy attained the grander kingship of united Italy.

America

The English colonies in America were increased in number much more than in prosperity, during the reigns of the last two Stuart kings. The first to be added bore the name of the Province of Carolina, and was created in 1663 by a palatine charter from the king to a company of influential courtiers, endowing them with the same sovereignty in their province that was enjoyed by Lord Baltimore in his. Their grant of territory gave them, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the whole country between the parallels of thirty-one and thirty-six degrees. The province contained already two small settlements on Albemarle Sound, and another on Cape Fear River. In 1671, a place near the site of the present city of Charleston was occupied by a fourth company of settlers, who transferred their homes a few years later to the ground on which Charleston stands.

The
founding
of the
Carolinas,
1663-1693

Charleston

This and the Albemarle settlements became the nuclei of the two finally distinct Carolina colonies, North and South. The two sections of the province drew apart from an early day, under the inefficient government which the proprietary company maintained. A singular constitution, prepared for it by the eminent philosopher, John Locke, contemplating the creation of an hereditary nobility and a feudal land system, with both serfdom and slavery at the base of the social system, proved utterly unworkable, and, after being a cause of disturbance and depression to the province for thirty years, was cast aside.

Locke's
constitu-
tion

The next addition to the English colonies was made in 1664, by conquest of New Netherland from the Dutch. England had never abandoned her claim to that important territory, between the two groups of her colonies; but circumstances had been unfavorable to an enforcement of the claim. At length, for other reasons, a war with Holland had become desirable, to the king, and to England at large. The king desired it for the purpose of assisting his nephew, the prince of Orange, to recover the stadtholdership of the United Provinces; and the country wanted it as a means of checking the too successful rivalry of the Dutch in trade. The desired war was opened meanly, with no previous declaration, by a secret expedition against the New Netherland colony, taking it by surprise. Stuyvesant, the sturdy Dutch governor, surrendered to superior force, and Colonel Richard Nicolls, commis-

English
conquest
of New
Netherland
1664

Fiske,
*Dutch and
Quaker
Colonies*,
ch. ix-xi

New
Netherland
becomes
New York

sioned as English governor, took possession, changing the names of the province and its principal settlement—New Netherland and New Amsterdam—to New York.

Grant to
the duke of
York

In advance of the conquest, the king had granted the whole province to his brother, the duke of York, and the duke had sold, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the part of it lying between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, from Cape May to a line drawn from 41° of north latitude on the Hudson to $41^{\circ} 40'$ on the Delaware. The name New Jersey was given to this latter tract. The grant to the duke of York included Long Island, and extended eastward to the Connecticut River, which encroached on the territory given to Massachusetts, as well as on a new grant just made to Connecticut. This gave rise to long disputes. The powers of government conveyed to the duke of York were not of the palatine order, like those of Lord Baltimore, but were limited otherwise by nothing save conformity to English law. The purchasers of New Jersey received the same political powers from the duke.

Sale of
New Jersey

Political
powers
conveyed

Grant of
Pennsyl-
vania to
William
Penn, 1681

The last of the colonies founded under the Stuarts was Pennsylvania, the great province granted to William Penn, in 1681. Penn, the most notable of Quakers, excepting only the founder of the sect, was the son of an English admiral, Sir William Penn, from whom he inherited an ample fortune, together with a claim on the king for £16,000. The father had basked

Fiske,
*Dutch and
Quaker
Colonies*,
ch. xii

in royal friendship and favor, and these were extended to the son. When the latter proposed to the king that his claim should be canceled by a grant of the territory between New York, New Jersey and Maryland, his suggestion was approved, and a patent was issued which invested the plain Quaker with the attributes of a prince. It made him the proprietor of a princely province, and endowed him with substantially the same governing authority that was given to the ducal proprietor of New York.

As the territory conveyed to Penn by the royal grant did not touch the sea, he purchased the claim of the duke of York to a strip on the western shore of Delaware Bay, which Lord Baltimore claimed, also, as being covered by his older grant. This, and other questions concerning bounds, involved the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania in disputes that lasted until 1767, when the southern boundary of Pennsylvania was fixed by two surveyors, Mason and Dixon, who gave their names to the famous "Mason and Dixon's Line" of later American history. In the district on Delaware Bay, obtained from the duke of York, Penn had merely ownership, with no political jurisdiction. In consequence, though that section was annexed at first to Pennsylvania, with the assent of its inhabitants, it broke away from the union a few years later and assumed a practical independence, which gave being in the end to the colony and state of Delaware.

Penn's
Delaware
purchase

"Mason
and
Dixon's
line," 1767

Origin of
the state of
Delaware

Before he acquired his great Pennsylvania grant, Penn had taken part in Quaker purchases of New Jersey—first of West Jersey from Lord Berkeley, and then of East Jersey from Sir George Carteret—and interested himself in settlements there by people of his much persecuted sect. Now he applied his rare energy and ability to the colonizing of his own province, with such success that not less than 3,000 settlers are believed to have been brought to the Delaware in 1682, and Pennsylvania reckoned a population of 8,000 by the end of its fourth year. No other American colony had risen so rapidly nor prospered quite so well. Philadelphia, laid out and founded by Penn personally in 1682, became at once an important town. During the first visit of the proprietor to his province he instituted an assembly of the “freemen,” which adopted a “frame of government,” submitted by him, and passed a full body of laws. Those recognized as freemen, entitled to vote and hold office, were all who bought or rented certain holdings of land, or who paid certain taxes, and were believers in the divinity of Jesus Christ. Freedom of worship was conceded to all believers in one God; but only Christians, in the strictest sense, could enjoy political rights. The working of the “frame of government” was not successful; it underwent frequent changes in subsequent years, without producing content. Though Penn, who was an eminently wise and just man, made large concessions, he failed to satisfy his colonial subjects;

Quaker
purchases
of New
Jersey

Founding
of Philadel-
phia, 1682

Penn's
troubles

nor did the province become anything but a burden to his estate and a trouble to his mind while he lived.

The English colonies in America now lacked but one of the final tally, of thirteen; though the two Carolinas were not yet separated distinctly, nor Delaware parted fully from Pennsylvania. At this time one only—Virginia—was a royal or crown colony, subject in its government directly to the king. Maryland and the Carolinas were proprietary colonies, so-called, of the palatine order, the territory embraced in them being granted, in one case to an individual proprietor, in the other case to a proprietary company, on such terms that the sovereignty claimed by the king of England was transferred almost wholly to the proprietors, and he retained no more than the rights of a feudal suzerain, or over-lord. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania (including Delaware) were proprietary provinces over which the proprietors exercised an immediate authority of government, but nothing of the ultimate sovereignty of the king. Massachusetts (in which the small settlement at Plymouth would soon be absorbed), Connecticut (for which a charter annexing the New Haven settlements had been won from King Charles II., by the address of its governor, John Winthrop, the younger, in 1662), and Rhode Island, were colonial creations of an entirely different kind. The proprietorship of their territory, and the political authority exercised in it under the sovereignty of the king

The three
classes of
English
colonies

Distinctive
character
of the New
England
colonies

of England, were held by the whole body of their citizens, incorporated directly, as bodies politic, by charters from the crown. The three classes of the colonies, and the differences in their political structure, are facts of interest in the history of the origin of the American States.

“Under the wide differences in their political construction there was a fundamental likeness between these colonies, in the fact that the people in all of them had what the Virginia company described as ‘a hand in the government of themselves.’ There was a representative legislature in every one; having more independence in some than in others, but exercising everywhere a large measure of democratic power, and striving incessantly against all outside restraints. This was because they were English colonies, of English creation, peopled mainly by Englishmen, who brought from home the expectation of being listened to by their government, and of being represented in the making of their laws and the levying of the taxes they paid. There was no such thing in French or Spanish colonies, or even in those planted by the Dutch.”

The institutions of local government which English colonists brought from home were even more important, in some respects, to the future of the communities they formed, than the representative assemblies in which they made, or took part in the making, of their general laws. In New England the colonists gave vigorous new life to an ancient English organization of townships and

The funda-
mental
likeness
under
political
differences

Larned,
*History of
the United
States,*
69-70

Colonial
local gov-
ernment

Fiske,
*Civil
Govern-
ment in the
U. S.,*
ch. ii-iv

town-meetings, for the democratic management of neighborhood affairs. Among Englishmen at home the town-meeting had suffered decay; but the New Englishmen of Massachusetts and Connecticut, organizing towns and churches on identical lines, re-developed town-meetings from church-meetings, with powerful democratic effects. "The whole structure of government in New England was built up from the groundwork of these democratic towns. Their representatives composed the 'general courts;' they were the units of all political organization—the primaries of all action in public affairs." From New England and from New York, where a system somewhat similar grew up, the town-meeting was carried widely, in later times, to new communities in the west. In Virginia and Maryland, the prevailing tobacco culture, on large estates, with servile labor, made towns, town-meetings, and a democratic state of society, quite impossible. The county, in one, and the old English district called the "hundred," in the other, were the smallest territorial divisions in which the political action of the people could be organized.

New
England
town-
meetings

The Vir-
ginia
county
and the
Maryland
"hundred"

After the restoration of the monarchy in England the Puritan colonies could expect nothing from the English government but ill will. In the case of Massachusetts, that ill will was worked upon with diligence by complaining sufferers from persecution, received at the hands of the intolerant "Governor and Company,"—whose worst deed had just been committed when Charles II.

Persecution
of Quakers
at Boston,
1659-1660

Hallowell,
*The Quaker
Invasion of
Massachu-
setts*

came to the throne. Three men and one woman, of the sect of Friends, or Quakers, were hanged at Boston, in 1659 and 1660, for no crime but their persistence in entering the town to preach, after the passage of a law that forbade their coming, on pain of death. At this period, the Quakers, most gently pertinacious of all religious people in declaring their simple Christian creed, were undergoing persecution almost everywhere, by imprisonment and whipping; but Massachusetts was alone in putting the dreadful halter of the hangman on their necks. The age of so venomous an intolerance was past, and what Boston had done to the Quakers was abhorrent to a general feeling, in England, at least. It is probable that strong measures against the independence of Massachusetts might then have been taken, with common approval and support. But the government of Charles II. could do nothing in a strong way, and the bold Puritans of the Bay colony were not to be daunted by anything less than a resolute exercise of English power.

King's
commiss-
sioners
in New
England,
1664-1666

Frothing-
ham, *Rise
of the
Republic*,
54-63

Early in the new reign, plans for curbing all the northern colonies were formed, and the fleet which seized New Netherland, in 1664, took out three commissioners, appointed to "visit the several colonies of New England, and to examine and determine all complaints and appeals in all causes, as well military as criminal and civil, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of that country." Connecticut, Plymouth and Rhode Island submitted readily to the

authority of the commissioners, but Massachusetts refused absolutely to permit them to hear any appeals from the action of its government or the decision of its courts, claiming to be exempted from such royal interference by its charter from Charles I. At the end of a long controversy the king's commissioners had to give up their attempt. They failed equally in undertaking to decide an important boundary dispute, against the construction which the Massachusetts authorities had put upon their territorial grant. As the "Governor and Company" preferred to understand their charter, the northern boundary of Massachusetts ran three miles north of the *headwaters* of the Merrimac, which took in a large part of what is now New Hampshire and Maine, both of which were claimed by other grantees. The king's commissioners decided, on the contrary, that the line must run from three miles north of the Merrimac *at its mouth*; and, accordingly, they removed the Massachusetts officials from Maine. Massachusetts, on the first opportunity, restored its officials, and did so in defiance of a direct command from the king, "that the government of the province of Maine continue as the commissioners have left it." The attitude of the Bay colony in all these proceedings appears astonishingly independent and bold, contrasting with the ineffectiveness of action on the king's side.

Resistance
to them in
Massachu-
setts

Northern
boundary
dispute

The colony held its ground and made good its chartered "liberties," according to its own claims,

The
Massachu-]setts
charter
annulled,
1684

until the last year of the reign of Charles II. Then, in June, 1684, after circumstances in England had broken down the party opposed to the king, and royal influence was all potent, a decree of the English court of chancery annulled the cherished charter of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." "The ruin to the Massachusetts colonists which this decree involved was limited by nothing but the mercy of the king. It left them with no rights. Their charter was their title-deed for everything they owned; it was their warrant for everything they had done; it was the ground of everything in their colonial life. To declare it void was to declare that the king had never surrendered ownership of the soil on which they stood; that they were trespassers on his property, and might be dealt with as he pleased; that they had never been empowered to organize a colonial government; that all the acts of their colonial government were invalid and all their laws annulled."

Larned,
*History of
the United
States*, 101

Death of
Charles II.,
1685

What King Charles's treatment of the stricken colony would be had not been decided when his sudden death occurred, in February, 1685. The brother who succeeded him took early steps toward making the most of the power that the court of chancery had put into his hands; and, apparently, he planned to reduce the other colonies to the same helpless state. Sir Edmund Andros, whose hardness and harshness had been proved already in New York, was sent out in 1686, as "Captain-general and governor of his

Captain-
general
Andros in
New
England,
1686-1689

majesty's territory and dominion in New England," "and the high-spirited colonists of the Bay writhed under his absolute authority for the next three years. Their general court was abolished; their town-meetings were stripped of the control of local taxes; their press was gagged; the writ of habeas corpus was suspended; all public records were seized and brought to Boston; arbitrary taxes were levied, and property owners paid extortions called 'quit-rent' to save the title to their lands."

When Andros demanded a surrender of the Connecticut charter it was spirited away and hidden in the hollow trunk of the famous "charter oak;" but he assumed the government of that colony, as well as of New Hampshire and Maine, and both New York and New Jersey were added to his jurisdiction in 1688. A suit to break the charter of Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, was begun; and there seemed to be a settled plan for crushing all the American colonies into one "territory and dominion" of the crown, subject in government to the unrestricted will of the king. But, whatever the intent, it was frustrated by the revolution in England which drove James II. from the throne. Massachusetts promptly imitated the English proceeding, deposing Andros and shipping him to London, to be dealt with by the new king and queen.

Notwithstanding the intense loyalty and Cavalier spirit of Virginia, that colony and Maryland suffered more than New England under the

Connecticut
"charter
oak"

New York
and New
Jersey
under
Andros,
1688-1689

Andros
deposed,
1689

Virginia
and Mary-
land under
the last
Stuart
kings

last Stuart kings. Tobacco culture, the one support of their prosperity, was stricken sorely by an early measure of the restored royal government—the Navigation Act of 1660. The act was in pursuance of a policy begun by the government of the commonwealth, in 1651, when the first of the English navigation acts was passed; but it struck the southern colonies a much harder blow than they had felt before. The original object of these acts was to stop the employment of Dutch ships in English trade; but successive enactments went farther in purpose, toward the keeping of all colonial trade in English hands, conducted forcibly through English ports. The effect was to shut the tobacco planters out of all save English markets, depressing prices ruinously and leaving unsalable crops on the planters' hands. Against the New Englanders, who had an abundance of their own shipping, the navigation acts could never be much enforced; but the Virginians, especially after they lost the help of Dutch smugglers from Manhattan Island, were nearly helpless victims of those oppressive laws.

Effect of
the naviga-
tion acts

Politically, too, Virginia had hard experiences under the Stuart régime. Her old Cavalier governor, Sir William Berkeley, restored to place, established a complete despotism in the colony for fifteen years. In the first outburst of their feeling, after the restoration, the colonists elected an assembly so much to the governor's liking that he would not allow it to be dissolved, for any new election, in all that time. Great scandals in the

Despotism
of Governor
Berkeley

government arose and increased, until the discontent broke at last into open revolt. The immediate occasion of the outbreak, in 1676, was an Indian rising, which the governor would not deal with as a large body of the planters desired. Under the lead of a resolute young man, Nathaniel Bacon, they took the matter into their own hands, and were declared to be rebels, with final consequences of a state of civil war. Apparently, Governor Berkeley was having the worst of the conflict, until a sudden death took Bacon from the field and his party collapsed. The governor recovered full power and used it so savagely that twenty-two of the insurgents were put to death. He was recalled to England the next year.

Bacon's
rebellion in
Virginia,
1676

Doyle,
*The
English in
America,*
I : 319-352

The outbreak of Indians in Virginia had come closely after one in New England, which opened the most serious of the early Indian wars. The leading tribe in the latter case was that of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, nearest neighbors to the Plymouth colony, with which they had always, till this time, been at peace. Angered by the execution of three members of the tribe for a murder committed on one of their own race, they rose in June, 1675, under the lead of their chief, Metacom, called King Philip by the whites. Other tribes joined them, and the war was not ended wholly until 1678; but its most dreadful incidents were in the first year. Twelve towns were destroyed by the savages; no less than a thousand white men, with a large number of

"King
Philip's"
Indian war
in New
England,
1675-1678

Fiske,
*Beginnings
of New
England,*
211-241

women and children, are believed to have perished, while more of the latter were carried into barbarous captivity. Not many males of the hostile Indian tribes survived, and most of the few who did were sold in the West Indies as slaves.

The revolution of 1688, in England, driving James II. from the throne, had tragical consequences in New York. The militia train-bands of that town, under the lead of a well-meaning but ignorant German citizen, Jacob Leisler, deposed the lieutenant-governor of the province, and Leisler undertook the management of affairs. When officials appointed by the new king in England arrived, Leisler was so misguided as to resist them, because they brought him no direct order from the king. It seems to be clear that he intended no treason; but he and his son-in-law were condemned and hanged. They were the victims of a passionate strife between aristocratic and democratic factions, which raged long in the province of New York.

The change of government in England raised high hopes in Massachusetts, and persevering efforts to recover the old charter were made, in vain. The outcome was a new charter, issued in 1691, which lowered the self-governing independence of the colony to a serious extent, reducing it to the status of a royal province, under governors of the king's appointment, and subjecting its acts to veto by the governor or the crown. Qualification of the suffrage by church member-

The Leisler
tragedy in
New York,
1689-1691

New
charter to
Massachu-
setts, 1691

ship was abolished, and ownership of property prescribed instead.

Penn was a sufferer by the English revolution, having enjoyed so much favor under the late reigns that he was regarded by the new court with distrust. His political authority in Pennsylvania was taken away from him in 1693, and the province was placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of New York; but the next year, on a better understanding of his character, his powers were all restored.

Penn

Lord Baltimore fared worse. The government of Maryland was taken out of his hands, in 1691, and not restored during his life. When he died, in 1715, it was given back to his son, who had left the Catholic church. In the interval, the toleration acts had been swept away, Catholic forms of worship forbidden, and the church of England established by law.

Maryland toleration acts swept away

The English wars with France brought serious suffering to the colonists on the northern frontiers of New England and New York, against whose outlying settlements the French in Canada did not scruple to employ the tomahawks and scalping knives of their savage allies. In the first of the conflicts (called "King William's War" by the colonists), a hideous massacre, of some sixty men, women and children, was committed at Schenectady, then a village on the borders of the wilderness. The worst horrors of the next encounter ("Queen Anne's War") were experienced on the New England frontier, at Deerfield,

"King William's War," 1690-1697]

"Queen Anne's War," 1702-1714

Lancaster, Saco, Casco and Wells. Retaliating expeditions were sent, in both wars, against Port Royal (now Annapolis), in Acadia, and against Quebec and Montreal, with no success except the capture of the Acadian port. On the European side of Queen Anne's War the result was so heavily against France, as we have seen, that her humbled king was compelled to cede Acadia (then re-named Nova Scotia), Newfoundland and Hudson Bay, to England, and to acknowledge that the Five Nations of the Iroquois were "subject to the dominion of Great Britain."

French
cessions to
England

Notwithstanding these surrenders of territory, the French were still claimants of the greater part of North America, and had done much, in a certain way, to make the claim good. Their settlements were so few and slight that the total white population of New France in 1683 is thought to have been no more than 10,000; but they had explored and mapped the interior of the continent with great energy, established military, missionary and trading posts, cultivated the friendship of the Indians, and acquired an important prestige, as being, apparently, the dominant white race in the land. As early as 1640, Jean Nicolet had gone beyond Lake Huron to Lake Michigan. Jesuit missions had been established at Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay in 1669. Father Marquette and Louis Joliet had reached the Mississippi from Green Bay, and gone down that stream to the Illinois, in 1673. In 1679, the indomitable explorer, La Salle, building a vessel

The French
footing in
America

French
exploration
of the west

on the Niagara River, had navigated the Great Lakes to the foot of Lake Michigan, and proceeded thence to the Illinois, where he built a fort. Three years later, after traversing the same route for the third time, La Salle had descended the Illinois to the Mississippi, and the Mississippi to the Gulf, taking formal possession of the whole valley of the great river in the name of the king of France. Practically, this claim was contested by nobody except the Five Nations of the confederacy of the Iroquois, whose conquest of other tribes had reached far into the west.

After the English revolution of 1688, a rapid growth of antagonistic feeling between the American colonies and the home government of England becomes plainly marked. This sprang from several causes, but chief among them were the political ideas which that revolution had planted in the colonial mind. It had established, for Englishmen, the fundamental principle in government, that a representative legislature is the seat of supreme authority and the sole source of law. Naturally, the colonists took the principle home to themselves, applied it to their own affairs, and shaped upon it a strictly English conception of their own rights. They were looking at this time to no political independence, but they felt themselves to be entitled, as Englishmen in America, to all those rights of control over the purse-strings and the domestic regulations of their government that Englishmen in Great Britain had secured. On the other hand, two

Parkman,
*La Salle
and the
Discovery
of the Great
West*

Growth of
antagonism
between
England
and her
colonies

Frothing-
ham,
*Rise of the
Republic,*
108-128

British
commercial
influences

influences were working in England which disinclined the ruling classes there to concede an application of their own political principles to English communities on the other side of the sea. One came from the shipping and commercial interests, that were growing to high importance in these times, and demanding a consideration in English politics never given to them before. According to the economic notions of the age, a colony could not be made profitable to its parent country in any other way than by depriving it of all freedom to produce, or buy, or sell with reference to interests or wishes of its own. The insistence of English shipowners, manufacturers and merchants, that the rigor of this doctrine should be applied to the American settlements of their countrymen, opened a cleavage between the colonies and the home government which their navigation laws and other dictatorial "acts of trade" widened steadily from year to year.

Differing
desires for
colonial
union

The second influence, more strictly political, grew out of the experience of the wars with France, on their American side. That experience had shown the need of some union among the colonies and some general organization of their military strength. As to the need of the union, there was little disagreement, if any, between colonial and British statesmen, but very wide disagreement as to the nature of the union that should be formed. Union under one vice-royal governor and one supreme crown-appointed council, which the latter desired, would mean a

tightening of the imperial rule and a deepening of colonial subjection. It would mean taxation of the colonies without their consent, and expenditure beyond their control. But union by federation, with its bond in a representative federal assembly, would mean the domestic self-government which the colonists believed to be their English birthright. It might mean, also, in their view, the least possible contribution of their own to the cost of defending English interests in America against the French, and the greatest possible draft on the British purse; for they exposed themselves to this latter suspicion by the scantiness of their military grants. Their attitude in the matter of expenditure for colonial defense had much to do with the slow hardening of an opposition in opinion and feeling between the Englishmen in America and the Englishmen in the parent isle.

Colonial
parsimony

[The early years of the new century brought such signs of social progress in the colonies as the founding of Yale College at New Haven, in 1701, the appearance of the first American newspaper, at Boston, in 1704, and the organizing of a regular postal system, under an act of parliament, passed in 1710.

Signs of
social
progress

But a mark of very different significance had been left on one of the last years of the preceding century, by the frenzied witchcraft delusion at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Ten harmless men and women, malignantly accused of having sold their souls to Satan, and so purchased super-

Salem
witchcraft,
1692

Upham,
Salem
Witchcraft]

natural powers of mischief and evil, were put to death. Eight more were condemned to death and a hundred and fifty were waiting trial, when the season of madness passed.

The English in India

Akbar, the real founder of the so-called Moghul empire in India, was still reigning when the small first fleet of the English East India Company reached the port of Surat, in his dominions, and obtained privileges of trade. A few years later (1615) an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir, who received him with distinguished favor, and, at his solicitation, gave the English company permission to establish a factory, or agency, at Surat. This, for some years, was the seat of the company's trade, carried on in active rivalry with the Portuguese. In 1640 it acquired ground on the eastern coast of Hindostan, in the Carnatic region, within the dominions of a Hindu prince, who gave it permission to build a fort. The fort was named St. George, and became the nucleus of a town, which grew quickly into the city of Madras. Twenty years or more afterward, King Charles II., of England, obtained the Portuguese island of Bombay, as part of the dowry of his Portuguese wife, and made it over to the company, which established another prosperous station there. A third footing of importance, on the Hooghly, one of the channels of the Ganges, was established in 1698 by the

First
footings
of the
East India
Company,
1615-1698

Madras

Bombay

building of a fort, named Fort William, on ground granted by the emperor Aurungzebe. The great city of Calcutta grew under the shelter of this fort.

These were the three roots of that astonishing growth of power, in a mere corporation of merchants, which finally took to itself, and then transferred to the crown and parliament of England, the whole empire of Hindostan. "Before the accession of the house of Hanover these three main stations,—Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay,—had been erected into presidencies, or central posts of government; not, however, . . . subject to one supreme authority, but each independent of the rest. Each was governed by a president and a council of nine or twelve members, appointed by the court of directors in England. Each was surrounded with fortifications, and guarded by a small force, partly European and partly native, in the service of the company. The Europeans were either recruits enlisted in England or strollers and deserters from other services in India. . . . The natives, as yet ill-armed and ill-trained, were known by the name of sepoys,—a corruption from the Indian word 'sipahi,' a soldier. But the territory of the English scarcely extended out of sight of their towns." These were the beginnings of the dominion of the East India Company.

Calcutta

The three presidencies

Mahon,
*History of
England,
1713-1783*
4 : ch. xxxix

China under the Manchus

Shunchih, the first Manchu emperor of China, was a child during most of the eighteen years of

The
emperor
Kanghi,
1661-1722

his reign. The second emperor, Kanghi, who occupied the throne for sixty-one years, holds a place of distinction in Chinese history, as one of the ablest and best of the sovereigns that the great empire has known. His intelligence, his vigor, his uprightness, are equally praised. He dealt successfully with many rebellions, and left the authority of the new dynasty well established when he died. Appreciating the scientific knowledge of the Jesuit missionaries, he showed them much favor, employing one of them to correct errors in the Chinese calendar and placing him, for that purpose, at the head of the astronomical board. This angered the native literati, and became an important cause of hostile feeling, which the missionaries had to face in after years. Another ground of prejudice against the missionaries was furnished by their own factious rivalries and quarrels, between Jesuits, on one side, and Franciscans and Dominicans on the other. Though Kanghi sustained the Jesuits against their opponents, his respect for Christianity as a religion seems to have been considerably shaken by what he saw of its working in these contentious representatives.

Christian
missionary
factions

Kanghi was a noble patron of learning, and the two most splendid and enduring memorials of his reign are the great dictionary and the stupendous encyclopedia that he caused to be compiled, one in thirty-six volumes, the other in five thousand and twenty. Both are standard works of reference in China to-day.

Kanghi's
great
dictionary
and ency-
clopedia

It was in the reign of Kanghi that the Russians, in their conquest of Siberia, reached the Amur and began attempts to establish themselves on its southern and eastern banks. The vigorous emperor attacked them promptly, captured the forces they had pushed into his territory, and settled them in Peking, where their descendants, it is said, can still be found.

Russians
on the
Amur

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE, TO THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVO- LUTION

(1715 to 1775)

Momentous consequences from the wars of the period. *Great Britain*: The first Hanoverian kings.—Walpole.—Evolution of premier and cabinet.—The Mississippi and South Sea bubbles.—Jacobite risings. *France*: Louis XV. and the Regency.—Bourbon “family compact.” *War of the Austrian Succession*: The “pragmatic sanction” of Charles VI.—Frederick the Great and other spoils-hunters.—Results of the war. *The Seven Years War in Europe*: Combination against Frederick the Great.—His great defensive campaigns. *The War in America*: The French in the Ohio Valley.—Washington’s entrance into history.—Braddock’s defeat.—Dispersion of the Acadians.—Pitt’s infusion of new spirit into the war.—Wolfe’s capture of Quebec.—Retirement of France from America.—Pontiac’s war. *The War in India*: French and English struggle for supremacy.—Clive’s career.—The “black hole of Calcutta.”—Subjugation of Bengal.—Expulsion of the French. *Russia*: The four tzarinas.—Catherine II. *Great Britain and her colonies*: George III.—The “king’s friends.”—Their colonial policy.—The “stamp act” and its repeal.—Patrick Henry.—Samuel Adams.—The tea question and “the Boston tea party.”—Punishment of Boston and Massachusetts.—The first “continental congress.”—Lexington and Concord.—The colonies in arms.—Washington appointed to chief command.

The sixty years to be surveyed in this chapter were filled with a succession of hateful wars, not one of which can be said to have had a reasonable, just cause. With almost no exception, they had their ultimate origin in the greedy ambition of uncontrolled princes, who coveted bigger dominions to boast of and more subjects to oppress. They were wars that added heavily to the score against arbitrary monarchies which history was making up, and which an increasing multitude of people was learning to reckon.

Wars of
ambitious
monarchs

Incidentally or directly, however, these wars had three consequences of far-reaching and tremendous influence on the subsequent history of the world: (1) undisputed domination of the English race in North America; (2) acquisition by the same race of leadership in the far east and supremacy at sea; (3) the rise of Prussia to the footing of a contestant with Austria for rank and lead among the Germanic states. Springing from the first of those primary consequences came, successively, the political separation of the English in America from their motherland, the institution of their great experiment in republican government, the re-awakening thereby of democratic aspirations in oppressed communities, and the kindling of a revolutionary spirit, with its awful outburst in France. From the second came a wealth and a power to the English people which made them dominant in the activities of the world, and planted their language, their law, their institutions, in every part of the globe. Out of the third has come the unity of Germany and its entrance upon a really national career.

Their great
immediate
consequences

Their
ultimate
consequences

England under the first Hanoverians

By good management on the part of the English Whig leaders, the arrangements of their Act of Settlement were carried out when Queen Anne died, in 1714, and the elector George, of Hanover, son of the late electress, Sophia, was placed on the throne without disturbance; though a strong body of the Stuart partisans (Jacobites) had

George I.,
1714-1727

Foreign-
ness of the
new king

determined that the son of James II., called "the pretender," should be brought in. This Hanoverian king was so extremely an alien that he could not even speak or understand the language of his new subjects. He knew nothing of England, and cared for it very little as compared with his Germanic dominion. His interests, ideas, tastes, habits, were all those of a German prince. Of English politics he comprehended only that the Whigs were his supporters, and that he must stand by them, with all the prerogatives of the crown they had placed on his head. Necessarily, he was an almost helpless royal figure in the hands of his ministers, whose councils he could not even attend, and necessarily, too, he was regarded by his subjects with a great lowering of reverence for the crowned head. Thus accidents of circumstance in English history had helped once more to weaken the prestige of kingship, and give nerve to the people in their exercise of self-governing rights.

A helpless
royal figure

Sir Robert
Walpole,
1721-1742

Morley,
Walpole

Lecky,
*History of
England,
18th
century,*
I : ch. iii

By good fortune, a leadership in King George's ministry was won soon by a man, Sir Robert Walpole, who was singularly fitted to make the best of the conditions of the time. He saw that nothing but peace and prosperity in England would establish the new dynasty, prevent a Jacobite revolution, and keep the government on the parliamentary lines that were laid down for it in the great Bill of Rights. He held his party and his colleagues to that programme of peace for nearly twenty years, during which England was

preserved carefully from disturbances and agitations of any serious kind,—too thriving and contented for Jacobite plotters to work up a mischievous revolt. They had attempted a feeble rising in Scotland for “the pretender,” in 1715, the year after the death of the queen Anne, but it received little English support.

First
Jacobite
rising, 1715

Walpole's domination in the ministries of George I. and George II. (who succeeded his father in 1727) made him the first of actual “prime ministers” in the government of England, and the ministry subordinate to him became the first English “cabinet,” in the later sense of the term,—a council, that is, of executive chiefs, headed and directed by an authoritative “premier.” The parliament of the period, and long afterward, was not representative of the people in any degree. A majority of the members of the house of commons were protégés, or agents, or servants, of a few great landlords, and their votes were controlled by influences more or less corrupt. Walpole used such influences notoriously, as ministers before him and after him had done and would do, and parliament was subservient to his will. We are just to him if we say that he was scrupulously patriotic and admirably wise in the use of power which he secured by unscrupulous means.

Evolution
of the
British
premier
and cabinet

Parliamentary
corruption

Before Walpole's ascendancy was acquired, he had opposed a reckless measure of government which plunged the country into mad speculations, ending in a ruinous collapse. A Scotch adven-

John Law's
Mississippi
scheme in
France,
1717-1720

Thiers,
The
Mississippi
Bubble

Madness of
speculation

The South
Sea Com-
pany in
England,
1719-1720

turer named John Law had started the speculative frenzy in France, first by the founding of a stupendous national bank, which issued illimitable quantities of paper money, and then, in 1717, by organizing a monster corporation, connected with the bank, which planned to "engross all the trade of the kingdom and all the revenues of the crown." Law's company was formed under the name of The Company of the West, and the first basis of its operations was a monopoly of trade in that vast American territory claimed by France in the valley of the Mississippi River. This gave his project the name of "the Mississippi scheme." An unexampled excitement of speculation in the shares of the company was created, by extravagant accounts of gold mines and riches of every description in the regions that its present and future monopolies would take in. Very soon it absorbed the French East India Company; then swallowed an African trading company; then acquired control of the tobacco duties and the management of the mint; and every fresh privilege was followed by a larger issue of shares and fresh inflations of their market price. At the climax of this Mississippi madness the shares of 500 francs were sold for 10,000.

The French frenzy spread to England and produced similar consequences there. A South Sea Company, holding special privileges of trade in Spanish America, imitated Law's projects, and the government, in 1719, was induced to make some kind of delusive bargain with it for paying

off the national debt. A wild scramble for shares in the company ensued, exactly like the scramble in Paris for Law's shares, and prices were carried to ten times the nominal value of the company's stock. At the same time, a thousand other senseless projects were floated, and nothing was too foolish to win investments of the money which rich and poor seemed insanely eager to throw away. In France the bubble broke in May, 1720; in England the collapse came a few months later. In both countries the ruin and the misery produced are not easily described.

Mahon,
*History of
England,*
1713-1783,
2 : ch. xi

Breaking of
the bubbles

Walpole's supremacy in the government was broken in 1738 by a burst of public wrath against Spain, provoked by the roughness of her dealings with English smugglers, who swarmed around her colonies, carrying on a forbidden trade. Much was made of the case of one Jenkins, whose ear had been torn off, and the war into which Walpole's opponents succeeded in dragging the country, despite his pacific endeavors, got the name of "the War of Jenkins's Ear." He retained office until 1742, but his power was gone. He then accepted the title of earl of Orford and retired. A period of weak government followed, corruptly controlled by an incapable nobleman, the duke of Newcastle, and his family, the Pelhams; but the seeds of a better force were being cultivated in the house of commons by a few young men, under the lead of William Pitt.

"War of
Jenkins's
Ear"

Walpole's
loss of
power

The war with Spain was merged soon in a great European conflict, the War of the Austrian Suc-

War of the
Austrian
Succession
1741-1748

(See pages
962-5)

Second
Jacobite
rising, 1745

cession, which lasted until 1748, and out of which Great Britain brought nothing to show for its heavy cost in money and human life. In the midst of that war the Jacobites made a last attempt to bring the Stuarts back to their lost throne. "The pretender's" son, Charles Edward, called "the young pretender," appeared in Scotland in the summer of 1745, rallied a few thousand Highlanders, took possession of Edinburgh, defeated a small English force at Preston Pans, and marched into England as far as Derby. Finding no encouragement to proceed, he drew back into Scotland, where his faithful Highland followers held their ground in the north until April of the next year. They were broken and scattered then, at Culloden, by an army of British and Hanoverian troops, under the duke of Cumberland, one of the king's sons, who earned the name of "The Butcher" by the ferocity with which he hunted them down. Through many romantic adventures, in which Flora Macdonald, a young woman of the Hebrides, bore a heroine's part, Charles Edward escaped to France.

France under Louis XV.

France was less fortunate than Great Britain in the change of sovereigns that occurred in the two kingdoms at nearly the same time, Queen Anne dying in 1714 and Louis XIV. in the following year. The successor to the latter was his great-grandson, a five-year-old child, and the regent, Philippe, duke of Orléans, who reigned for

The
regency

years in the child-king's name, was a reckless and shameless debauchee, who sank the French court and Parisian society to the lowest deeps of frivolity and vice. That the young king, Louis XV., was corrupted when he came to manhood, and lived the vile palace life of his great-grandfather and the regent, and reigned as they reigned, with selfish indifference to the people of France, is not to be thought strange.

Louis XV.

France had a shorter period than England of rest from war, and was benefited less. The next quarrel that engaged her was one peculiar to the eighteenth century, growing out of the election of a Polish king, to succeed Augustus II. As usual, the neighboring nations formed a betting ring of onlookers, so to speak, "backing" their several candidates. The deposed and exiled king, Stanislaus Leczinski, who received his crown from Charles XII., and lost it after Pultowa, was the French candidate; for he had married his daughter to Louis XV. Frederick Augustus, of Saxony, son of the late king Augustus, was the Russian and Austrian candidate. The contest resulted in a double election, and out of that came war. Spain and Sardinia joined France, and the emperor had no allies. Hence the house of Austria suffered greatly in the war, losing the Two Sicilies, which went to Spain, and were conferred on a younger son of the king, creating a third Bourbon monarchy. Part of the duchy of Milan was also yielded by Austria to the king of Sardinia; and the duke of Lorraine, husband of the

War of the
Polish
Succession,
1733

A third
Bourbon
monarchy

emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, gave up his duchy to Stanislaus, who renounced therefor his claim on the crown of Poland. The duke of Lorraine received as compensation a right of succession to the grand duchy of Tuscany, where the Medicean house was about to expire.

First
Bourbon
"family
compact"

These were the principal consequences, humiliating to Austria, of what is known as the First Family Compact of the French and Spanish Bourbons. That alliance between the two courts gave encouragement to hostile demonstrations in the Spanish colonies against English traders, who were accused of extensive smuggling, and the outcome was the petty war, already mentioned, between England and Spain, called "the War of Jenkins's Ear," which opened in 1739.

War of the Austrian Succession

Lecky,
*History of
England,
18th
Century,*
1 : ch. iii

Before these hostilities were ended, another "war of succession," more wicked than any before it, was brought upon Europe. The emperor, Charles VI., died in 1740, leaving no son, but transmitting his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter, the celebrated Maria Theresa, married to the ex-duke of Lorraine. Years before his death he had sought to provide against any possible disputing of the succession, by an instrument known as the Pragmatic Sanction, to which he obtained, first, the assent of the estates of all the provinces and kingdoms of the Austrian realm, and, secondly, the guaranty by solemn treaty of almost every European power. He

Ranke,
*Memoirs of
the House of
Branden-
burg,* bk. 4,
ch. iv-bk. 9,
ch. ii

The
Pragmatic
Sanction

died in the belief that he had established his daughter securely, and left her to the enjoyment of a peaceful reign. It was a pitiful illusion. He was scarcely in his grave before half the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction were putting forward claims to this part and that part of the Austrian territories. The elector of Bavaria, the elector of Saxony (in his wife's name) and the king of Spain, claimed the whole succession; the two first mentioned on grounds of collateral lineage, the latter (a Bourbon cuckoo in the Spanish-Hapsburg nest) as being the heir of the Hapsburgs of Spain.

Faithless-
ness of the
guarantors

While these larger pretensions were still jostling each other in the diplomatic stage, a minor claimant, who said little but acted powerfully, sent his demands to the court of Vienna with an army following close at their heels. This was Frederick II., known later as Frederick the Great, who came to the throne of Prussia in 1740, being the third Prussian king. Frederick resuscitated an obsolete claim on Silesia and took possession of the province, without waiting for debate. If, anywhere, there had been virtuous hesitations before, his bold stroke ended them. France could not see her old Austrian rival dismembered without hastening to grasp a share. She contracted with the Spanish king and the elector of Bavaria to enforce the latter's claims, and to take the Austrian Netherlands in prospect for compensation, while Spain should find indemnity in the Austro-Italian states.

Frederick
the Great
of Prussia

The royal
spoils
hunters

Frederick of Prussia, having Silesia in hand, offered to join Maria Theresa in defense of her remaining dominions; but his proposals were refused, and he entered the league against her. Saxony did the same. England and Sardinia were alone in befriending Austria, and England was only strong at sea.

Maria
Theresa
and the
Hungari-
ans

Maria Theresa found her heartiest support in Hungary, where she made a personal appeal to her subjects, and enlarged their constitutional privileges. In 1742 the elector of Bavaria was elected emperor, as Charles VII. In the same year, Maria Theresa, acting under pressure from England, gave up the greater part of Silesia to Frederick, by treaty, as a price paid, not for the help he had offered at first, but barely for his neutrality. He abandoned his allies and withdrew from the war. His retirement produced an immense difference in the conditions of the contest. Saxony made peace at the same time, and became an active ally on the Austrian side. So rapidly did the latter then recover their ground, and the French slip back, that Frederick, after two years of neutrality, became alarmed, and found a pretext to take up arms again, in alliance with France.

Frederick
out of the
war and in
again

The Austrians held their ground against this new combination of enemies (though English help was withdrawn), until Frederick, near the end of 1745, had crushed Saxony, their one effective ally. Then Maria Theresa, having the Spaniards and the French still to fight in Italy

and the Netherlands, could do nothing but make terms with the terrible Prussian king. The treaty, signed at Dresden on Christmas day, 1745, repeated the cession of Silesia to Frederick, together with Glatz, and restored Saxony to the humbled elector.

Treaty of
Dresden,
1745

France and Spain, deserted the second time by their faithless Prussian ally, continued the war until 1748, when the influence of England and Holland brought about a treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. France gained nothing from the war, but had suffered a serious loss of prestige. Austria, besides giving up Silesia to Frederick of Prussia, was required to surrender a bit of Lombardy to the king of Sardinia, and to make over Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to Don Philip of Spain, for an hereditary principality. In the circumstances, the result to Maria Theresa was a notable triumph, and she shared with her enemy, Frederick, the fruitage of fame harvested in the war. But antagonism between these two, and between the interests and ambitions which they represented, respectively,—dynastic on one side and national on the other,—was settled and irreconcilable henceforth, and could leave in Germany no durable peace.

Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1748

Results of
the war

The Seven Years War in Europe

The peace was broken, not for Germany alone, but for Europe and for almost the world at large, in six years after the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The rupture occurred first very far

Carlyle,
*History of
Friedrich*
II., bk.
17-20

Longman,
*Frederick
the Great
and the
Seven
Years War*

Its
beginnings
in America
and India

English
alliance
with
Frederick
the Great

The great
combina-
tion against
Frederick,
1756

from Europe—on the other sides of the globe, in America and Hindostan, where the rival ambitions of Great Britain and France had brought them to a final and decisive clash of arms. Of those remote conflicts, in the western and eastern worlds, we shall speak later on. Their connection with the hateful war about to distress Europe again is in the fact that they fired the train, so to speak, which caused a great explosion of hostilities that might otherwise have been suppressed for a longer time.

If the English crown had not been worn by a German king, having a German principality to defend, the French and English might have fought out their quarrel on the ocean, and in the wilderness of America, or on the plains of the Carnatic, without disturbing their continental neighbors. But the anxiety of George II. to strengthen his electorate of Hanover against attacks from France led him into an alliance with Frederick of Prussia, which broke the long-standing alliance of England with Austria. This drove Austria to join fortunes with her ancient Bourbon enemy, in order to be helped to the revenge which Maria Theresa now promised herself the pleasure of executing upon the Prussian king. As the combination shaped itself finally on the French side, it embraced France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Poland, Saxony, and the Palatinate, and its inspiring purpose was to break Prussia down and partition her territories, rather than to support France against England. The

agreements to this end were made in secret; but Frederick obtained knowledge of them, and learned that papers in proof of the conspiracy against him were in the archives of the Saxon government, at Dresden. His action was decided with that promptitude which so often disconcerted his enemies. He did not wait to be attacked by the tremendous league formed against him, nor waste time in efforts to dissolve it, but defiantly struck the first blow. He poured his army into Saxony, seized Dresden by surprise, captured the documents he desired, and published them to the world, in vindication of his summary precipitation of war. Then, blockading the Saxon army in Pirna, he pressed rapidly into Bohemia, defeated the Austrians at Lowositz, and returned as rapidly, to receive the surrender of the Saxons and to enlist most of them in his own ranks. This was the European opening of the Seven Years War, which raged, first and last, in all quarters of the globe.

His
vigorous
action

His first
campaign,
1756

The Seven
Years War,
1756-1763

In the second year of the war, Frederick gained an important victory at Prague and suffered a serious reverse at Kolin, which threw most of Silesia into the hands of the Austrians. Close following that defeat came crushing news from Hanover, where the incompetent duke of Cumberland, commanding for his father, the English king George, had allowed the French to force him to an agreement which disbanded his army, and left Prussia alone in the terrific fight. Frederick's position seemed desperate; but his energy re-

Campaigns
of 1757-
1758

trieved it. He fought and defeated the French at Rossbach, near Lützen, on the 5th of November, and the Austrians, at Leuthen, near Breslau, exactly one month later. In the campaigns of 1758, he encountered the Russians at Zorndorf, winning a bloody triumph, and he sustained a defeat at Hochkirk, in battle with the Austrians.

Campaigns
of 1759-
1760

But England had repudiated Cumberland's convention and recalled him; English and Hanoverian forces were again put into the field, under the capable command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who turned the tide in that quarter against the French, and the results of the year were favorable to Frederick. In 1759, the Hanoverian army, under Prince Ferdinand, improved the situation on that side; but the prospects of the king of Prussia were clouded by heavy disasters. Attempting to push a victory over the Russians too far, at Kunersdorf, he was terribly beaten. He lost Dresden, and a great part of Saxony. In the next year he recovered all but Dresden, which he wantonly and inhumanly bombarded.

Exhaustion
of the com-
batants,
1761-1762

The war was now carried on with great difficulty by all the combatants. Prussia, France and Austria were suffering almost equally from exhaustion; the misery among their people was too great to be ignored; the armies of each had dwindled. The opponents of Pitt's war policy in England overcame him, in October, 1761, whereupon he resigned, and the English subsidy to Frederick was withdrawn. But that was soon

made up to him by the withdrawal of Russia from the war, at the beginning of 1762, when Peter of Holstein, who admired Frederick, became czar. Sweden made peace a little later. The remainder of the worn and wearied fighters went on striking at each other until near the end of the year.

Meantime, on the colonial and East Indian side of it, this prodigious Seven Years War, as a great struggle for world-empire between England and France, had been adding conquest to conquest and triumph to triumph for the British arms.

The Seven Years War in America

In the preceding War of the Austrian Succession the New Englanders, who named it "King George's War," had exchanged some hard blows with their French neighbors, and had accomplished a glorious capture of the fortified naval station of France at Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. Their exertions and successes were useless, however, for the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisbourg to the enemy, and left all of the old disputes concerning boundaries of French and English territory in America to breed fresh quarrels, and an early renewal of war. That consequence was hastened by the vigorous proceedings of the French in the west. Having begun colonization on the lower Mississippi (Louisiana) as early as 1699, founding New Orleans in 1718, and having established their military posts along the Great Lakes and on the Wabash and Illinois rivers, they began, in 1749, to take possession of

Preceding
circum-
stances

The French
taking
possession
of the Ohio
valley,
1749-1753

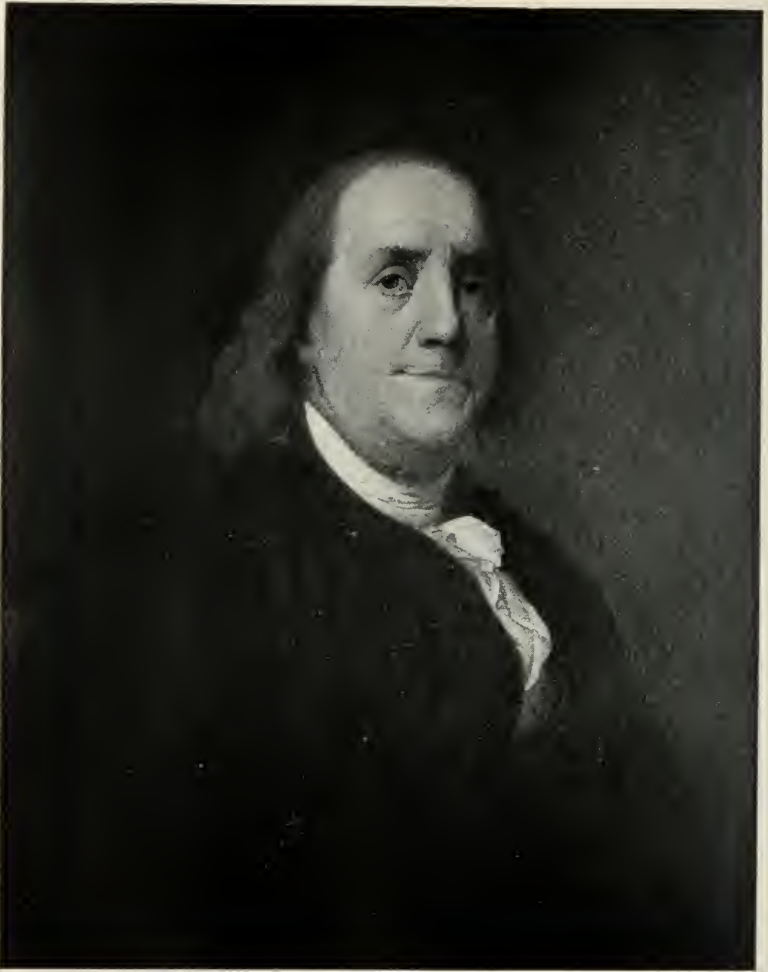
Parkman,
*Half
Century of
Conflict*, 1:
ch. xvii

the upper tributaries of the Ohio, crossing Lake Erie near its eastern extremity, and entering the western part of the province granted to Penn. Four years later they built forts on one of the branches of the Allegheny, known since as French Creek. This brought them very close to the mountain borders of settlement in Pennsylvania; but that pacific Quaker colony was heedless of the encroachment, and left remonstrance to Virginia, which claimed the invaded territory, by virtue of the interpretation it had given to its charter of 1609.

Entrance of
Washington into
history,
1753

It was then that George Washington made his entrance into history. He had barely reached manhood, but was adjutant-general of the militia of Virginia, and was chosen by Governor Dinwiddie to convey a warning to the intrusive French commander, that he had trespassed on English soil. Washington, with a guide, and a small escort, made his way through the wilderness to Fort Le Bœuf and delivered his message, which, of course, had no effect. On his return he was appointed to command a force of two hundred men, for the support of a working party that was sent out, in the spring of 1754, to build a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, where Pittsburgh now stands. The working party reached the chosen ground in advance of its military support, and was driven off by the French, who proceeded to build a fort of their own, which they called Fort Duquesne. When Washington and his men approached the place

Encounter
with the
French,
1754



FRANKLIN

From the original painting by Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), now in the Public Library, Boston

they came into collision with a French scouting party, and that encounter opened the conflict that was decisive of the destiny of the American world. Falling back to Great Meadows, the young Virginian built a small fort, which he called Fort Necessity, and attempted to hold his ground; but the French brought such numbers of their Indian allies against him that he made terms with them and was allowed to withdraw his men.

Most of the colonies—New York and Pennsylvania especially—showed a singular indifference to these French encroachments; but the British government saw the seriousness of the move. It called a congress of colonial commissioners, at Albany, in June, 1754, which arranged a firmer alliance with the Six Nations, and which proceeded then to consider the important subject of colonial union. Benjamin Franklin, one of the commissioners from Pennsylvania, submitted a plan of union which the congress adopted, with some amendments, and recommended to the provincial assemblies and to the authorities at home. The scheme contemplated a general government for the provinces, under a president-general, to be appointed by the crown, and a grand council of representatives, chosen by the several colonial assemblies. Neither the colonists nor the home government were satisfied with this plan. As Franklin, in his autobiography, describes their reception of it, “the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too

Colonial
congress at
Albany,
1754

Projects of
colonial
union

much prerogative in it, and in England it was judged to have too much of the democratic." The English board of trade, which had charge of colonial affairs, prepared another scheme, "whereby," says Franklin, "the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, etc., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterward to be refunded by an act of parliament, laying a tax on America." Thus, in England, the determination to tax the colonies by authority of parliament for the cost of their defense was becoming fixed, and the final conflict with France was undertaken with that in view.

Franklin,
*Autobiog-
raphy*

Opening of
the war in
America,
1755

Parkman,
*Montcalm
and Wolfe*,
2 : ch. vii-x

Braddock's
defeat,
July 19,
1755

Early in 1755 considerable forces were sent to America from both England and France, General Braddock commanding the English and Baron Dieskau those of the French. At a conference in Virginia, where Braddock and his army were landed, four movements against the French were planned. The main expedition, directed against Fort Duquesne, was led by Braddock, who knew nothing of wilderness warfare with savages, and who would take no advice. The consequence was that dreadful disaster which is familiar to every reader as "Braddock's defeat." Ambushed in the forest, near Fort Duquesne, by hidden foes, who fired from behind trees, he scorned to let his men defend themselves in the same backwoods fashion, but held them in battle order till they broke and fled wildly, leaving their wounded to be

tomahawked and scalped. Braddock was wounded mortally, and 800 of the 2,200 in his command are believed to have been lost. Washington had taken a place on the staff of the unfortunate British general, and performed heroic service in collecting and saving the fugitive remnant of the army; but the whole Pennsylvania frontier was abandoned to the merciless savages for some months.

Of the other expeditions concerted with General Braddock, one, intended for the capture of Fort Niagara, at the outlet of the Niagara River, went no farther than Oswego. Another, against Crown Point, commanded by Colonel William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs in New York (afterward Sir William Johnson), won an important victory, near the head of Lake George, wounding and capturing Baron Dieskau; but the object of its undertaking was not gained. The remaining movement, planned for the expulsion of the French from the Bay of Fundy and its neighborhood, where they kept up intrigues with the Acadian French of Nova Scotia, had complete success.

Other
expeditions

Since Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, its French inhabitants had stubbornly maintained their allegiance to France, encouraged to do so, apparently, by intriguing French priests. Until 1749 they formed practically the total population of the province, and the king of England was said to have not one truly loyal subject in the Acadian

Nova
Scotia

peninsula, outside of the fort at Annapolis. In that year the situation was changed somewhat by the sending out of twenty-five hundred British settlers, at government expense, to found a colony where the city of Halifax now stands. This had strengthened the English footing in that region; but the irreconcilable attitude of the Acadians caused troubles which provoked a cruel measure. In 1755 they were taken by force from their homes, in large numbers, and shipped to different points in the English colonies, whence many of them made their way to the Louisiana settlements of the French. From the incidents of this harsh measure, Longfellow wove the pathetic tale in his poem of "Evangeline."

Founding
of Halifax,
1749

Dispersion
of the
Acadians,
1755

Marquis de
Montcalm

Pitt,
organizer
of British
victories,
1758-1761

Baron Dieskau was succeeded by the marquis de Montcalm, while Braddock was replaced by Lord Loudon; and these appointments proved greatly to the advantage of the French. Things went badly with the British for the next two years. Then came an astonishing change, in 1758, when William Pitt, afterward earl of Chatham, rose to power in the English ministry, and infused his high spirit and his surpassing energy into every arm of the government and every movement of the war. Louisbourg was taken again that year; the French were driven from Fort Duquesne, and Fort Frontenac, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, was destroyed. One dreadful disaster was sustained, at Fort Ticonderoga, on the outlet from Lake George into Lake Champlain, where a blundering assault on the

works was repulsed with awful slaughter. Lord Howe, the capable second officer in command, who might have prevented the useless carnage, had been killed in a chance encounter, a few days before.

The crowning British victory was won in the next year (September 13, 1759), when Quebec, the citadel of Canada, was taken by General Wolfe, who died on the battlefield, while Montcalm, his antagonist, received a mortal wound. Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Duquesne had been surrendered or abandoned before the fall of Quebec. In other quarters the French forces continued a hopeless struggle until September, 1760, when the surrender of Montreal carried with it the surrender throughout Canada and the west of all the French forces in arms.

British
capture of
Quebec,
1759

Conquest
of Canada
and the
west, 1760

Forgetting the rights of the native occupants of the country, the English deemed this a sufficient acquisition by conquest, and took possession without seeking the assent of the Indian tribes, whose friendship had been cultivated carefully by the French. The consequence was a great combination formed against them by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, and a nearly simultaneous attack on all their western posts, in May and June, 1763. Generally their garrisons were taken by surprise, and were overcome almost everywhere, except at Detroit and Fort Pitt. The siege of Detroit, by Pontiac in person, was maintained for six months, the garrison holding out till relieved. At last, in 1764, Pontiac's league was broken up and

Pontiac's
war,
1763-1764

Parkman,
*Conspiracy
of Pontiac*

terms of peace were arranged with most of the tribes.

The Seven Years War in India

In India, as well as in America, the ambitions of France suffered defeat. She had acquired a slender footing in that country about 1674, by the purchase of ground and the founding of a small settlement at Pondicherry, on the Carnatic coast. Until the time of the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, this little French colony had seemed too unimportant to arouse jealousy on the part of the English, or the least alarm. But when, in that war, Madras was taken from them (though restored at the end), and they failed in a retaliating attack on Pondicherry, they began to realize that the French, as neighbors in Hindostan, must be taken into account. A new conception, too, of the opportunities of the Indian field was awakened in French minds. An energetic governor at Pondicherry, Dupleix by name, saw what advantages might be gained by interfering in the perpetual native wars that were ruining India more and more. He disciplined a body of native troops, brought it to a state of great efficiency, and began using it in alliances which decided many neighboring conflicts, with an immense promotion of French influence and power.

The Moghul empire was now far gone in a decline that began in Aurungzebe's time. That monarch had to strive with incessant revolts,

Preceding
circum-
stances

The French
in the
Carnatic

Decay of
the Moghul
empire

particularly in the southern part of India, known as the Deccan. In the central and western sections of that region the Hindu population was persistent in insurrections until, under the name of Mahrattas, it established a formidable independent power. The ruin of the empire was hastened by an invasion, in 1739, from Persia, where a famous soldier of fortune, Nadir Shah, had won the throne. Nadir took Delhi, butchered many thousands of its inhabitants, stripped it of all the wealth he could remove and returned to his own country, leaving a nominal "great moghul" on the throne, but one whose sovereignty was almost destroyed. "The different provinces and viceroyalties went their own natural way; they were parcelled out in a scuffle among revolted governors, rebellious chiefs, leaders of insurgent tribes or sects, religious revivalists, or captains of mercenary bands. The Indian people were becoming a masterless multitude swaying to and fro in the political storm, and clinging to any power, natural or supernatural, that seemed likely to protect them." The opportunity for a strong European race to make itself that protecting and masterful power had been prepared to perfection, and Dupleix, the French governor at Pondicherry, was, apparently, the first to discern the fact.

The
Mahrattas]

Nadir
Shah's
invasion,
1739

Lyall,
*Rise of the
British
Dominion
in India,*
ch. iv., sect.
1-2

Among the native princes who had established themselves, with substantial independence, in different parts of the Deccan, the most important was the Nizam-ul-mulk, or imperial viceroy, as

The Nizam

he was contented with being styled, whose seat of government was at Hyderabad. In 1748 the throne of that important principality became vacant, and was claimed by rival pretenders, one of whom triumphed and slew his opponent by means of help received from Dupleix. The English, in their neighboring presidency of Madras, lost prestige and influence among the natives by permitting the French to assume such control of this important affair. They were anxious to lend aid to a son of the defeated prince, who held one city, Trichinopoly, where he was besieged by the nawab (nabob) of the Carnatic, one of the vassals of the Nizam; but they had not prepared themselves to cope with the trained sepoy army of Dupleix. Their situation was discouraging in the last degree. Good fortune, however, had brought into their employ a young man, Robert Clive, who was capable of putting a new face on affairs if they gave him the chance, which they did. Clive, originally a clerk in the counting-rooms of the East India Company, had got himself transferred to the more congenial military branch of its service, and was now a commissary of the little force at Madras. He offered to draw the nawab of the Carnatic away from Trichinopoly, by attacking Arcot, his capital, and the Madras authorities allowed him to make the attempt. With 200 British soldiers and 300 sepoys he took Arcot (September, 1751), and held it against 10,000 of the nawab's forces, through a trying siege of fifty days. From this

The nawab
of the
Carnatic

Advent of
Robert
Clive

Macaulay,
Essays:
Lord Clive

Capture of
Arcot, 1751

time the prestige and influence of the English went up and that of the French went down, until poor Dupleix was called home in disgrace the next year. Clive, too, went home to England to repair the health which his prodigious exertions had broken, and to receive honors, well earned.

In 1755 Clive returned to India, a commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the British army and governor of Fort St. David, one of the possessions of the Company a little south of Pondicherry. Very soon he was called upon to rescue Calcutta from a situation far worse than the one he had redeemed at Madras. In 1756 the viceroyalty of Bengal,—practically an independent principality, like other viceroyalties in the empire,—descended to an ignorant, vicious youth, Surajah Dowlah, who was seized at once with a desire to plunder the English settlement at Calcutta, which he imagined to be full of wealth. Fort William, unprepared to resist the great army he led against it, was taken with ease, and the captive English, one hundred and forty-six in number, were driven, on a night of fierce heat, into the garrison prison-cell, a room only twenty feet square, known since by the dreadfully famous name of “the Black Hole of Calcutta.” “Nothing in history or fiction,” says Lord Macaulay, “not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night.” The survivors were only

Clive, gov-
ernor of
Fort St.
David, 1755

Surajah
Dowlah

“The Black
Hole of
Calcutta”

twenty-three, "ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known," who staggered from the charnel-house in the morning, when the door was opened by the pitiless guards.

Clive's
chastise-
ment of
Surajah
Dowlah

Clive was the man chosen at Madras to chastise the perpetrator of his hideous crime. With 900 British troops and 1,500 sepoy, he drove the Bengalee forces from Calcutta and its neighborhood, and then was persuaded by the mercantile representatives of the East India Company to accept terms which the offending nawab was willing to make. But Surajah Dowlah soon gave occasion for distrust, by intriguing with the French, and a conspiracy was entered into with his general, Meer Jaffier, who wished to supplant him on the vice-regal throne. On the strength of Meer Jaffier's promises, Clive, with 1,000 English and 2,000 sepoy, marched boldly against Moorshedabad, Surajah Dowlah's capital, and was confronted at the village of Plassey by a native army of 60,000, including 15,000 mounted men. Meer Jaffier showed no sign of the treachery he had promised; but Clive determined, nevertheless, to give battle, and his audacity won the day. The nawab's hosts were routed, and he fled, even abandoning his capital, in disguise. Meer Jaffier, though tardy in joining the English, was enthroned at Moorshedabad, with a formal patent of investiture obtained from the "great moghul," and Surajah Dowlah was put to death. By shameful treachery on the part of Clive, an influential Hindu, Omichund, who arranged the

The battle
of Plassey,
1757

Meer
Jaffier

Omichund

plot with Meer Jaffier, was cheated of the large reward he had stipulated to be paid.

Historians in general treat the British Empire in India as dating from the battle of Plassey, fought on the 23d of June, 1757. From that time British authority was supreme in Bengal. The nawab of that great province was a puppet moved by English hands; and very soon the "great moghul" himself was nothing more.

British
supremacy
in Bengal

The French in the Carnatic had now been reinforced heavily, and under a vigorous new commander, Count de Lally, became formidable again. They captured Fort St. David and laid siege to Madras; but were driven off by the timely arrival of a British fleet, while their operations in other quarters were checked by a force which Clive sent against them, under Colonel Ford. In 1759 the command at Madras was taken by Colonel Coote, afterward Sir Eyre Coote, and, within the next two years, that brilliant soldier extinguished the hope of a French dominion in Hindostan. He struck the decisive blow in a battle at Wandewash, and finished his work by capturing Pondicherry in the following year.

Overthrow
of the
French in
India,
1759-1760

Wande-
wash, 1760

In that year, 1761, the English demonstrated their actual sovereignty in Bengal by deposing Meer Jaffier and seating his son-in-law in his place. The latter failed to understand that he was a puppet, and attempted to break the strings which pulled him; whereupon he was driven out and took refuge with the nawab of Oudh. That

Final sub-
jection of
the "great
moghul,"
1764

prince, and the reigning emperor, Shah Aulum, or Alam, adopted his cause, and united their forces, challenging war. To complicate the situation a sepoy mutiny broke out. The mutiny was quelled with a stern hand, by Major Munro, afterward Sir Hector Munro, and the same officer shattered the united armies of the "great moghul" and his vassal of Oudh, at Baxar, in 1764. From that time the imperial figure at Delhi claims little attention in East Indian history, though it remains as a decoration of the stage for almost a century more.

Conquests of England

The British triumph in the east, as well as in the west, went almost beyond belief. To use the language of Macaulay, "conquests equalling in rapidity and far surpassing in magnitude those of Cortes and Pizarro, had been achieved." "In the space of three years the English had founded a mighty empire. The French had been defeated in every part of India." "Throughout Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, the authority of the East India Company was more absolute than that of Acbar or Aurungzebe had ever been."

British
empire in
India

Treaties of
Paris and
Huberts-
burg, 1763

In February, 1763, two treaties of peace were concluded, one at Paris, on the 10th, between England, France and Spain (the latter power having joined France in the war as late as January, 1762); the other at Hubertsburg, on the 15th, between Prussia and Austria. France gave up to England all her possessions in North

America, except Louisiana (which passed to Spain), and yielded Minorca. She surrendered, moreover, considerable interests in the West Indies and in Africa. The colonial aspirations of the French were cast down by a blow that was lasting in its effect. Spain ceded Florida and all territory east of the Mississippi to Great Britain, but recovered Havana, which the British had taken in 1762.

Territorial
cessions of
France

British exploration of the Pacific

It was now, when the imperial ambitions of the British government were excited by its first great expansions of exterior dominion, that it began to send out official expeditions for the exploration of the vast uncharted expanses of the Pacific. Commodore Byron, in 1764, and Captains Wallis and Carteret, in 1766, sailed on voyages of search and survey which located some islands not known before, and learned many things of importance to geography and trade. Then came the famous three voyages of Captain Cook, which occupied most of the years from 1768 to 1779. In those voyages the original discoveries of Cook were less important than the careful examinations that he made of many islands and coasts which Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish navigators had seen or visited long before. He explored two thousand miles of the coast of Australia (known then as New Holland), and took formal possession of the country in the name of the king, naming Botany Bay, from the wealth of the botanical collections

Voyages of
Captain
Cook,
1768-1779

Possession
taken of
Australia

First con-
vict settle-
ment, 1788

that were gathered on its shores, and calling the whole region New South Wales. This led, a few years later, to the establishment of an English penal colony, not at Botany Bay, but on the neighboring great harbor of Port Jackson, where the city of Sydney now stands. The English occupation of Australia was thus begun. New Zealand and New Guinea were extensively coasted by Cook; he rediscovered the Hawaiian Islands (sighted more than two centuries before by one Gaetano), and he explored more than two thousand miles of the western North American coast, searching for the long-coveted northern passage from sea to sea.

Prussia and Frederick the Great

As between Prussia and Austria, the glories of the Seven Years War were won entirely by the former. Frederick came out of it, "Frederick the Great," the most famous man of his century, as warrior and as statesman, both. He had defended his little kingdom for seven years against three great powers, and yielded not one acre of its territory. He had raised Prussia to the place in Germany from which her subsequent advance became easy and almost inevitable. But the great fame he earned is spotted with many falsities and much cynical indifference to the commonest ethics of civilization. His greatness is of that character which requires to be looked at from selected standpoints.

Russia

Another character, somewhat resembling that of Frederick, was now drawing attention on the eastern side of Europe. Since the death of Peter the Great, the interval in Russian history had been covered by six reigns, with a seventh just opening, and the four sovereigns who really exercised power were women. Peter's widow, Catherine I., had succeeded him for two years. His son, Alexis, he had put to death; but Alexis left a son, Peter, to whom Catherine bequeathed the crown. Peter II. died after a brief reign, and the nearest heirs were two daughters of Peter the Great, Anne and Elizabeth. But they were set aside in favor of another Anne—Anne of Courland—daughter of Peter the Great's brother. Anne's reign of ten years was under the influence of German favorites and ministers, and nearly half of it was occupied with a Turkish war, in coöperation with Austria. For Austria the war had most humiliating results, costing her Belgrade, all of Servia, part of Bosnia and part of Wallachia. Russia won back Asov, with fortifications forbidden, and that was all. Anne willed her crown to an infant nephew, who appears in the Russian annals as Ivan VI.; but two regencies were overthrown by palace revolutions within little more than a year, and the second one carried to the throne that princess Elizabeth, younger daughter of Peter the Great, who had been put aside eleven years before. Elizabeth, a woman openly licentious and intemperate, reigned for twenty-one

The
tzarinas

Catherine I

Anne

Elizabeth,
1741-1761

years, during the whole important period of the War of the Austrian Succession, and almost to the end of the Seven Years War. She was bitterly hostile to Frederick the Great, whose sharp tongue had offended her, and she joined Maria Theresa with eagerness in the great effort of revenge, which failed. In the early part of her reign, war with Sweden had been more successful and had added South Finland to the Russian territories. It is claimed for her domestic government that the general prosperity of the country was advanced.

Conquest
of South
Finland

On the death of Elizabeth, near the end of the year 1761, the crown passed to her nephew, Peter of Holstein, son of her eldest sister, Anne, who had married the duke of Holstein. This prince had been the recognized heir, living at the Russian court, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign. He was an ignorant boor, and he had become a sot. Since 1744 he had been married to a young German princess of the Anhalt Zerbst family, who took the baptismal name of Catherine when she entered the Greek church. Catherine possessed a superior intellect and a strong character; but the vile court into which she came as a young girl, bound to a disgusting husband, had debauched her in morals and lowered her to its own vileness of life. She gained so great an ascendancy that the court was subservient to her, from the time that her incapable husband, Peter III., succeeded to the throne. He reigned by sufferance for a year and a half, and then he was

Catherine
II.

Waliszew-
ski, *The
Romance of
an Empress*

deposed and put to death. In the deposition, Catherine was the leading actor. Of the subsequent murder, some historians are disposed to acquit her. She did not scruple, at least, to accept the benefit of both deeds, which raised her, alone, to the throne of the tzars.

Deposition
and death
of Peter III.

Great Britain and her colonies under George III.

In October, 1760, the crown of Great Britain passed from George II. to his grandson, George III. It was the year in which France had been driven from both India and America, and the young sovereign found his kingdom expanded suddenly into the greatest of world-empires, dominant in both extremities of the globe and unmatched on the wide sea. There was much in the circumstances of his accession to fill him with the pride of a "grand monarch," and he had been trained by his mother to hold German ideas of the prerogatives of a king. With no small reason, as we have seen, those who leaned to such ideas could look on the English system of ministerial government as an accidental growth of recent years, having no constitutional stamp. The foreignness of the late kings had given their ministers an opportunity to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown; but the accession of an English-born and English-bred sovereign brought that opportunity to an end. The young king was taught to believe that such encroachments should be checked.

King
George's
notions of
kingship

With not much difficulty, the king's notions of

his kingship were carried into the government, sustained by a new Tory party that he drew around him. Pitt and other statesmen of independence were driven out of the cabinet, and it was filled with men known as "the king's friends,"—chief among them Lord Bute, an undistinguished Scotchman, but a special favorite at court. Bute became soon so unpopular that even royal favor could not keep him at the head of affairs, and he withdrew. He was able, however, to name his successor, George Grenville, and Grenville carried the principles of the new Toryism into practice with no hesitating hand. His opening move was an attempt to make criticism of the king's speeches to parliament a punishable offense. One John Wilkes, a member of parliament, and proprietor and conductor of a journal entitled *The North Briton*, presumed to publish such a criticism, and was pursued for years with prosecutions and persecutions that created the most serious political issue of the time. He was not a reputable man; but he was raised to the distinction of a popular hero by the questions of freedom for opinion and speech that were involved in his case. A great constituency in London elected him to parliament again and again, and the house of commons, more servile than the courts of law, refused to admit him to his seat. This went on till public feeling had been excited to a dangerous heat, and, in the end, king, ministers and parliament had to bow to the will of the constituency that elected Wilkes.

The
"king's
friends"

Macaulay,
Essays:
Chatham
(2d Essay)

Wilkes,
and the
"North
Briton,"
1763-1774

1774



PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

From the painting by Peter F. Rothermel (1817-1895), now in the Academy at Philadelphia

The king and "the king's friends" had done badly in their undertakings at home; they did worse in the colonies, so far as ultimate consequences were concerned. Naturally their ideas of colonial policy were the ideas of a paternal government, administered with a stern face, a heavy hand and an unspared rod. Grenville, acting with Charles Townshend, president of the board of trade, began the realizing of those ideas, in 1763, with a proposal to parliament that twenty regiments should be kept in America, at the cost of the colonies after the first year. The next step was a measure authorizing the employment of the navy in the service of the custom-house, to enforce the "acts of trade." The third was a revival, with some amendment, of an exasperating old law, called "the Sugar Act," or "the Molasses Act," which had for its object to prevent the New Englanders from buying sugar or molasses in the French West Indies instead of in the English islands. By exchanging fish, lumber and staves with the French planters for molasses, which they converted into rum and sold elsewhere, the New England merchants were able to obtain money in hand wherewith to buy English goods; and this was their principal source of cash. Former English governments had seen that the Molasses Act would strike a stupid blow at English as well as colonial trade, and it had not been enforced, until Grenville and Townshend took it up and made it an effective irritant of colonial discontent. A fourth measure

The king's
colonial
policy

The
Molasses
Act, 1763

Lecky,
*History of
England,
18th
Century*, 3:
332-337

in the same year was the immediate act of the king, who issued a proclamation ordering all white settlers away from the region west of the Alleghenies, setting apart that whole vast domain, just wrested from France, for the use of the Indian tribes, proposing thus to bar the colonies from any further westward growth.

Exclusion
of settlers
from the
west

The Stamp
Act, 1765

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*
(Full text)

Hosmer,
*Life of
Thomas
Hutchin-
son*, ch. iv

Patrick
Henry

"Sons of
Liberty"

Non-
importa-
tion agree-
ments

Then came the crowning measure of the new colonial policy, in the famous "Stamp Act," foreshadowed in 1764 by a series of "declaratory resolves," and made law in the following spring. This long-threatened and long-postponed taxation by parliament of an unrepresented people roused only some vigorous remonstrance in the colonies at first; but feeling warmed against it as the time for introducing the obnoxious stamps drew near, especially after the famous speech of Patrick Henry, in Virginia, had been published far and wide. A congress of delegates, held at New York, in October, 1765, adopted a temperate declaration of "the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists," while less orderly people, forming associations called "Sons of Liberty," indulged in demonstrations that became riotous at times, and that led in a few instances, at Boston and elsewhere, to shameful doings by senseless mobs. Generally, the officials appointed to sell the stamps were frightened into resigning, and a large part of the stamps sent out were destroyed; but the most effectual expression of colonial feeling was in agreements to wear homespun and to use no English-made goods.



DEATH OF EARL OF CHATHAM

From the painting made in 1779-80 by John Singleton Copley, R.A. (1737-1815)
Now in the National Gallery, London

This was done to an extent that became serious to English trade. British merchants and manufacturers were thus aroused against the Stamp Act, bringing an influence that helped Pitt and other statesmen, who opposed the measure on principle, to bring about its repeal.

Before this occurred, Grenville had lost favor with the king and a more moderate cabinet had been formed. It was this ministry, under the marquis of Rockingham, that carried the repeal of the offensive act; but parliament, at the same time, recorded a formal assertion of its right to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The Rockingham ministry was short-lived, and gave way to one which Pitt was persuaded to lend his name to, but over which he exercised no control. He was broken in health, and gave up service in the house of commons, accepting a peerage as earl of Chatham, and Charles Townshend, champion of a rigorous colonial policy, became the ruling spirit in the government. Townshend's measures, which parliament made law for him, were sharp. By one bill he imposed duties in the colonies on wine, oil, fruits, glass, paper, lead, painters' colors and tea, for a revenue to support civil government in them and provide for their defense. By another he created a colonial civil list of crown officials, dependent wholly on the pleasure of the king. These and other measures of the same antagonism to local self-government aroused even more feeling than the Stamp Act had done. The feeling

Repeal of
the Stamp
Act, 1766

Pitt made
earl of
Chatham

Townshend's
measures

Dickinson's
"Farmer's
Letters"

was deepened profoundly by a series of "Farmer's Letters," as they came to be known, published by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, in which the "dangerous innovation" of the Townshend acts was discussed in a soberly impressive way. Another powerful influence on colonial feeling was exercised at this time by addresses to the king and his ministers, and by circular letters to the colonial assemblies, sent forth by the Massachusetts assembly, probably all from the vigorous pen of Samuel Adams, who now stands forth, a commanding figure in the American history of the next few years.

Samuel
Adams

Hosmer,
*Samuel
Adams*,
ch. 7

Once more an effectual pressure on the sensitive nerves of British commerce was brought to bear, by a systematic organization of agreements to abstain from the use of English-made goods. Virginia led the way in this movement, and Washington drew up the resolutions that gave it form. Townshend was now dead, and Lord North, who succeeded him as the mouthpiece of the king's wishes, gave way to the renewed complaints of the business world, and proposed a repeal of all the Townshend duties except the duty on tea. It was the king's demand that the tea duty should remain "as a mark of the supremacy of parliament," and parliament obeyed his wish. This deprived the repeal of any conciliatory effect, and became a cause of new alienations which nothing could repair.

Repeal of
duties
except on
tea, 1770

On the day of Lord North's motion (March 5, 1770) for the partial repeal of the Townshend Act,

Boston was the scene of a deplorable collision between some of the king's troops, quartered in that city, and a crowd of rude people, who provoked them by insulting jeers. The angry soldiers fired and killed six, wounding five more. This "massacre," as it was styled, gave rise to intense excitement, and the governor was compelled to remove the soldiers from the town; but no grave consequences ensued. The next two years were peaceable generally, except in North Carolina, where a body of frontier settlers, having some grievances of their own against the government of the province, were in arms, under the name of "Regulators," until defeated in a fierce battle on the Alamance.

The
"Boston
massacre,"
March 5,
1770

North
Carolina
Regulators

The next agitation of feeling in Massachusetts was occasioned by an order from the king that the judges in that province, whose appointments had already been made subject to his majesty's pleasure, should take their salaries from the crown. Anxiety was deepened by this new blow at the independence of the judiciary; and it was now that an effective organization of the patriotic party throughout the colony was set on foot by Samuel Adams, who planned a system of "committees of correspondence" to be formed in every town. The committees were kept in constant communication and co-operation with the Boston leaders, of whom Samuel and John Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren and John Hancock were the recognized chiefs. Virginia adopted and enlarged the

1772

Commit-
tees of
corre-
spondence,
1772-1773

Hosmer,
*Samuel
Adams*,
190-206

idea of such committees, weaving the system into a strong intercolonial bond.

Generally the duty on tea was evaded, either by smuggling from Holland or by abstention from the use of the herb. King George or his ministers conceived a scheme for inducing the obstinate colonists to swallow taxed tea, by means of the payment of a drawback in England to the East India Company, on tea sent to America, thus enabling its agents to undersell the smugglers from the Dutch. Such an arrangement was made, and several cargoes of tea were shipped to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In the three cities last named the consignees of these tea cargoes were persuaded by the patriot party to decline receiving them; but the Boston consignees refused consent to such a course, and the governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, would not permit the ships to be sent back. Thereupon, after a great town meeting, presided over by Samuel Adams, a resolute body of men, partly disguised as Indians, proceeded to the ships, broke open the tea chests and poured their contents into the sea.

The king's
cheapened
tea

The
"Boston
tea party,"
Dec. 6, 1773

Punish-
ment of
Boston and
Massachu-
setts, 1774

Naturally there was wrath in government circles when news of the Boston doings reached England, and no time was lost in making provision for the punishment of the offending province and town. By one act the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, the authority of the royal governor and his council was made supreme, and town meetings were forbidden to be held without

the governor's permit. By another, the port of Boston was closed against the entrance or clearance of any ship. Events now moved rapidly toward the crisis of armed revolt. General Gage, with four additional regiments, was sent to Boston to supersede Governor Hutchinson and place Massachusetts under military rule. He was instructed to arrest Adams and other leaders and send them to England for trial; but prudence led him to postpone the attempt. Boston, while suffering severely from the destruction of its trade, received liberal contributions of aid, as well as warm messages of encouragement and sympathy, from every side.

Virginia declared the attack on Massachusetts to be an attack on all the colonies, needing to be resisted by all, and advised the holding of a "continental congress,"—that is, a congress representative of all the English colonies on the continent,—and the advice was approved. The first continental congress was assembled accordingly at Philadelphia, in September, 1774, including Washington in its membership, and many more whose names were to become famous in the coming years. The action of the congress was temperate but firm. It adopted a Declaration of Rights, setting forth the claim of the people of America to "a free and exclusive power of legislation in their provincial legislatures. . . in all cases of taxation and internal polity;" together with a respectful petition to the king, an address to the people of England, and another to

Trevelyan,
*The
American
Revolution,*
I : ch. v

The first
continental
congress,
1774

Morse,
*John
Adams,*
ch. ii

Expres-
sions of the
congress

the people of British America, including Quebec. To the English people it was said: "Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness;" and this expressed, without doubt, the feeling of a large majority of the Americans of the day, though great numbers had grown hopeless by this time of the freedom described. The resolutions of the congress recommended that the support of "all America" be given to Massachusetts, in her opposition to the oppressive measures against her government; and it instituted a new movement of commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, organizing an association to give it effect. The agreements of the association included a pledge to discontinue the importation of slaves after the first day of the next December.

Commer-
cial non-
intercourse
renewed

Massachu-
setts "com-
mittee of
safety"

In Massachusetts, General Gage was making little headway in his undertaking to bring the province under military rule. He suppressed the regular meetings of its assembly, but the members met elsewhere as a convention, or congress, and established, practically, a provisional government, under a "committee of safety," with Dr. Warren at its head. The committee exercised an authority which Gage could not bring to bear. He lacked officials to serve him, few Tories being bold enough to accept commissions at his hands. As for arresting the patriot leaders, a public convention in Suffolk County gave notice that the crown officers in the province would be seized and

held as hostages if a single arrest for political reasons should be made. Behind such resolves there was a vigorous activity in the collection of military stores and in organizing the militia, which the committee was empowered to call out,—one fourth of the embodied militia to be styled “minute men,” and to be always ready for instant obedience to any call. Similar armed organizations were springing up in all parts of the land.

“Minute
men”

Proof of the alertness of the minute men and the efficiency of the militia system in Massachusetts was given on the 19th of the next April (1775), when 800 British troops, sent out from Boston by General Gage, to capture Sam. Adams and Hancock, at Lexington, and to seize certain military stores at Concord, were encountered by the “embattled farmers,” who “fired the shot heard round the world.” It is needless to repeat the familiar tale of that first bloodshed on Lexington green, of the fight at Concord, of the pitiful suffering of the king’s troops in their retreat to Boston, ambushed by an enraged people along the whole road. Ninety-three of the Americans and 273 of the British fell that day, and the War of American Independence was begun.

The
“embattled
farmers” at
Lexington
and
Concord,
April 19,
1775

Fiske,
*American
Revolution*,
I : 120-126

As fast as the news of battle could spread, minute men from every part of New England were on the march toward Boston, and Gage found himself beleaguered by 13,000 before the end of the week. At New York, when the Sons of Liberty heard of Lexington, they rose and took control of the city. Even the Quakers of Phila-

British
forces be-
leaguered
in Boston

The
colonies
in arms

Second
continental
congress,
1775

Appoint-
ment of
Washington
to chief
command,
June 15,
1775

Timidity
of the
congress

Holst,
*Constitu-
tional Law
of the U. S.*,
5-12

delphia were moved by the excitement of the event to prepare for war. In Virginia and South Carolina the patriots had already taken arms to secure the military stores in those provinces, and were actually in revolt. As quickly as the travel of the time could bring it, the New Englanders had assurances of support from every British-American community except Quebec; and the same assurance was repeated by collective action of the colonies in the second continental congress, which assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Again the congress addressed a respectful petition to King George, and a calm declaration of "the causes and necessity for taking up arms;" but it made common cause with New England in the hostilities already begun, adopted the forces in arms as a "continental army," and, by an inspiration that can never be thought of without wonder and awe, it appointed George Washington to the chief command. To that appointment, more than to all other causes combined, the success of the struggle for American independence was due.

In nothing else was the action of the continental congress so wise. "While assuming the responsibilities of the impending struggle, it assumed no power to enforce an order it might give, or authority to levy a dollar of taxation for the expenses incurred. Its whole exercise of a nominal authority to direct the common action of the thirteen colonies was left dependent on the willingness of each provincial government to be

submissive to its advice. . . . State governments, when formed, became the only governments felt and known in reality by the people, who struggled through their war of independence with nothing that could be called a governing head.”

Larned,
*History of
the United
States,*
199-200

As far as one commanding personality could make good the defect in government, Washington supplied it, by his massive strength of character. Without that majestic influence in the struggle, one finds it very hard to believe that the American cause would have escaped wreck. But the strain on him who gave it was such as has tested the greatness of very few men. Let those who would know what he was to his country, what difficulties he contended with, what slender means he worked with, through what disheartenments he kept his courage and his faith,—let them read his correspondence and take the painful record from his own pen.

Washington's
greatness

China

The protection which the Christian missionaries had enjoyed in China under Kanghi was withdrawn by his successor, and they were exposed to the hostility of the literati and the important “board of rites.” Excepting a few Jesuits who were employed in public services, and whose knowledge was too useful to be dispensed with, they were sent to the Portuguese settlement at Macao, and more than three hundred churches were destroyed. Replying to a deputation from the missionaries, who remons-

Expulsion
of mission-
aries

Douglas,
China, 135

trated against these measures, the emperor asked them: "What would you say if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country to preach their doctrines? How would you receive them?" Their answer is not recorded.

Under the fourth of the Manchu sovereigns, Keen-lung, Kashgar and Yarkand were added to the empire by conquest, and both Burmah and Cochin China were made tributary states.

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO HIS DEATH

(1775 TO 1799)

Continuity of revolutionary influence from the English Long Parliament to the French States-general. *The War of American Independence*: Campaigns and battles of the war.—Discouraging conditions.—Trials of Washington.—Surrender of Cornwallis.—Treaty of peace. "*The critical period of American history*." Weakness of the Confederation.—Framing and adoption of the federal constitution. *The British empire*: Hostilities with France, Spain and Holland.—Wars in India.—Concessions to Ireland.—Industrial revolution in Great Britain. *France*: The approaching political revolution.—Its causes.—Its outbreak.—Meeting of the States-general.—Assumption of supremacy by the third estate.—The Girondists.—The Jacobins.—Overthrow of the monarchy.—Execution of the king.—Fall of the Girondists.—Crusade against all monarchies.—"The reign of terror."—The Jacobin factions devouring one another.—End of "the terror."—Advent of Napoleon Bonaparte.—His campaign in Italy.—His expedition to Egypt, and return.—His domination as first consul. *The Partitioning of Poland*: The three partitions. *The United States of America*: Organization of federal government under Washington.—Financial measures of Hamilton.—Lasting division of political parties.—Troubles with England and France.—Administration of John Adams.—Overthrow of the Federalists. *British America*: The Quebec Act.—United Empire Loyalists.—Act of 1791.

In this last quarter of the eighteenth century, the period we have described as an "epoch of political revolutions" was rounded to a startling close. The epoch had been opened, in the first half of the preceding century, by a movement of revolution in England, where long-nurtured principles and practices in government, politically favorable to the people, were developed suddenly, by exciting violations, into a precocious and untimely republicanism. Discredited by unfortunate results, they seemed for a time to lose their hold in the English mind; but the reaction did not last to the end of the generation in which it

The
rounding
out of the
revolution-
ary epoch

From the
English
revolutions
to the
American

occurred. Then came the vigorous revival of 1688, which, acting on more moderate lines, carried forward the attempted revolution of 1649, not to the construction of an impracticable republic, but to a monarchy constitutionally restrained. On that formulation and affirmation of English principles in government, the people of the English colonies in America began to make claims of right to a measure of provincial self-government which the home country would not concede. From the consequent breach came the American revolution, in which English political principles were pressed finally to their logical conclusion, and realized in a democratic republic. This fired the train which exploded a passionate discontent in France, with shattering effects in Europe on hoary structures of absolutism, far and wide. One by one they went down in the next century, to be replaced by constitutional governments, so universally that the few exceptions now remaining are but marks of the survival of a half-civilized social state. From the English Long Parliament of 1640 to the French States-general of 1789, the continuity of the revolutionary influence is plainly to be traced. ;

From the
American
to the
French

The War of American Independence

Fiske, *The
American
Revolution*

Before Washington assumed command of the American army, which he did at Cambridge, on the 2d of July, two important events of war had occurred. Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been surprised and captured in May, by

Ethan Allen and the "Green Mountains Boys" of Vermont, giving two hundred cannon to the provincials, with a quantity of ammunition and other stores; and the battle of Bunker Hill had been fought. A defeat that had the influence of a victory was experienced in the Bunker Hill fight. The New Englanders besieging Boston had been driven from a position they attempted to secure; but their raw militiamen had repulsed two assaults by British veterans, inflicting a loss more than double their own, and giving good proof of the firmness of their nerve. The worst consequence of the battle was the death of Dr. Warren, who joined the defenders of the hill as a volunteer.

Trevelyan,
The American Revolution

Battle of
Bunker
Hill, June
17, 1775

While Washington labored for months to form an effective army for operations against the British in Boston, two expeditions were sent into Canada, which had no useful result, but cost some valuable lives, including that of General Richard Montgomery, who fell in an assault on Quebec. Meantime, King George was heating and hardening the rebellious temper of the colonies by hiring Hessians and other German soldiers for service against them, and Thomas Paine, a late comer to Philadelphia from England, was persuading them to declare for independence, in his powerful pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense." At the beginning of March, Washington felt prepared, with men, guns, and ammunition, for an aggressive move. On the night of the 4th he seized and fortified a position on Dorchester

Expedition
to Canada

Hessian
mercen-
aries

Paine's
"Common
Sense"

British
evacuation
at Boston,
March,
1776

Heights which compelled General Howe, who had superseded Gage, to evacuate Boston, sailing to Halifax with his army and with 900 of his Tory friends.

Washington defending the Hudson

With all possible haste, Washington moved the greater part of his army to New York, assuming what he recognized, then and always throughout the war, as his most important task,—namely, that of holding the valley of the Hudson against the British, to prevent their cutting New England from connection and coöperation with the middle and southern colonies, and to separate them, at the same time, from their savage allies, the Six Nations of the Iroquois. But the American commander could take to New York no more than about 8,000 men, while Howe, at Halifax, was preparing a large army for his next campaign, backed by a powerful fleet. Till late in summer, however, all things looked cheering on the American side. One by one, in May and June, the several colonies declared for independence, and before June ended there were seven which had organized independent governments, based on “the authority of the people,” thus casting their colonial swaddling clothes and taking on the political vesture of American States.

The forming of colonies into States

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

It was then, on the Fourth of July, 1776, that the general wish for a united Declaration of Independence was obeyed by the continental congress, and the republic of the United States of America proclaimed itself to the world. The Declaration was received everywhere with rejoic-

ing, heightened by news from Charleston, where a British fleet, attempting to enter the harbor, had been repulsed by a rude log fort on Sullivan's Island, defended by Colonel Moultrie with 1,200 men. But these were the last good tidings that rejoiced the country for almost half a year. The end of July brought Howe, with 30,000 troops, and his brother, Vice-Admiral Howe, with a great fleet, into New York Bay, and Washington was overwhelmed. He had collected about 20,000 men, but they were mostly undisciplined and poorly equipped, in comparison with the army of Howe. Defeated on the 27th of August, in a battle on Long Island, which expelled them from Brooklyn Heights, the Americans retreated from New York up the river to positions among the hills.

British
repulse at
Charleston,
June 28,
1776

Retreat of
Washing-
ton from
New York

Then came the first of the dark periods of the war,—a time, as Paine expressed it, “that tried men's souls.” Washington was assailed with hostile criticism and undermined by jealous intrigues, congress taking a discreditable part in both. Subordinate officers were encouraged to disregard the orders of the commander-in-chief. A military adventurer from England, Charles Lee, unfortunately commissioned among the American major-generals, and supposed to be a great soldier, became especially mischievous; and the whole situation was deplorably wrong. Washington, as a consequence, was compelled, at the beginning of December, to retreat from the Hudson (maintaining forts, however, on the

Intrigues
against him

His retreat
into Penn-
sylvania,
Dec., 1776

upper parts of the river), falling back, through New Jersey, until he had placed the Delaware between the pursuing enemy and himself. The short terms of so many of his men had expired that hardly 3,000 remained in his immediate command. And now it was that the high qualities of this great soldier and great man received their first full proof. The almost ruined cause of the States was borne up by his grand courage and faith. He and his officers borrowed money on the pledge of their private estates for the pay of their men, to keep them in the field. By Christmas he had got together 6,000, and planned to recover the ground he had lost. His pursuers, commanded by Lord Cornwallis, were waiting carelessly for the ice in the river to bridge them over it, and let them strike what they expected to make a finishing blow. Suddenly, on Christmas eve, Washington forced a crossing of the half-frozen river, with boats enough to land himself and 2,400 of his troops on the Jersey shore; marched through a sleety winter storm to Trenton; surprised and captured 1,000 Hessians, with abundant stores; slipped from the fingers which Cornwallis felt certain of closing upon him; took more prisoners and more stores at Princeton, and moved on to a secure position at Morristown; recovering from the enemy, in a campaign of ten days, all the advantages they had gained from his temporary retreat.

Washington resumes
the
offensive,
Dec.-Jan.,
1776-1777

His success

The helpful effect of this brilliant operation, at home and abroad, was immense. It decided the

French government to give secret aid to the States, in money, stores, and privateers, and it inspired fresh confidence in America, when the next serious undertaking of the British was faced. This was an invasion from Canada, attempted in the summer of 1777, to meet a northward movement from New York, and to gain possession of the Hudson from end to end. The story of Burgoyne's invasion and its defeat,—of the obstructing of his march by forces under General Schuyler; of the cutting of his communications with Canada by New England and New York militia-men, directed by General Lincoln; of the disastrous fate of St. Leger's column, coming by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk to join him; of the failure of Howe to move northward from New York and meet him; of the victory won by shirt-sleeved farmers at Bennington, under Stark; of the two desperate battles which Burgoyne was forced to fight at Freeman's Farm, on Bemis Heights, near Saratoga, and of his surrender, on the 17th of October, with 6,000 men,—the story is too long to be told in this place. Undeserved credit for the great success was won by General Horatio Gates, an intriguing officer, whom congress had put in Schuyler's place, and who came on the scene after the fate of Burgoyne had practically been sealed. Schuyler had directed the resistance to Burgoyne with great prudence and skill, and the glory of the two victories on Bemis Heights belonged to Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan; but the laurels were carried off by

Helpful
effects
of the
campaign

Burgoyne's
invasion,
defeat and
surrender,
July-Oct.,
1777

General
Gates

General Gates, who became now an intriguing and strongly backed candidate for Washington's place.

Howe's
movement
on Phila-
delphia

When General Howe should have been moving up the Hudson to coöperate with Burgoyne, he turned his army in the contrary direction and effected a useless capture of Philadelphia. Orders directing him to meet Burgoyne had been pigeon-holed in London by a careless minister, and, acting on his own judgment, he went wildly astray. Washington hindered and delayed the Philadelphia movement to the best of his ability, forcing the British general to transport his troops by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay; but when he fought them at the Brandywine his forces were not adequate and he gave way. Howe entered Philadelphia, and congress fled to York. A week later, Washington attempted to surprise the British headquarters, in the Germantown suburb, by a night attack, but his plans were spoiled by disastrous mishaps.

Battle of
the
Brandy-
wine,
Sept. 11,
1777

The winter
at Valley
Forge,
1777-1778

Howe passed the winter with gayety in Philadelphia; Washington placed his army in winter-quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, twenty-one miles away. That winter of 1777-8 is memorable for the sufferings of the half-clad and ill-fed American army, and for the sore personal trials of its great-souled commander-in-chief. To shallow lookers-on, the latter seemed to have done nothing to be compared with the boasted exploit of Gates at Saratoga, and intrigues to supplant him were begun anew. Congress was

tainted deeply by the envies and ignorances at the root of the intrigue; for many of its high-minded and able men had left their seats for service abroad or in the several States. As for the Gates faction in the army,—called the “Conway cabal,” from the active prominence of a certain General Conway,—it was virulent, but not large. The conspiracy had no substantial success, and it was not long in so exposing its own meanness of spirit, by contrast with the loftiness of character in Washington, that public opinion crushed it with contempt.

The
“Conway
cabal”

The time was far from being altogether one of darkness on the American side; for France, in February, signed a treaty of open alliance with the United States, challenging England to war, which the latter declared in the following month. Personal alliances, too, of great value to the cause, had been formed of late. Lafayette, with his fine temper, his warm enthusiasm, his affectionate admiration of Washington, his useful influence in France,—Steuben, with his Prussian training, and his thorough military knowledge,—De Kalb and Pulaski, with their splendid valor,—had come to give their services to the young republic,—two of them to die in its defense.

Alliance
with
France,
Feb., 1778

Lafayette,
Steuben,
De Kalb,
Pulaski

Spring brought overtures of peace from Great Britain, but not the recognition of independence, without which no peace could be made. Military operations were reopened in June, when Sir Henry Clinton, who had superseded Howe in the British command, abandoned the useless occupa-

Battle of
Monmouth
Court
House,
June 28,
1778

tion of Philadelphia, moving back to New York. Washington broke camp and pursued, with an army about equal to that in retreat. At Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, he overtook the enemy and prepared to attack; but, unfortunately, his advance was commanded by General Charles Lee, who is now known to have been treacherous on former occasions, and who acted, probably, with traitorous intentions again. Lee's bewildering orders produced a disorderly retreat, instead of an attack, until Washington reached the front and saved the army from disaster; but the promising opportunity for an important stroke was lost. Clinton made his way to New York, and the military situation in that region settled to inactivity for the remainder of the war. Washington kept his post at the center of the whole field, specially on guard over the Hudson, while detaching forces from his immediate command to meet exigencies at other points.

Washing-
ton again
guarding
the Hudson

Plans of coöperation with a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, in a movement on New York, were baffled by the inability of the larger French vessels to cross the bar. There was failure, too, in a subsequent undertaking with the French fleet, in the same summer (1778), to dislodge the British from Newport, their sole foothold, outside of New York, in the whole thirteen States. Marauding parties from Newport and New York continued to harass the New England coast, and this, for a long period, was the only warfare conducted by the regular British forces in any part

of the north. But bands of malignant Tories, who had taken refuge in western New York and Canada, with their headquarters at Fort Niagara, led war parties of Indians in savage raids upon Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and other frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and New York. In the summer of 1779 General Sullivan was sent by Washington into western New York, with a force of 5,000 men, to chastise the white-skinned and red-skinned barbarians who did this bloody work. Sullivan executed his commission relentlessly, so far as the offending Indians in the Genesee valley were concerned, but Fort Niagara was not reached.

Tory and
Indian
raids

Sullivan's
expedition

Farther west, a young surveyor, George Rogers Clark, commissioned by Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and leading a small force of hardy frontier riflemen, had been operating in an independent way since the summer of 1778. Clark captured the British posts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, on the Mississippi, and Vincennes, on the Wabash, thereby establishing claims of conquest which assumed importance when boundaries were in question at the end of the war.

Clark's
western
conquests

Roosevelt,
*Winning of
the West*,
I : ch. x, 2:
ch. i, iii, viii

At sea the British possessed every advantage, and their commerce suffered little from American privateers, compared with the destruction they were able to inflict on American trade. But Captain Paul Jones, a Scotch sailor, commissioned by the continental congress and equipped in 1779 with a small squadron, in France, began then to make himself a terror to the British

Naval
exploits of
Paul Jones,
1779

coasts, as well as to British merchant fleets. The desperate battle of his flagship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, with the English frigate *Serapis*, in September, that year, is one of the heroic incidents of the war.

British subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina, 1778-1779

The main seat of war had now been transferred by the British to the southern States. Beginning near the close of the year 1778 with the capture of Savannah, they accomplished, substantially, the subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina in the course of the next eighteen months. An attempt by General Lincoln, commanding in the south, and Count d'Estaing, with the French fleet, to recover Savannah, in the fall of 1779, failed, with the loss of a thousand men. Count Pulaski, the gallant Pole, was among those who fell in a disastrous assault. In the following spring Sir Henry Clinton, coming from New York with heavy reinforcements, inclosed Lincoln and his army in Charleston and captured the whole. Soon after that important exploit he returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis in the southern command.

British capture of Charleston, May, 1780

The condition of South Carolina was then pitiable in the extreme. In attempts to compel the entire people to swear allegiance to King George, and to give active assistance to the king's troops, a cruel hunting of stubborn patriots was carried on. The war assumed a partisan or guerrilla character, more than elsewhere or at any other time; and the adventures, of Marion, Sumter, and other dashing captains of small bands, who harassed Tarleton and Ferguson, the active commanders of

Partisan warfare in South Carolina

British and Tory forces, have given to revolutionary history some of its most romantic tales.

Against the wish of Washington, congress sent Gates to command in the south, and he made the situation worse by rushing his small army to dreadful defeat and destruction at Camden, where De Kalb came to his death.

Gates in
the south

At this time the discouragements of the country were, apparently, the heaviest it had known. Congress had issued paper promises ("continental currency," so-called), based on no resources of taxation or any substantial authority, until that fictitious money had lost all worth. Most of the States had been doing the same. Of real money there was almost none in the land. There was no public credit; there was no foreign trade. Washington was driven to the levying of forced contributions for the feeding of his men, who received no pay, practically, and little promise of any to come. Desertions were increasing and recruits were few. Six thousand French troops, under General Rochambeau, had arrived at Newport (from which the British withdrew in the previous autumn), but the fleet that brought them was blockaded immediately, and they were held to support it if attacked. To crown these many disheartenments came the discovery of the treason planned by Benedict Arnold, then commanding at West Point. Arnold's services as a soldier had been very great, and men less deserving had been put above him in rank. He brooded over his grievances till they poisoned his soul, and

Discouragements
of the time,
1780

Arrival of a
French
army

Treason of
Benedict
Arnold,
Sept., 1780

he became willing to ruin the cause of his country for the sake of revenge. West Point was the American stronghold on the Hudson; to lose it was to lose all that Washington had guarded so carefully and so long. Arnold sought and obtained the command there, for the purpose of betraying the fort, and had arranged all the details of the betrayal with Major John André, of Sir Henry Clinton's staff, who came to confer with him inside of the American lines. The unfortunate André was captured on his way back to New York, and suffered death as a spy. The traitor, Arnold, received warning of the discovery of his plot in time to escape.

Fate of
Major
André

The darkest hours were now past, and there began to be a breaking of light in the south,—the herald of a coming day of independence and peace. Its first gleam shone from the mountain border of the Carolinas, where the British major Ferguson, pursuing armed patriots too vigorously, stirred up the Scotch-Irish and Huguenot frontiersmen, who had taken no part, hitherto, in the war. They swarmed out of their mountain settlements, and Ferguson, with 400 of his men, fell in battle with them, at King's Mountain. This was the beginning of events that wrought a complete change in the situation at the south. Washington was permitted in December to send General Nathanael Greene to supersede Gates, with Daniel Morgan and Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry," father of Robert E. Lee), in subordinate commands. Morgan defeated Tarleton,

Battle of
King's
Mountain,
Oct. 7, 1780

in a remarkable battle at the Cowpens, and Greene fought Cornwallis at Guilford Court House, with sufficient success to hold his ground, while the latter withdrew to Wilmington, and moved presently into Virginia, leaving others to contest the Carolinas with Greene. Within a few months that able general, winning good fruits even from battles that were not victories, at Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs, wrested both States from the enemy, excepting only the city of Charleston.

General
Greene's
campaign
in the
south, 1781

Greene,
*Life of
General
Greene,*
3 : bk. 4

While Greene achieved deliverance for the Carolinas, the last and grandest act in the drama of war was performed, by other actors, on the Virginia stage. Considerable British forces had been ravaging the eastern parts of Virginia for some months before Cornwallis came to join them, at Petersburg, in May. Lafayette, at Richmond, was opposing them with a little army of about 3,000 men, and Steuben was raising and organizing a few more. Lafayette retreated when Cornwallis moved against him, and was pursued, the British laying waste a wide region of country, almost to the Rapidan. Then Cornwallis committed the fatal error of returning to the seaboard and taking a position with his army at Yorktown, in the narrow part of the peninsula between the York River and the James. It was a safe position so long as the British controlled the sea; but, unknown to Cornwallis, a strong French fleet was expected from the West Indies at this time, for a planned attack on New York. Wash-

Beginning
of the end

Lafayette
in Virginia

Cornwallis
trapped at
Yorktown

ington saw instantly that something better than the movement against New York could be done with the help of this fleet. Concerting arrangements with the French admiral, Count de Grasse, and with Rochambeau, the French general, while deceiving Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, he suddenly transferred 2,000 of his own troops and 4,000 of Rochambeau's, with great celerity, from the Hudson to the James. Lafayette had followed Cornwallis and was intrenched in his rear, and the French fleet had secured possession of Chesapeake Bay. The trap was complete. At the end of a short, sharp siege, the English commander, hopeless of relief, surrendered, with a few more than 8,000 men.

Surrender
of Corn-
wallis, Oct.
19, 1781

The effect
in England,
March,
1782

Negotia-
tion of
peace,
1782-1783

Lecky,
*History of
England,
18th
Century,*
4 : 218-232,
243-255,
275-284

This blow broke the party in England which upheld the American War, drove Lord North and his colleagues to resign, and forced the king to accept ministers who desired peace. A private agent, sent to Paris, opened conferences there with Dr. Franklin, which led to more formal negotiations between commissioners from both governments, and, finally, to the signing of a provisional treaty, at Paris, on the 30th of November, 1782. This was not to have effect, however, till the arrangement of peace between Great Britain and France, which came to completion on the third of September, 1783. By the definite treaty then signed, the United States secured western territory to the Mississippi, and from the Floridas to the Great Lakes; but with northeastern and northwestern boundaries so

ill-defined that they gave trouble for many years. Important rights were conceded to American fishermen on the British-American coasts. On two questions, serious difficulties in the framing of the treaty arose from the want of any national authority in the government of the loose confederation of the United States. One related to the treatment of the American loyalists, or Tories, against whom the bitter feeling in most of the States led to cruelly persecuting acts, confiscating their property and driving them from their homes. Some of these people had provoked that feeling by malignant and barbarous hostilities in the war; but a large part of them were men of character and culture, whose loyalty to Great Britain had been conscientious, and whose expulsion from the country was a serious mistake. The British government felt bound to protect them; but that of the United States had no power to control the action of the States, and could only promise the exercise of an influence which proved to have no effect. On the other question, relating to debts that were due to British creditors when the war began, the difficulty was the same. The treaty stipulated that those creditors should meet with no lawful impediment in the collection of their dues; but many of the States interposed such impediments, and congress was powerless to interfere. These matters became irritating for many years, provoking the English government to refuse the surrender of a number of important frontier and western forts.

Terms of
the treaty

Treatment
of
American
loyalists

Ellis, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
Am.*, v. 7

Their
character

Debts due
to British
creditors

Disbanding
the con-
tinental
army

When the time came for disbanding the continental army, nothing but the personal influence of Washington prevented a dangerous outbreak of bad feeling, stirred up by some mischievous agitators, in consequence of the arrears of pay that were due to officers and men. Thanks to the illimitable trust reposed in the great commander-in-chief, a pacifying arrangement was brought about and the army was dissolved. Washington took leave of his officers at New York on the 4th of December, 1783, resigned his commission to congress, at Annapolis, submitted a statement of the large expenditures he had made from his private fortune on public account, exceeding \$64,000, and declined all pay beyond the reimbursement of that sum. On Christmas eve he reached his home at Mount Vernon, which he had seen but once in eight years.

Retirement
of Wash-
ington,
Dec., 1783

The critical period of American history

And now the United States entered on what Dr. Fiske has described correctly as being "the critical period of American history." The States were United only in name. They had taken their place among the nations without being a nation, in any right sense of the term. They had no government that could exercise a national authority or power. Their congress could pledge nothing to any other government and guarantee that some or all of the States would not repudiate its pledge. This barred them from commercial treaties, to restore their

Fiske,
*Critical
Period*

Want of
nationality
in the
"United
States"



WASHINGTON RESIGNING COMMAND OF THE ARMY

From the painting by John Trumbull (1756-1843), now in the Rotunda of the Capitol, at Washington

ruined trade. They could not even establish free commerce among themselves. They could build up no public credit, by creating any method for the payment of their general war debt. There was no money in the country to speak of, since the "continental currency" had sunk to utter worthlessness, and no agency existed, or could exist, in the circumstances, that would establish a monetary system.‡ The political and economical situation was one of chaos; and the prevailing political ideas, for some years, were such as appeared to put anything better beyond hope. Experience under British rule had filled the minds of the majority with a dread of strong government that was greater than their dread of anything else. Articles of Confederation, agreed upon with slowness and difficulty during the war, and not adopted until 1781, had been so malformed by that dread that no more than a feeble "league of friendship" was contemplated in their design. For five years after the conclusion of peace every attempt to amend these futile articles was baffled; and when, at last, in 1787, favoring circumstances brought together, at Philadelphia, a convention which undertook boldly, not proposals of amendment to the Articles of Confederation, but the framing of a real constitution of national government, nothing less than a miracle seemed likely to secure the ratification of its work by a sufficient number of States. Prodigious exertions on the part of the champions of the new federal constitution,—fore-

Condition
of the
country

The
Articles of
Confedera-
tion

Framing
and Adop-
tion of the
Federal
Constitu-
tion,
1787-1788

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*
(Full text)

Curtis,
*History of
the Origin
[etc.] of the
Constitu-
tion*

most among whom were Alexander Hamilton and James Madison,—did win the needed ratification, however, and the constitution went into effect in the spring of 1789, with George Washington as the first president of a nationalized federal union of the States.

The British empire during and after the American Revolution

Hostilities
with
France,
Spain and
Holland

Not only France, but Spain after 1779 and Holland after 1780, were drawn into conflict with Great Britain during the American War; while a hostile league of "armed neutrality" among the nations of northern Europe crippled her attempts to break up the trade of her enemies. All these combinations, however, failed to overthrow the naval supremacy of England, which Admiral Rodney confirmed anew by two great victories, in 1780 and 1782, over Spanish and French fleets.

Wars in
India,
1780-1782

In India, France renewed her attempts to shake the ascendancy of the English company, and very nearly with success. A self-made ruler, Hyder Ali, of remarkable capacity and energy, had erected a new throne in Mysore, establishing a power which does not seem to have been estimated rightly by the English till too late. They made him their enemy, while the French gave him all possible help. The consequence was a war in southern India, raging from July, 1780, till the end of 1782, during which the whole fabric of British power in the east seemed near to overthrow more than once. It was saved by the

administrative energy of Warren Hastings, the governor-general, and by the military skill of Sir Eyre Coote. Hyder Ali died, and his son, Tippoo, made peace.

Warren
Hastings,
governor-
general,
1774-1785

The political government in India had been transferred by act of parliament, in 1774, from the London directors of the East India Company to a resident governor-general and council, appointed by the company, but subject to the approval of the crown. Warren Hastings was the first of the governors-general, and not even Clive did more than he in the founding of the British empire in the east. At the end of his administration of ten years he came home to undergo one of the most famous of trials, on charges of infamous oppression, spoliation, and corruption of justice; charges prosecuted with the eloquence of Burke, Sheridan and Fox, and made more damning in later years by Macaulay's immortalizing pen. Hastings was kept upon trial by the dilatory lords of the high court of parliament for eight years, and then acquitted on every charge. The search-light of recent historical study has confirmed that acquittal, so far as concerns the specific accusations of Burke and Macaulay; but has shown with glaring certainty that neither Clive nor Hastings, nor many others of their generation, were scrupulous as to the means by which they gathered wealth for the great company and for themselves, nor as to methods in their subjugation of feeble states.

Lyall,
*Warren
Hastings*

Ireland derived some important advantages from the struggle in which England was engaged

with so many enemies. To repel threatened invasions from France, the government was constrained to permit the raising of volunteers in that much oppressed island, and found itself confronted by 60,000 organized men, who began to make demands which could not safely be refused. By consequent acts passed in 1780 and 1782, independence was given to the Irish parliament and to Irish courts, with more freedom to Irish industries and trade, and more liberty to Irish Catholics than they had ever enjoyed before. But the Catholics, forming a great majority of the population, were still shamefully excluded from representation in the parliament of their kingdom, and the independence of that body only hardened its bigotry and made it corrupt.

Concessions to Ireland, 1780-1782

McCarthy, *Ireland since the Union*, ch. 3

Political progress in England

In England itself, the very reaction which King George and his "friends" had undertaken to bring about, towards arbitrary government, brought gains to the people in the end. Especially the freedom of speech and the press, and the exposure of government to publicity and criticism, were made complete and secure, not only by the proceedings against Wilkes, but by futile attempts made in 1771 to stop the reporting of parliamentary debates. Religious bigotry, too, was compelled to begin the relaxation of its anti-Catholic laws, and a few of the most atrocious measures that had stood on the statute book since the end of the last century were repealed in 1778. This gave rise to dreadful rioting by ignorant mobs, stirred up especially by a weak-minded

Scotch nobleman, Lord George Gordon, with grave consequences of destruction and pillage in London for four days. The Gordon riots are described with vividness in Dickens's story of *Barnaby Rudge*.

The
Gordon
riots, 1780

Late in 1783 the younger William Pitt, son of the earl of Chatham, a young man of but twenty-four years, was called to the lead in government by the king, and began his remarkable career. Before long, he had won the confidence of the country, had obtained the election of a parliament that obeyed his will, and held power by a tenure that was nearly independent of the king. France was then approaching that crisis of revolution which shook all society and every government in Europe, and the abilities of the young premier of Great Britain were brought soon to a remarkable test.

The
younger
William
Pitt

Rosebery,
Pitt

"England, itself, at this time, was entering upon a revolution, very different from that which impended in France, but the silent effects of which were of even greater moment to mankind. There exists an immense difference between the methods and the organization of industry in the twentieth century and those that were practiced before. It is a difference that has been brought about by mechanical inventions of labor-saving machinery, and by scientific discoveries, which have increased the power of man to produce things for the satisfaction of his wants. Such invention began, of course, when civilization began; but it went forward very creepingly

Industrial
revolution
in England,
1764-1790

through all the centuries until the last third of the eighteenth. Then a sudden, tremendous leap in it nearly broke all connection between the ways in which the work of the world was done before and the ways in which it has since been done.

“It was principally in England that the revolutionary leap of inventive enterprise was made, and, consequently, England won then the industrial as well as the commercial leadership of the world. Hargreaves, in 1764, Arkwright, in 1769, Crompton, in 1779, invented spinning machinery, and Cartwright, in 1784, invented a power loom, which ended the hand-spinning and hand-weaving of the past; James Watt, in 1776, made the steam engine a cheap and practicable source of power for moving such machines; Smeaton, Cort, and others, between 1760 and 1790, improved and cheapened the making of English iron, and Brindley began the building of many canals for internal trade, while Arthur Young, in that period and after, was laboriously teaching better agriculture to the tillers of the soil. While England was being thus armed with new powers, and better highways were being opened to trade, a book appeared, entitled *The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith, which taught the English people to see that when labor is most free to produce and to exchange what it produces, with least interference from the makers of law, the result of general wealth is greatest and most sure. It was a truth learned slowly, but with extraordinary effect in the end.

Spinning
and weav-
ing inven-
tions,
1764-1784

Watt's
steam
engine, 1776

Adam
Smith's
*Wealth of
Nations*,
1776

“So England, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, was passing the beginnings of a momentous revolution within herself. It was a revolution as much social as economic. It gave rise to the factory system, to huge manufacturing establishments, to powerful combinations of capital, to new and greater inequalities of wealth. It built up cities, increased their population enormously, and created in them a class of workmen easily stirred by ideas, easily combined, and certain to become a power in the state. It made the region of coal and iron, in the north, the most thickly peopled part of the land. It raised up an interest in the country which soon outweighed the landowning interest, that had ruled it before. It worked great and rapid changes in the structure of English society, and in its whole character and tone.”

Larned,
*History of
England*,
545

The French Revolution

While England was passing the early stages of this great social transformation, France was drawing near to the convulsions of a political revolution which ended the old modern order, not for France only, but for Europe at large. It was a catastrophe toward which the abused French people had been slipping slowly for generations, pushed to it by blind rulers and a besotted aristocracy. By nature a people ardent and lively in temper, hopeful and brave in spirit, full of intelligence, they had been held down in dumb repression: silenced in voice, even for the uttering of their complaints; the national meeting of their

The ap-
proaching
political
revolution

Its causes

representative states-general suppressed for nearly two centuries; taxes wrung from them on no measure save the will of a wanton-minded and ignorant king; their beliefs prescribed, their laws ordained, their courts of justice commanded, their industries directed, their trade hedged round, their rights and permissions in all particulars meted out to them by the same blundering and irresponsible autocracy. How long would they bear it? and would their deliverance come by the easing or the breaking of their yoke?—these were the only questions.

State of the kingdom under Louis XIV, and XV.

Taine, *The Ancient Régime*

Improving conditions

Their state was probably at its worst in the later years of Louis XIV. That seems to be the conclusion which the deepest study has now reached, and the picture drawn formerly by historians, of a society that sank continually into lower miseries, is put aside. The worst state, seemingly, was passed, or nearly so, when Louis XIV. died. It began to mend under his despicable successor, Louis XV.,—perhaps even during the regency of the profligate Orléans. Why it mended, no historian can be said to have explained. The cause was not in better government; for the government grew worse. It did not come from any rise in character of the privileged classes; for the privileged classes abused their privileges with increasing selfishness. But general influences were at work in the world at large, stimulating activities of all kinds,—industry, trade, speculation, combination, invention, experiment, science, philosophy,—and whatever

improvement occurred in the material condition and social state of the common people of France may find its explanation in these. There was an augmentation of life in the air of the eighteenth century, and France took some invigoration from it, despite the many maladies in its social system and the oppressions of government under which it bent.

But the difference between the France of Louis XIV. and the France of Louis XVI. was more in the people than in their state. If their misery was a little less, their patience was still less. The stimulations of the age, which may have given more effectiveness to labor and more energy to trade, had likewise set thinking astir, on the same practical lines. Men whose minds in former centuries would have labored on riddles dialectical, metaphysical and theological, were now bent on the pressing problems of daily life. The mysteries of economic science began to challenge them. Every aspect of surrounding society thrust questions upon them, concerning its origin, its history, its inequalities, its laws and their principles, its government and the source of authority in it. The so-called "philosophers" of the age,—Rousseau, Voltaire and the encyclopedists—were not the only questioners of the social world, nor did the questioning all come from what they taught. It was the intellectual epidemic of the time, carried into all countries, penetrating all classes, and nowhere with more diffusion than in France.

The people
beginning
to think

Rousseau,
Voltaire
and the
"encyclo-
pedists"

Effects
of the
American
revolution

Franklin
in France

After the successful revolt of the English colonies in America, and the conspicuous blazoning of democratic doctrines in their declaration of independence and their republican constitution, the ferment of social free-thinking in France was increased. The French had helped the colonists, fought side by side with them, watched their struggle with intense interest, and all the issues involved in the American revolution were discussed among them, with partiality to the republican side. Franklin, most republican representative of the young republic, came among them and captivated every class. He recommended to them the ideas for which he stood, perhaps more than we suspect.

Louis XVI.
1774-1793

And thus, by many influences, the French people of all classes except the privileged nobility, and even in that class to some extent, were made increasingly impatient of their misgovernment and of the wrongs and miseries going with it. Louis XVI., who came to the throne in 1774, was the best in character of the late Bourbon kings. He had no noxious vices and no baleful ambitions. If he had found right conditions prevailing in his kingdom he would have made the best of them. But he had no capacity for reforming the evils that he inherited, and no strength of will to sustain those who had. He accepted an earnest reforming minister with more than willingness, and approved the wise measures of economy, of equitable taxation, and of emancipation for manufactures and trade, which Turgot

proposed. But when protected interests, and the privileged order which fattened on existing abuses, raised a storm of opposition, he gave way to it, and dismissed the man who might possibly have made the inevitable revolution a peaceful one. Another minister, the Genevan banker, Necker, who aimed at less reform, but demanded economy, suffered the same overthrow. The waste, the profligate expenditure, the jobbery, the leeching of the treasury by high-born pensioners and sinecure office-holders, went on, scarcely checked, until the beginnings of actual bankruptcy had appeared.

Dismissal
of Turgot,
1776

Dismissal
of Necker,
1781

Then a cry, not much heeded before, for the convocation of the states-general of the kingdom—the ancient great legislature of France, extinct since the year 1614—became loud and general. The king yielded. The states-general was called to meet on the 1st of May, 1789, and the royal summons decreed that the deputies chosen to it from the third estate—the common people—should be equal in number to the deputies of the nobility and the clergy together. So the dumb lips of France as a nation were opened, its tongue unloosed, its common public opinion and public feeling made articulate, for the first time in one hundred and seventy-five years. And the word that it spoke was the mandate of revolution.

Meeting of
the states-
general,
May, 1789

Sybel,
*History of
the French
Rev.*, bk. 1

Taine,
*The French
Revolution:*
bk. 1

The states-general assembled at Versailles on the 5th of May, and a conflict between the third estate and the nobles occurred at once on the question between three assemblies and one.

Conflict
between
the three
estates

Should the three orders deliberate and vote together as one body, or sit and act separately and apart? The commons demanded the single assembly. The nobles and most of the clergy refused the union, in which their votes would be overpowered.

The third estate organized as a national assembly

After some weeks of deadlock on this fundamental issue, the third estate brought it to a summary decision, by asserting its own supremacy, as representative of the mass of the nation, and organizing itself in the character of the "national assembly" of France. Under that name and character it was joined by a considerable part of the humbler clergy, and by some of the nobles,—additional to a few, like Mirabeau, who sat from the beginning with the third estate, as elected representatives of the people. The king made a weak attempt to annul this assumption of legislative sufficiency on the part of the third estate, and only hurried the exposure of his own powerlessness. Persuaded by his worst advisers to attempt a stronger demonstration of the royal authority, he filled Paris with troops, and inflamed the excitement, which had risen already to a passionate heat.

Outbreak of revolution, July, 1789

Necker, who had been recalled to the ministry when the meeting of the states-general was decided upon, now received his second dismissal, and the news of it acted on Paris like a signal of insurrection. The city next day was in tumult. On the 14th the Bastille was attacked and taken. The king's government vanished utterly. His

troops fraternized with the riotous people. Citizens of Paris organized themselves as a national guard, on which every hope of order depended, and Lafayette took command. The frightened nobility began flight, first from Paris, and then from the provinces, as mob violence spread over the kingdom from the capital. In October there were rumors that the king had planned to follow the "émigrés" and take refuge in Metz. Then occurred the famous rising of the women; their procession to Versailles; the crowd of men which followed, accompanied but not controlled by Lafayette and his national guards; the conveyance of the king and royal family to Paris, where they remained during the subsequent year, practically in captivity, and at the mercy of the Parisian mob.

Lafayette
Tuckerman
Life of Lafayette, I:
ch. ix-x

The king
and family
brought to
Paris
Oct., 1789

Meanwhile, the national assembly, negligent of the dangers of the moment, while actual anarchy prevailed, busied itself with debates on constitutional theory, with enactments for the abolition of titles and privileges, and with the creating of an inconvertible paper money, based on confiscated church lands, to supply the needs of the national treasury. Meantime, too, the members of the assembly and their supporters outside of it were breaking into parties and factions, divided by their different purposes, principles and aims, and forming clubs,—centers of agitation and discussion,—clubs of the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the Feuillants and the like,—where fear, distrust and jealousy were soon engendering ferocious

The
political
clubs,
Jacobin,
etc.

conflicts among the revolutionists themselves. And outside of France, on the border where the fugitive nobles lurked, intrigue was always active, striving to enlist foreign help for King Louis against his subjects.

Taine,
*The French
Revolution*
2 : bk. 4

Death of
Mirabeau,
April, 1791

In April, 1791, Mirabeau, whose influence had been a powerful restraint upon the revolution, died. In June, the king made an attempt to escape from his durance in Paris, but was captured at Varennes and brought back. Angry demands for his deposition were now made, and a tumultuous republican demonstration occurred, on the Champ de Mars, which Lafayette and the mayor of Paris, Bailly, dispersed by force. Republicanism had not yet got its footing. In the constitution, which the assembly completed at this time, the throne was left undisturbed. The king accepted the instrument, and a constitutional monarchy appeared to have taken the place of the absolute monarchy of the past.

Adoption
of a consti-
tution

Election of
a legislative
assembly
Oct., 1791

It was an appearance maintained for little more than a year. The constituent national assembly being dissolved, gave way to a legislative assembly, elected under the new constitution. In the legislative assembly the republicans appeared with a strength which soon gave them control. They were divided into various groups; but the most eloquent and energetic of these, coming from Bordeaux and the department of the Gironde, fixed the name of Girondists upon the party to which they belonged. The king, as a constitutional sovereign, was forced presently to

The
Girondists
in power,
1792

choose ministers from the ranks of the Girondists, and they conducted the government for several months in the spring of 1792. The earliest use they made of their control was to hurry the country into war with the German powers, which were accused of giving encouragement to the hostile plans of the émigrés on the border. It is now a well-determined fact that the emperor Leopold was opposed to war with France, and used all his influence for the preservation of peace. It was revolutionary France which opened the conflict, and it was the Girondists who led and shaped the policy of war.

Lamartine,
*History of
the
Girondists*

War with
the German
powers

In the first encounters of the war, the undisciplined French troops were beaten, and Paris was alarmed. Measures were adopted which the king refused to sanction, and his Girondist ministers were dismissed. Lafayette, who commanded one division of the army in the field, approved the king's course, and wrote an unwise letter to the assembly, intimating that the army would not submit to a violation of the constitution. The republicans were enraged. Everything seemed proof to them of a treasonable connivance with the enemies of France, to bring about the subjugation of the country, and a forcible restoration of the old régime, absolutism, aristocratic privilege and all. On the 20th of June there was another unchecked rising of the Paris mob. The rioters broke into the Tuileries and humiliated the king and queen with insults, but no violence was done. Lafayette came to Paris and at-

Repub-
licans
enraged

The king
and queen
mobbed,
June, 1792

tempted to reorganize his old national guard, for the defense of the constitution and the preservation of order, but failed.

The extremists then resolved to throw down the toppling monarchy at once, by a sudden blow. In the early morning of August 10, they expelled the council-general of the municipality of Paris from the Hotel de Ville, and placed the government of the city under the control of a provisional commune, with Danton at its head. At the same hour, the mob which these conspirators held in readiness, and which they directed, attacked the Tuileries and massacred the Swiss guard, while the king and the royal family escaped for refuge to the chamber of the legislative assembly, near at hand. There, in the king's presence, on a formal demand made by the new self-constituted municipality or commune of Paris, the assembly declared his suspension from executive functions, and invited the people to elect without delay a national convention for the revising of the constitution.

Commissioners, sent out to the provinces and the armies in the field, were received everywhere with submission to the change of government, except by Lafayette and his army, in and around Sedan. The marquis placed them under arrest and took from his soldiers a new oath of fidelity to the constitution and the king. But he found himself unsupported, and, yielding to the sweep of events, he obeyed a dismissal by the new government from his command, and left France,

Overthrow
of the
monarchy,
August,
1792

Stephens,
*History of
the French
Rev.*, 2 : ch.
iv.

Lafayette
in exile

to wait in exile for a time when he might serve his country with a conscience more assured.

Pending the meeting of the convention, the Paris commune, increased in number to two hundred and eighty-eight, and dominated by Danton and Robespierre, became the governing power in France. The legislative assembly was subservient to it; the kingless ministry, which had Danton in association with the restored Girondists, was no less so. The fierce vigor of the commune caused the king and the royal family to be imprisoned in the Temple; instituted a special tribunal for the summary trial of political prisoners; searched Paris for "suspects," on the night of August 29-30; gathered three thousand men and women into the prisons and convents of the city; planned and ordered the "September Massacres" of the following week, and thus thinned the whole number of these "suspects" by a half.

On the 22d of September the national convention assembled. The Jacobins, who controlled the commune, were found to have carried Paris overwhelmingly, and all France largely with them, in the election of representatives. A furious, fanatical democracy, a bloodthirsty anarchism, was in the ascendant. The republican Girondists were now the conservative party in the convention. They struggled to hold their ground, and very soon they were struggling for their lives. The Jacobin fury was tolerant of no opposition. What stood in its path, with no

France ruled by the Paris commune, Aug.-Sept., 1792

Imprisonment of the king

The "September Massacres," Sept. 2-7, 1792.

The national convention

Jacobin fury

Execution
of the king,
Jan. 21,
1793

Carlyle,
*French
Revolution*,
bk. 2, ch.
viii.

Fall of the
Girondists,
June, 1793

Stephens,
*History of
the French
Revolution*,
2 : ch. vii-
viii

The
Jacobin
"Moun-
tain"

The mad-
ness of un-
bounded
power

deadlier weapon than an argument or an appeal, must be, not merely overcome, but destroyed. The Girondists would have saved the king from the guillotine, but they dared not adopt his defense, and their own fate was sealed when they gave votes, under fear, which sent him in January to his death. Five months longer they contended irresolutely, as a failing faction, with their terrible adversaries, and then, in June, 1793, they were proscribed and their arrest decreed. Some escaped and raised futile insurrections in the provinces. Some stayed and faced the death which awaited them in the fast approaching "reign of terror."

The fall of the Girondists left the Jacobin "Mountain" (so-called from the elevation of the seats on which its deputies sat in the convention) unopposed. Their power was not only absolute in fact, but unquestioned, and they went mad in the exercise of it. The same madness overcame them in the mass which overcame Nero, Caligula, Caracalla, as individuals; for the unnatural and awful feeling of unlimited dominion can turn the brain of a suddenly triumphant faction as surely as it can madden a single shallow-minded man. The men of the "Mountain" were not only masters of France—except in La Vendée and the neighboring region south of the Loire, where an obstinate insurrection had broken out—but the armies which obeyed them had driven back the invading Germans, had occupied the Austrian Netherlands and had taken possession of Savoy

and Nice. Intoxicated by these successes, the convention had proclaimed a crusade against all monarchical government, offering the help of France to every people which would rise against existing authorities, and declaring enmity to those who refused alliance with the revolution. Holland was attacked and England forced to war. The spring of 1793 found a great European coalition formed against revolutionary France, and justified by the aggressions of the Jacobinical government.

Crusade
against
monarchies

For effective exercise of the power of the Jacobins, the convention as a whole proved too large a body, even when it had been purged of Girondist opposition. Its authority was now gathered into the hands of the famous committee of public safety, which became, in fact, the revolutionary government, controlling the national armies and the whole administration of domestic and foreign affairs. Its reign was the Reign of Terror, and the fearful "revolutionary tribunal," which began its bloody work with the guillotine in October, 1793, was the chief instrument of its power. Robespierre, Barère, St. Just, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d' Herbois and Carnot—the latter devoted to the business of the war—were the controlling members of the committee. Danton withdrew from it, refusing to serve.

The Com-
mittee of
public
safety

"The reign
of terror,"
Oct., 1793-
July, 1794

Carlyle,
*French
Revolution*,
3 : ch. iv-vi

In September, the policy of terrorism was avowedly adopted, and, in the language of the Paris commune, "the reign of terror" became

Stephens,
*History of
the French
Revolution*,
2 : ch. x-xi

“the order of the day.” The arraignment of “suspects” before the revolutionary tribunal began. On the 14th of October Marie Antoinette was put on trial; on the 16th she met her death. On the 31st the twenty-one imprisoned Girondist deputies were sent to the guillotine; followed on the 10th of November by the remarkable woman, Madame Roland, who was looked upon as the real leader of their party. From that time until the midsummer following, the blood-madness raged; not in Paris alone, but throughout France, at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Nantes, and wherever a show of insurrection and resistance had challenged the ferocity of the commissioners of the revolutionary government, who had been sent into the provinces with unlimited death-dealing powers.

But when Jacobinism had destroyed all exterior opposition, it began very soon to break into factions within itself. There was a pitch in its excesses at which even Danton and Robespierre became conservatives, as against Hébert and the atheists of his faction. A brief struggle ensued, and the Hébertists, in March, 1794, passed under the knife of the guillotine. A month later Danton's enemies had rallied and he, with his followers, went down before their attack, and the sharp knife in the Place de la Révolution silenced his bold tongue. Robespierre remained dominant for a few weeks longer in the still reigning committee of public safety; but his domination was already undermined by many fears, distrusts and

Execution
of the
queen, Oct.
16, 1793

Madame
Roland

Factions
of “the
Mountain”
devouring
one
another

Morley,
Robespierre
(in *Critical*
Miscellan-
ies, 2.)

Carlyle,
French
Revolution,
3 : bk. 6

Execution
of Danton,
April 5, 1794



LAST VICTIMS OF THE REIGN OF TERROR

From the painting by Charles-Louis Müller (1815-1892), now in the Louvre, Paris

jealousies among his colleagues and throughout his party. His downfall came suddenly on the 27th of July. On the morning of that day he was the dictator of the convention and of its ruling committee; at night he was a headless corpse, and Paris was shouting with joy.

Execution
of Robes-
pierre,
July 27,
1794

On the death of Robespierre the reign of terror came quickly to an end. The reaction was sudden and swift. The committee of public safety was changed; of the old members only Carnot, indispensable organizer of war, remained. The revolutionary tribunal was remodeled. The Jacobin club was broken up. The surviving Girondist deputies came back to the convention. Prosecution of the terrorists for their crimes began. A new struggle opened, between the lower elements in Parisian and French society, the *sansculotte* elements, which had controlled the revolution thus far, and the middle class, the *bourgeoisie*, long cowed and suppressed, but now rallying to recover its share of power. *Bourgeoisie* triumphed in the contest. The *sansculottes* made their last effort in a rising on the 1st Prairial, and were put down.

End of the
Reign of
Terror

Last revo-
lutionary
rising,
May, 1795

A new constitution was framed, which organized the government of the republic under a legislature in two chambers,—a council of five hundred and a council of ancients,—with an executive directory of five. But only one-third of the legislature first assembled was to be elected freely by the people. The remaining two-thirds were to be taken from the membership of

A new
republican
constitu-
tion,
Sept., 1795

the existing convention. Paris rejected this last-mentioned feature of the constitution, while France at large ratified it. The national guard of Paris rose in insurrection on the 13th Vendémiaire (October 5), and it was on this occasion that the young Corsican officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, got his foot on the first round of the ladder by which he climbed afterward to so great a height. Put in command of the regular troops in Paris, which numbered only 5,000, against 30,000 of the national guards, he crushed the latter in an action of an hour. That was the opening hour of his career.

Advent of
Napoleon
Bonaparte,
Oct. 5, 1794

The government of the directory was instituted on the 27th of October following. Of its five members, Carnot and Barras were the only men of note, then or after.

The
Directory

While France was cowering under "the Terror," its armies, under Jourdan, Hoche and Pichegru, had withstood the great European combination with astonishing success. The allies were weakened by ill feeling between Prussia and Austria, over the second partition of Poland, and generally by a want of concert and capable leadership in their action. On the other side, the democratic military system of the republic, under Carnot's keen eyes, was bringing fresh soldierly talent to the front. The fall of the Jacobins made no change in that vital department of the administration, and the successes of the French were continued. In the summer of 1794 they carried the war into Germany, and expelled the allies

War with
the
Coalition,
1794-1795

from the Austrian Netherlands. Thence they invaded Holland, and before the end of January, 1795, they were masters of the country; the stadtholder had fled to England, and a Batavian republic had been organized. Spain had suffered losses in battle with them along the Pyrenees, and the king of Sardinia had yielded to them the passes of the Maritime Alps. In April the king of Prussia made peace with France. Before the close of the year 1795 the revolt in La Vendée was at an end; Spain had made peace; Pichegru had attempted a great betrayal of the armies on the Rhine, and had failed.

Holland
subjugated,
Jan., 1795

This, in brief, was the situation at the opening of the year 1796, when the "little Corsican officer," who won the confidence of the new government of the directory by saving its constitution on the 13th Vendémiaire, planned the campaign of the year, and received the command of the army sent to Italy. He attacked the Sardinians in April, and a single month sufficed to break the courage of their king and force him to a treaty of peace. On the 10th of May he defeated the Austrians at Lodi; on the 15th he was in Milan. Lombardy was abandoned to him; all central Italy was at his mercy, and he began to act the sovereign conqueror in the peninsula, with a contempt for the government at Paris which he hardly concealed. Two ephemeral republics were created under his direction, the Cisalpine, in Lombardy, and the Cispadane, embracing Modena, Ferrara

Bona-
parte's
campaign
in Italy,
1796

Battle of
Lodi

Creation of
Italian
republics

and Bologna. The papacy was shorn of part of its domain.

Every attempt made by the Austrians to shake the hold which Bonaparte had fastened on the peninsula only fixed it more firmly. In the spring he began movements beyond the Alps, in concert with Hoche on the Rhine, threatening Vienna itself and frightening Austria into proposals of peace. Preliminaries, signed in April, foreshadowed the hard terms of the treaty concluded at Campo Formio in the following October. Austria gave up her Netherland provinces to France, and part of her Italian territories to the Cisalpine republic; but received, in partial compensation, the city of Venice and a portion of the dominions of the Venetian states; for, between the armistice and the treaty, Bonaparte had attacked and overthrown the venerable republic, and now divided it with his humbled enemy.

The masterful Corsican, who handled these great matters with the air of a sovereign, may already have known himself to be the coming master of France. For the inevitable submission again of the many to one was growing plain to discerning eyes. The frightful school-teaching of the revolution had not impressed practical lessons in politics on the mind of the untrained democracy, so much as suspicions, distrusts and alarms. All the sobriety of temper, the confidence of feeling, the constraining habit of public order, without which the self-government of a people is impracticable, were yet to be acquired.

Treaty of
Campo
Formio,
Oct., 1797

Overthrow
of the
republic of
Venice

France
under the
Directory,
1797

French democracy was not more prepared for republican institutions in 1797 than it had been in 1789. There was no more temperance in its factions, no more balance between parties, no more of a steadying potency in public opinion; but it was brought to a state of feeling that would prefer the sinking of all factions under some vigorous autocracy, rather than another appeal of their quarrels to the guillotine. And events were moving fast to a point at which that choice would require to be made. The summer of 1797 found the members of the directory in hopeless conflict with one another and with the legislative councils. On the 4th of September a "*coup d'état*," to which Bonaparte contributed some help, purged both the directory and the councils of men obnoxious to the violent faction, and exiled them to Guiana. Perhaps the moment was favorable then for a soldier, with the great prestige that Bonaparte had won, to mount to the seat of power; but he did not so judge.

He planned, instead, an expedition to Egypt, directed against the British power in the east. It was an expedition that failed in every object it could have, except the absence in which it kept him from increasing political disorders at home. He was able to maintain some appearance of success, by his subjugation of Egypt and his invasion of Syria; but of harm done to England, or of gain to France in the Mediterranean, there was none; since Nelson, at the battle of the Nile, destroyed the French fleet, and Turkey was added to the

French democracy unprepared for republican institutions.

The *coup d'état* of 1797

Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, 1798

Battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 1798

Anglo-Austrian coalition. The blunder of the expedition, as proved by its whole results, was not seen by the French people so plainly, however, as they saw the growing hopelessness of their own political state, and the alarming reverses which their armies in Italy and on the Rhine had sustained since Bonaparte went away.

Mahan,
*Influence of
Sea Power
on French
Rev.*, I : ch.
ix

New
coalition
against
French
aggressions,
1798

Continued aggressions on the part of the French had provoked a new European coalition, formed in 1798. In Switzerland, the French had overthrown the ancient constitution of the confederacy, organizing a new Helvetic republic on the Gallic model, but taking Geneva to themselves. In Italy they had set up a third republic, the Roman, removing the pope forcibly from his sovereignty and from Rome. Every state within reach had then taken fresh alarm, and even Russia, undisturbed in the distance, was now enlisted against the troublesome democracy of France.

The unwise king of Naples, entering rashly into the war before his allies could support him, and hastening to restore the pope, had been driven from his kingdom, which underwent transformation into a fourth Italian republic, the Parthenopeian. But this only stimulated the efforts of the coalition, and in the course of the following year the French were expelled from all Italy, saving Genoa alone, and the ephemeral republics they had set up were extinguished. On the Rhine they had lost ground; but they had held their own in Switzerland, after a fierce struggle with the Russian forces of Suwarrow.

French
reverses in
Italy

When news of these disasters, and of the ripeness of the situation at Paris for a new *coup d'état*, reached Bonaparte, in Egypt, he deserted his army there, leaving it, under Kléber, in a helpless situation, and made his way back to France. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October. Precisely a month later, by a combination with Sieyès, a veteran revolutionist and maker of constitutions, he accomplished the overthrow of the directory. Before the year closed, a fresh constitution was in force, which vested substantially monarchical powers in an executive called the first consul, and the chosen first consul was Napoleon Bonaparte. Two associate consuls, who sat with him, had no purpose but to conceal for a short time the real absoluteness of his rule.

Bonaparte's return from Egypt, Oct., 1799

Overthrow of the Directory.

Bonaparte, first consul, Nov., 1799

Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, 1 : ch. xiii-xiv

From that time, for fifteen years, the history of France—it is almost possible to say the history of Europe—is the story of the career of the extraordinary Corsican adventurer who took possession of the French nation, with unparalleled audacity, and who used it, with all that pertained to it—lives, fortunes, talents, resources—in the most prodigious and the most ruthless undertakings of personal ambition that the modern world has ever seen. The French revolution was Napoleonized.

Career of the extraordinary Corsican adventurer

Germany after the Seven Years War

After the Seven Years War and before the disturbance of Europe by the French revolution,

Germany enjoyed a period of thirty years that was generally peaceful, and generally one of advancement in many ways. In the twenty-three remaining years of the reign of Frederick the Great he did much to repair the exhaustion produced in Prussia by his wars, and his sagacious practical measures to that end furnished lessons to his neighbors that were not entirely lost. On the Austrian throne, the emperor Joseph II., who came first into association with his mother, Maria Theresa (1765), and then (1780) in succession to her, with exalted aspirations and ideals, but less of practical judgment, went sometimes too fast and too far in superb undertakings of reform.

Later years
of
Frederick
the Great,
1763-1786

The
emperor,
Joseph II.,
1765-1790

His reforms

Among the results of his reign were the abolition of slavery (not serfdom) in Austria; suppression of serfdom in Hungary; abolition of torture in criminal procedure; freedom of Protestant worship in Austria; diminution of monasteries, with an appropriation of many monastic estates to the support of public instruction. Naturally, the church was his enemy, and worked against him among the people, troubling his life to the end. He died in 1790, at the early age of forty-nine.

Literature
and
philosophy

It was in this time, following the wars of Frederick the Great, that the classical period of German literature, opened about the middle of the century by Klopstock and Lessing, came to its acme in the work of Goethe and Schiller; and it was now that philosophical thought in Germany was awakened newly by Kant.

The partitioning of Poland

Of political events in the period, the most important was the partitioning of Poland, a crime planned by Catherine II. of Russia, but shared in the perpetration by Prussia and Austria. As Catherine entertained the design at first, there was probably no thought of the partitioning that was afterward contrived. Her purpose was to keep the Polish kingdom in disorder and weakness, and to make Russian influence supreme in it, with views, no doubt, that looked ultimately to something more. On the death of the Saxon king of Poland, Augustus III., in 1763, Catherine put forward a native candidate for the vacant throne, in the person of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a Russianized Pole and a former lover of her own. The king of Prussia supported her candidate, and Poniatowsky was elected, with 10,000 Russian troops in Warsaw to see that it was properly done. The Poles were submissive to the invasion of their political independence; but when Catherine sought to create a Russian party in Poland, by protecting the members of the Greek church and the Protestants, against the intolerance of the Polish Catholics, and forced a concession of civil equality to the former, there was a widespread Catholic revolt.

Mackintosh, *The Partitioning of Poland* (in *Miscellaneous Works*)

Preceding events, 1763-1768

In the fierce war which followed, a band of Poles was pursued across the Turkish border, and a Turkish town was burned by the Russian pursuers. The sultan, who professed sympathy with the Poles, then declared war against Russia.

Russo-
Turkish
War,
1768-1774

The Russo-Turkish war, in turn, excited Austria, which feared Russian conquests from the Turks, and another wide disturbance of the peace of Europe seemed threatening. In the midst of the excitement there came a whispered suggestion, to the ear of the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, that they might satisfy their territorial cravings and mutually assuage each other's jealousy, at the expense of the crumbling kingdom of Poland. The whisper may have come from Frederick II. of Prussia, or it may not. There are two opinions on the point. From whatever source it came, it found favorable consideration at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and, between February and August, 1772, the details of the partition were worked out.

The
whispered
suggestion

Poland, however, was not extinguished. The kingdom was only shorn of some 160,000 square miles of territory, more than half of which went to Russia, a third to Austria, and the remainder, less than 10,000 square miles, to Prussia. This last mentioned'annexation was the old district of West Prussia, which the Polish king, Casimir IV., had wrested from the Teutonic Knights in 1466, before Brandenburg had aught to do with Prussian lands or name. After three centuries, Frederick reclaimed it.

The first
partition,
1772

The diminished kingdom of Poland showed more signs of a true national life, of an earnest national feeling, of a sobered and rational patriotism, than had appeared in its former history. The fatal powers monopolized by the nobles, the deadly "liberum veto," the corrupting

elective kingship, were looked at in their true light, and in May, 1791, a new constitution was adopted which reformed those evils. But a few nobles opposed the reformation and appealed to Russia, supplying a pretext to Catherine on which she filled Poland with her troops. It was in vain that the patriot Kosciusko led the best of his countrymen in a brave struggle with the invader. They were overborne; the unhappy nation was put in fetters, while Catherine and a new king of Prussia, Frederick William II., arranged the terms of a second partition. This gave to Prussia an additional thousand square miles, including the important towns of Danzig and Thorn, while Russia took four times as much. Two years later, the small remainder of Polish territory was dismembered and divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria, and thus Poland disappeared from the map of Europe as a state.

The new Polish constitution, 1791

Kosciusko, 1793-1794

The second and third partitions, 1793, 1795

Russia

Meantine, in her conflicts with the Turks, Catherine was extending her vast empire to the Dneister and the Caucasus, and opening a passage for her fleets from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. By treaty in 1774 she placed the Tatars of the Crimea in independence of the Turks, and so isolated them for easy conquest. In 1783 the conquest was made complete. By the same treaty she secured a right of remonstrance on behalf of the Christian subjects of the sultan, in the Danubian principalities, and in the Greek church at Constantinople, which opened many

Conquests of Catherine II. from the Turks, 1774-1783

pretexts for future interference and for war at Russian convenience.

The aggressions of the strong-willed and powerful tzarina, and their dazzling success, filled her subjects with pride, and effaced all remembrance of her foreign origin and her want of right to the seat which she filled. She was ambitious to improve the empire, as well as to expand it; for her liberal mind took in the large ideas of that speculative age and was much moved by them. She attempted many reforms; but most things that she tried to do for the bettering of civilization and the lifting of the people were done imperiously, and spoiled by the autocratic method of the doing. In her later years, her inclination towards liberal ideas was checked, and the French revolution put an end to it.

Her
reforms

The United States of America

The organization of the federal government of the United States, under the presidency of George Washington (inaugurated April 30, 1789), happened coincidentally with the opening scenes of the French revolution, and the first quarter-century of the life of the young American republic was troubled by that dread convulsion, and by influences that sprang from the wars to which it led. There were four years, however, of the administration of Washington, before the European disturbance of American politics and economics became serious, in which time the new government acquired a firm footing, and overcame the

Organiza-
tion of
federal
govern-
ment, 1789

chaos of conditions in the country with remarkable success.

In forming his administration, the president called Alexander Hamilton to the treasury department, Thomas Jefferson to the department of state, and General Henry Knox to that of war. These, at the outset, were the only departments created. Hamilton received the post of chief importance, in the circumstances of the time, and no wiser selection was ever made. His financial measures, carried through congress by convincing arguments, against strong opposition, founded the credit of the young nation with enduring solidity, and inspired faith in the stability and efficiency of its government, at home and abroad. They included, (1) provisions for the funding of the indebtedness of the late confederation, in the various forms of its existence; (2) an assumption of the war debts of the several States, to be funded in like manner, as a national obligation; (3) provision of revenues from customs dues and excise tax on whisky, sufficient for meeting these obligations, in current interest and in principal at maturity; (4) the creation of a national bank of the United States, to strengthen the organization of capital and credit in the country, and to assist the financial operations of the government.

The two features of Hamilton's policy that encountered the most earnest opposition were the assumption of the war debts of the States and the institution of a national bank. It was easy to see that these measures, beyond their financial bear-

Washington's
cabinet

Hamilton's
financial
measures,
1790-1791

Schouler,
*History of
the United
States*,
I : 130-142,
158-162

The
political
issue
involved

ing, would have powerful political effects. They tended to magnify the functions, the attributes, the sovereignty, of the federal government, and, apparently, at least, to set the States in a rank more subordinate than many people were willing to have them accept. The jealous dread of any kind of strong overlordship in the government of the federated States was felt widely and deeply, even yet. It had given way just far enough to assent to the federal constitution of 1787; but many, like Madison, who had labored ardently to procure that assent, were anxious watchers of the working of the constitution, determined that the government formed under it should have no more of power and no more of supremacy above the States than the common interests and the necessities of public order would require. This feeling was at the bottom of the opposition to Hamilton's measures; while he and a large part of his supporters were inspired by the desire to solidify and nationalize the federal union, and to give positive supremacy and strength to its government, as much as by financial opinions and aims.

From that day to this the main division of political parties in the United States has been on the line of cleavage that opened then. It has been upon issues between national sovereignty and State sovereignty; between strength and weakness in the general government; between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the working of the federal system. Generally, too, the party issues in American politics have turned at all

Jealous
dread of
strong
central
govern-
ment

Lasting
division of
political
parties

Gordy,
*Political
History of
the United
States,*
1 : ch. vii-x

times, as they did at the beginning, on questions that relate to the scope and meaning of provisions embodied in the federal constitution. Hamilton's opponents contended that the constitution gave congress no authority to charter a bank. He argued, in reply, that the authority is implied in that clause of the eighth section of the first article, coming after an enumeration of the powers given in express terms to congress, which adds to them the broad authority "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." The proposed bank, he held, was a necessary and proper instrument of government, for the conducting of financial operations and promoting the general welfare, and, therefore, the power to create it is implied. This doctrine of "implied powers" in the constitution gives an elasticity to the great instrument—especially to that most "elastic clause"—which minds of one order welcome, as essential to its best working, and which minds of another order fear and abhor.

The national bank question

The doctrine of "implied" powers

Those who supported Hamilton's measures and his broad construction of the constitution, desiring to make the most of the federal constitution, as the organic law of a nation, were called Federalists; the opposing party, contending for strict constructions of the constitution and limited powers in the general government, found its chief in Jefferson, and was content for a time to be known as the party of the Anti-Federalists.

Federalists and Republicans

Later, it was organized as the Democratic-Republican, or, in common usage, the Republican party, under which designation it needs to be distinguished with care from the Republican party of later times.

Disturbing
effects of
the French
revolution

During the first term of the administration of President Washington, as said before, the attention of the Americans was undistracted from their domestic affairs, and a remarkable settlement of conditions among them was accomplished, starting them with signal success on their new political career. Then a mischievous intrusion in their politics of exciting questions from abroad, arising from the French revolution, began to fever them with an alien factiousness that distempered the whole American body politic for twenty years. Ardent sympathy with the revolutionary movement in France had been almost universal at the beginning; but the awful violence into which it ran, the savagery of the rising Jacobins, the despairing flight of Lafayette from France, changed the feeling of the conservative classes of people, found generally in the ranks of the Federalists, while the more democratic Anti-Federalists or Republicans clung still to beliefs or hopes in an outcome of right. When, in 1793, the French revolutionists declared war with England, this division of feeling toward them produced partisans of France on one side, partisans of England on the other,—a French faction and an English faction,—the quarrels of which, unnatural in American politics and unwholesome,

French and
English
factions

did infinite harm to the political spirit of the generation in which they occurred.

Troubles arising from the Anglo-French war began in the spring of 1793, on the arrival of "Citizen Genet," as an envoy from the revolutionary government in France, claiming aid from the United States, to fulfill obligations under the treaty of alliance made in 1778. That treaty, with the king of France, pledged help to him for the defense of his West India possessions. Was it binding in present circumstances, since the royal government in France was overthrown, and France was not defensively but aggressively at war? Washington and his advisers decided that it was not, and a proclamation of neutrality was issued, with the acquiescence of Jefferson, as secretary of state. But the friendliness of Jefferson's party to France was so warm that neutrality became hard to preserve. Genet, misled by the enthusiasm of the welcome they gave him, imagined that the American people would overrule their government and allow him to push them into war. His conduct, in violation of the neutrality proclaimed, became intolerable, and the government was forced to demand his recall.

At the same time England, using her great naval power with arrogance, and assuming to dictate the narrowest possible rules of neutral commerce, dealt most offensively with the United States, not only in the matter of American trade with France and her colonies, but in another that exasperated American feeling much more. She

"Citizen
Genet,"
1793-1794

McMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U. S.*
2 : ch. viii

Genet's
conduct

Naval
arrogance
of England

British
searching
of neutral
ships

asserted a right to search the ships of other nations for seamen who had deserted from her own, or whom she claimed for naval service as subjects of her crown. Naturally, this right of search which she claimed was exercised mostly on American ships, where British seamen were most likely to be found, but where, among people of the same race and same speech, nativity would be hardest to prove. Many native-born Americans were said to have been dragged into the British navy by this barbarous impressment at sea. These fresh irritations, added to the old feeling against England which the War of Independence had left, kindled an anger in the country that seemed likely to be satisfied by nothing short of war. Hostilities were averted, however, by the unwilling acceptance of a treaty which the chief justice of the United States, John Jay, went to England to negotiate, in 1794. Though a tempest of rage against the treaty was raised when its provisions became known, it represented, undoubtedly, the best that could be done at the time, and the ratification of it was wise. It did not bind Great Britain to stop impressments from American ships, but it secured indemnity for recent illegal captures of merchant vessels, secured the surrender of western forts, obtained some privileges of trade in the British West Indies, settled the claims of British creditors, and postponed a war which the country was in no condition to undertake.

The Jay
treaty,
1794-1795

Pellew,
John Jay,
301-317

The Jay treaty gave much offense to France

and Spain, and nearly caused the latter country to repudiate a recent convention, which freed the navigation of the Mississippi and conceded important privileges to American merchants at New Orleans. American settlement of the country south of the Ohio was now advancing with great rapidity, and two new States (Kentucky, 1792, Tennessee, 1796) were formed in that region and admitted to the union in the period of the presidency of Washington. These stand second and third in the long list of States added to the original thirteen, Vermont, formed from territory that had been in dispute between New Hampshire and New York, and admitted in 1791, being the first. Exit to the Gulf for their trade was a matter of prime importance to all the settlements in the Ohio Valley, and they were restive under the control held by Spain over the mouth of the Mississippi and its whole western bank.

Develop-
ment of the
southwest

Vermont,
Kentucky,
and Ten-
nessee
added to
the Union,
1791-1796

Washington could not be persuaded to serve in the presidency for a third term, and announced his decision in the memorable Farewell Address to his countrymen that was published in September, 1796. John Adams, of Massachusetts, who had been vice-president, was chosen for president, and Thomas Jefferson for vice-president, at the ensuing election, and took office in the following March. Early in the administration of President Adams a serious rupture with France occurred. The revolutionary government of that country had resented the refusal of the United States to

John
Adams,
president,
1797-1801

Morse,
*John
Adams*

become its ally against Great Britain; and its resentment had been heightened, first, by the Jay treaty, and then, still further, by the recall from France of Mr. James Monroe, sent there as American minister, in 1794. Monroe had been warmly in sympathy with the French republicans, and Washington, who thought his course unwise, sent General C. C. Pinckney to take his place. The French government not only refused to receive Pinckney, but ordered him out of the country in a most offensive way. At the same time it proceeded to hostile acts against American ships and merchandise, and war appeared inevitable; but President Adams and congress, seeking anxiously to avoid that result, sent John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry as special envoys, to join General Pinckney in an effort to restore friendly understandings with the republic in France. The envoys were not treated discourteously, but they could get no official hearing for months, and were beset, meantime, by emissaries, who seemed to speak for Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, and who demanded gifts for the members of the directory, then governing France.

When reports of this experience were published in America the French go-betweens were not named, but designated as X. Y. Z., which caused the matter to be known as the "X. Y. Z. affair." Intense indignation was caused, and an outbreak of actual hostilities occurred, in which the United States frigate *Constellation* fought sharp battles

Rupture
with
France,
1797-1798

McMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U. S.*,
2 : ch. x

The X. Y. Z.,
corre-
spondence

Naval
hostilities,
1798

with two French ships, one of which she captured. Hurried military preparations were made, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, with Hamilton next in command. But the manners and tone of the French government took on a sudden change. It had to face a formidable coalition of hostile European powers, while its remarkable young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, had placed himself badly in Egypt, and a quarrel in America was not to be desired. Negotiations were opened which resulted in a new treaty, abrogating that of 1778.

Peace
restored

While the war excitement lasted, Republican friendship for France was chilled so much that the Federalists enjoyed a too intoxicating sense of power, and ran to excesses in the use of it. By two acts which they passed, the Alien Act, so-called, and the Sedition Act, aimed especially at certain abusive newspapers of opposing politics and at certain foreign writers, they made a startling attack on personal rights, as well as on the freedom of the press. In denouncing and opposing these high-handed measures, the Republicans went as far in the other direction on a vicious line. Jefferson and Madison gave countenance to the constitutional theory that each State may nullify and refuse obedience to acts of the general government which exceed, in its judgment, the powers delegated to that government; and this dangerous doctrine, which imperiled the union at a later day, was embodied in resolutions adopted by the Kentucky legisla-

The Alien
and
Sedition
Acts, 1798

Kentucky
and
Virginia
resolutions,
1798

ture, and in Virginia resolutions, more guarded, at nearly the same time.

Holst,
*Const. and
Pol. History
of the U. S.,
1 : 143-167*

The Federalists gave offense to the country, not only by their arbitrary measures, but by many expressions and signs of undemocratic feelings and views. Their party suffered, moreover, from factious quarrels among its leaders, after the restraining influence of Washington was withdrawn by his sudden death, on the 14th of December, 1799. The Father of his Country had been in no sense a partisan; but his inclination toward Federalist views was plain, and his closest relations in public life were with men on that side. In the election of 1800, the Federalists, supporting Adams for reëlection, were defeated, and never had power in the general government again. Jefferson was elected president, and Aaron Burr vice-president.

Death of
Washing-
ton, Dec.
14, 1799

Overthrow
of the
Federalist
party, 1800

John Mar-
shall, chief
justice

Before quitting office in the following spring, President Adams improved an opportunity to fill the office of chief justice of the United States by appointing John Marshall, of Virginia, who presided in the supreme court for the next thirty-four years. In the long term, the profound decisions of Chief Justice Marshall stamped constructions upon the federal constitution which can never be effaced, and which have made it, in theory and in fact, the supreme law of the land.

British America

Until 1774, no government was provided for any part of the vast continental territory ceded

by France to England in 1763, except a section of eastern Canada, which the king, by proclamation, had named Quebec, and for which he appointed a governor and council, giving them large discretionary powers. All other territory covered by the cession of French claims, including all that lies west of the Appalachian mountain range, which various English colonies had regarded as their own, was treated as a great Indian reserve, open to no settlement, and outside the jurisdictions of colonial law. In 1774, parliament passed the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec to the Ohio on the south and the Mississippi on the west, thus taking in the greater part of this lawless wild land, and attaching it, not to the neighboring colonial governments, but to that of the remote French province in the north, where free institutions were unknown. The act gave to the French settlers of Quebec the only freedom for which they greatly cared, and that was freedom for the rites of their church. It secured to the Catholic clergy their "accustomed dues and rights," and those wise concessions made most of the existing population indifferent, for a time, to the fact that parliament had imposed upon it a purely arbitrary government, conducted by appointees of the crown. But the act was a new sting of provocation to the neighboring English colonies, and they denounced it the next year, in their declaration of independence, "for abolishing," as they set forth, "the free system of English laws in a neighboring

Formation
of the
province of
Quebec,
1763

(See page
990)

The Quebec
Act, 1774

Bourinot,
*Manual of
Const. His.
of Canada*,
ch. ii-iii

Its offen-
siveness to
the English
colonies

province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

Possibly the Roman Catholics of Quebec and Nova Scotia might have joined the Protestants of the English colonies in their revolt, if the representatives of the latter, when they composed an address to the people of England, had not vented their religious prejudice by declaring that parliament had established in Canada "a religion that had deluged their land in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world." This most offensive utterance was worth some regiments to the British, no doubt, in the subsequent war, helping them to hold the lately French provinces, and to offer them, in the end, as a place of refuge to the loyalists who fled or were driven from the colonies in revolt. These "united empire loyalists," as they came to be known, are computed to have numbered not less than 35,000 men, women and children, of whom about 25,000 found homes in Nova Scotia, mostly in the part of that province which became New Brunswick, and about 10,000 were settled in Canada, generally on and near the St. Lawrence, west of the Ottawa River, and along the Niagara frontier. They received liberal grants of public lands, and became an element of great influence and importance in the British-American population.

"United
empire
loyalists"

Ellis, in
*Narrative
and Critical
Hist. of
Am.*, 7 :
185-214

The Ottawa River formed substantially a line of division between French and English Canadians; and that racial separation was confirmed politically in 1791, by a new constitutional act of the British parliament, which divided the former province of Quebec into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the former mostly English in population, the latter French. With a property qualification of the suffrage, both peoples were then given representation in one branch of their provincial legislatures, the other branch being of royal selection, appointed for life.

Constitutional Act
of 1791

Upper and
Lower
Canada

In Nova Scotia, the colonists had been represented in a legislative assembly since 1758. The province then included what are now New Brunswick, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and the general population had been increased quite largely, since the removal of the Acadians, by accessions from New England, Great Britain and Germany. In 1784, that part of the old French Acadia which lies on the northern side of the Bay of Fundy was separated from Nova Scotia, and organized as the province of New Brunswick. The "U. E. Loyalists," so-called, had made it their special domain.

Nova
Scotia

New
Brunswick

The Chinese Empire

Late in the reign of Keen-lung the first British embassy to the court at Peking was received with every manifestation of gracious friendliness and hospitality, but no practical concessions to its request for commercial openings and privileges

British
embassy,
1792

were made. Lord Macartney, who headed the embassy, bore an immense number of gifts to the emperor, and had the mortification of learning, too late, that certain Chinese characters on the flag of the vessel in which he was conveyed up the Peiho to Peking announced him as a "tribute-bearer from England." For some time past English traders had been doing a little business on sufferance at Canton, undergoing many annoyances and humiliations, and that contemptuous sufferance was still extended to them; but Lord Macartney gained nothing more.

Abdication
of Keen-
lung

In 1796 Keen-lung, who had reached a great age, abdicated in favor of his son. "The native historians state with justice that during the sixty years of his reign the empire reached its acme of greatness. From the northern steppes of Mongolia to Cochin China, and from Formosa to Nepal, the Chinese armies had fought and conquered."

HISTORIC EPOCHS

VI

EPOCH OF SCIENCE, MECHANISM,
DEMOCRACY, AND THE TRANS-
FORMING OF THE WORLD

(FROM THE NAPOLEONIZING OF THE FRENCH REVO-
LUTION TO THE PRESENT DAY)

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE SIXTH EPOCH

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON TO THE ADVENT OF
STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY

CHAPTER XXI

FROM THE ADVENT OF GEORGE STEPHENSON AND THE
STEAM RAILWAY TO THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM
LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXII

FROM THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES, TO BISMARCK'S
FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER XXIII

FROM BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
TO THE DEATH OF VICTORIA

CHAPTER XXIV

FROM THE DEATH OF VICTORIA TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE SIXTH EPOCH

In describing this last epoch of history as one characterized by "*the transforming of the world*," the writer reverts to a view of it which he had presented in a former book. Speaking then of the nineteenth century, he remarked that the generations before it, "whether ancient or modern, had found the world in which they lived much the same, so far as concerns the common conditions of life; but *for us of the present age it has been utterly transformed*. Its distances mean nothing that they formerly did; its dividing seas and mountains have none of their old effect; its terrifying pestilences have been half subdued, by discovery of the germs from which they spring; its very storms, by being sentinelled, have lost half their power to surprise us in our travels or our work. Netting the earth with steam and electric railways, seaming it with canals, wire-stringing it with telegraphic and telephonic lines; ferrying its oceans with swift, steam-driven ships; ploughing, planting, harvesting, spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, writing, printing, doing everything, with cunning machines and with tireless forces borrowed from coal mines and from waterfalls, men are making a new world for themselves out of that in which they lived at

The trans-
formation
of the world

In the con-
ditions of
life

the dawning of the era of mechanism and steam.

“These, however, are but outward features of the change that is being wrought in the world. Socially, politically, morally, it has been undergoing in this epoch a deeper change. The growth of fellow-feeling that began in the last century has been an increasing growth. It has not ended war, nor the passions that cause war, but it is rousing an opposition which gathers strength every year, and it is forcing nations to settle their disputes by arbitration, more and more. It has made democratic institutions of government so common that the few arbitrary governments now remaining in civilized countries seem disgraceful to the people who endure them so long. It has broken many of the old yokes of conquest, and revived the independence of many long-subjugated states. It has swept away unnatural boundary lines, which separated peoples of kindred language and race. It is pressing long-neglected questions of right and justice on the attention of all classes of men, everywhere, and requiring that answers shall be found.

“And, still, even these are but minor effects of the prodigious change that the nineteenth century has brought into the experience of mankind. Far beyond them all in importance are the new conceptions of the universe, the new suggestions and inspirations to all human thought, that science has been giving in these later years. If we live in a world that is different from that which our ancestors knew, it is still more the fact that we

In social
relations

In its as-
pect to the
mind

think of a different universe, and feel differently in our relations to it.”

Larned,
*History of
England,*
561-2

This view of the epoch leads us naturally to think first of the men whose genius or work or influence is conspicuous among the causes of a change so prodigious in the conditions of life in the world. Naturally, too, our thoughts turn primarily to the swifter movements of the great transformation, which have been on the side of the physical environments of life. That those took their first marvelous acceleration from the introduction of the steam engine is a plain fact. The steam engine was made a practicable motor by James Watt about 1775; but results from it in the directions now considered were hardly visible before the opening years of the next century. Numerous inventors, in several countries, had then been busy for some years with devices for putting the steam engine afloat, as a propelling power for ships; but Robert Fulton, the American, is the one among them who succeeded first in carrying the invention quite beyond the experimental stage into that of practical use. This was accomplished in 1807; but it was not until 1838 that the revolutionizing of ocean navigation began.

Robert
Fulton,
1765-1815

By that time the humble-born, self-educated Englishman, George Stephenson, had opened a greater revolution in traffic and travel by mounting the steam engine on locomotive wheels and setting the wheels upon iron tracks. The floated engine and the wheeled engine came then into use

George
Stephenson
1781-1848

together about two generations ago, as the main agents in two processes of human development: (1) by the commingling of men, through travel and migration, and (2) by bringing them into coöperations of labor as wide as the world. Thus far in history, no other single agencies have acted on the circumstances of life with such penetrating social effects.

Next to the inventions that brought steam into the service of mankind, those later ones which subdue and employ the mysterious electric energy have been most wonderful in their transforming effects. Behind the practical inventors in this field lies the work of a long succession of the purely scientific students of electrical phenomena, who brought to light the facts and formulated the laws which invention applied to use. Oersted, the Dane, had to make the discovery of electromagnetism, before even the true conception of an electric telegraph could be formed; and studies of electric currents and of electro-magnetic action, by Ampère and Arago, in France, by Faraday, in England, and by Ohm, in Germany, were needed to guide the inventors of the telegraph to success. There were several close competitors for the prize of that invention: Henry and Morse, in America, Wheatstone and Cooke in England,—Morse winning the lead, by devising an alphabet of easily recorded dots and lines, and by being the first to offer a telegraphic line of wires for public use. Distinction equal to that of the inventors seems due to Cyrus W. Field, whose persevering

Hans
Christian
Oersted,
1777-1851

André
Marie
Ampère,
1775-1836

Michael
Faraday,
1791-1867

George
Simon
Ohm,
1787-1874

Samuel
F.B.Morse,
1791-1872

enterprise accomplished the laying of the first great oceanic cable, in 1866.

In the later perfecting of electric telegraphy, carried even to its emancipation from dependency on conducting wires, and in the more amazing development of electric telephony, the scientific achievements of Edison, Bell, Gray, and Marconi appear greater, by far, than the simpler feats of the pioneers in the field.

Thomas
Edison,
1847-

Alex. Gra-
ham Bell,
1847-

Until about 1867, the nimble messenger-service of electricity was all of much practical importance that it gave to man. Then the dynamic generation of powerful currents, or the transmutation of power from other sources into electromagnetic force, was begun. From that, within the next two decades, sprang the electric railway and the electric light. These were followed, in another decade, by bold captures from Nature of the mighty gravitational force in her great cataracts, flashing it into electric currents and over miles of distance, to places of convenience for its use. Out of the host of savants, mechanics and engineers who have borne important parts in that later exploitation of electricity we may distinguish without injustice, perhaps, the Siemens brothers, Werner and Sir William, Professor Thomson, now Lord Kelvin, Nikola Tesla and Elihu Thomson, with Wheatstone and Edison again in the list.

William
Thomson
(Lord
Kelvin),
1824-1907

Great engineering works, as well as extraordinary improvements in connected processes and arts, have been associated at every stage with the mastery and utilization of electricity and steam;

Nikola
Tesla, 1857-

Sir Henry
Bessemer,
1813-1898

Ferdinand
De Lesseps,
1805-1894

John
Ericsson,
1803-1889

Wilbur
Wright,
1867-1912
Orville
Wright,
1871-

and these have been made so common by their multitude that personal distinction from them, publicly recognized, seems hard to win and is quickly lost. Bessemer's revolution in the production of steel, cheapening it to the level of iron and bringing it to common uses, has made an impression that stamps his name on the public memory; De Lesseps' triumph in the construction of the Suez canal, and his pitiable failure at Panama, have marked him with a double notability; Ericsson's dramatic opening of a new era in naval warfare by the timely production of the *Monitor* links him with an enduring episode of history; the conquest of the air by the Wright brothers has opened new avenues of industry and adventure, and added a new factor to warfare; but most of the marvelous work of late years in applied science and mechanics is appropriated by the world with no more than a momentary identification of the brain from which it comes.

The crowning engineering achievement of the present epoch is the completion of the Panama Canal, a titanic project carried through by the United States at a cost of about \$375,000,000 (including the payment made to the French syndicate). What is even more remarkable than the actual building of the Canal is the transformation of a fever-stricken zone into one of the healthiest places in the western hemisphere, with a death rate lower than that of the average American city. The chief engineer of this vast undertaking, Colonel G. W. Goethals, was

George W.
Goethals,
1858-



George Stephenson
From painting by Briggs



Edison
From a photograph



Bessemer
From a photograph



Pasteur
From a photograph

fittingly appointed first civil governor of the Canal Zone, in 1914.

Generally, the gifts of science—the splendid and abounding gifts of the present age and the recent past—are taken in that way, with scanty recognition of the givers, beyond some small circle in a professional class. Hundreds of laborious investigators, for example, have contributed to that present-day knowledge of malignant living organisms in nature,—germs of disease,—which it is reasonable to value above any other learning of our time; yet how many among them are known memorably, even in the medical schools? Pasteur, who found the secret of fermentation, who led the way in tracing particular maladies to cognizable germs, and who robbed hydrophobia of half its terrors, did too much to be overlooked in his life or forgotten when he died. Lister, too, the pioneer in anti-septic surgery, Mechnikoff, the Russian pathologist, who traced the functions of beneficial and pathogenic bacteria, and Koch, whose discoveries of the bacilli of cholera and tuberculosis have checked the terrifying outbreaks of the one and armed all communities with power to eradicate the other, may be tolerably sure of lasting names. An unscientific writer can hardly venture to specify more.

Louis
Pasteur,
1822-1895

Sir Joseph
Lister,
1827-

Robert
Koch, 1843-

The present writer is fully conscious of the hazard of an undertaking like this, to enroll, without specialized knowledge, the men of most notable achievement in the scientific work of

Pierre
Simon
de Laplace,
1749-1827

Baron
Georges
Cuvier,
1769-1832

Alex. von
Humboldt,
1769-1859

Jean Louis
Agassiz,
1807-1873

Hermann
Helmholtz,
1821-1894

Sir Charles
Lyell,
1797-1875

Asa Gray,
1810-1888

Rudolf
Virchow,
1821-1902

later times. Errors of unjust omission are inevitable, without doubt; errors on the other side ought not to occur. There can be no mistake in giving places here to Laplace, the great French mathematician and astronomer; to Cuvier, recognized head, if not creator, of the science of comparative anatomy; to Herschel, of the famous telescope, who has been called "the virtual founder of sidereal science;" to Humboldt, who seems to have been the master of all knowledge in his day; to Pinel, who humanized the treatment of the insane; to Dalton, originator of the atomic theory in chemistry; to Davy, analyst of the fixed alkalies and contriver of the safety-lamp for miners; to Agassiz, the demonstrator of glacial action in geology; to Fraunhofer, Bunsen and Kirchoff, who began the decipherment of the revelations of the spectrum; to Joule, who determined the mechanical equivalent of heat; to Grove, originator of the conception of the correlation of forces; to Helmholtz, foremost of modern discoverers in optics and acoustics; to Lyell and Dana, Gray and Hooker, who hold the highest rank among geologists and botanists of the age; to Tyndall, the interpreter of physical science to common understanding, and the fruitful investigator in many of its fields; to Clerk Maxwell, formulator of the most accepted mathematical theory of electrical phenomena; to Schwann, whose cell theory became the basis of modern histology, and to Virchow, the founder of cellular pathology; to Jackson, or

Morton, or both, in recognition of their proof that surgery can be made painless by anæsthetics; to Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, New York, who was awarded the Nobel prize for medicine for his researches and discoveries in the cultivation of tissues *in vitro*, the grafting of limbs and peripheral parts, and the transplantation of tissues and organs from one animal to another; to Crookes, Hertz and Röntgen, whose successive discoveries have led to knowledge of the mysterious so-called "X-rays," the usefulness and meaning of which have not yet been half learned; to Becquerel, who discovered the radiating properties of uranium; to Pierre and Madame Curie, the joint discoverers of radium, the radioactive properties of which have been enlisted in the treatment of disease.

Alexis
Carrel,
1873-

Sir William
Crookes,
1832-

Pierre
Curie,
1859-1906
Marie
Curie,
1867-

With the increased knowledge of electromagnetic waves, and improved methods of producing and detecting them made by Sir Oliver Lodge, Marconi, and others, wireless telegraphy was made possible. The wireless system from the outset proved itself of incalculable value in saving life at sea, and introduced a new factor in the art of naval warfare. Not the least important of its uses is the widening of the area of meteorological observations.

Photography now plays such an important part in the life of mankind, being at once the handmaid of science and industrial art and the bringer of all countries and peoples before the eyes of the multitude, that we are apt to forget our debt to

Louis
Jacques
Mandé
Daguerre,
1789-1851

William
Henry Fox
Talbot,
1800-1877

Niépce, Daguerre, Talbot, and others whose experiments and improvements have made this wide usefulness possible. To Edison again we owe the cinematograph or moving pictures, a development of photography which has created a new industry and a new source of popular entertainment.

Charles R.
Darwin,
1809-1882

But the great name of the nineteenth century in science is still unwritten on our scroll. If it is true, as was said at the beginning of this sketch, that science, in these later years, has been giving "new conceptions of the universe" and "new suggestions and inspirations to all human thought," it is mainly because Darwin, the patient open-minded seeker for the truth of things, gathered convincing evidences of the process of "natural selection" by which an evolution of higher from lower forms of life is brought about. The thought of such a process, with an ascending evolution of being as its concomitant, had occurred to other minds. Wallace, simultaneously with Darwin, described the possible working of natural selection in the varying of species. Spencer had already arrived at the conception of a universal process of evolution in the organic world, had formulated its law and planned an all-embracing philosophy founded thereon. But the long-pursued, careful observations and inductions of Darwin, prejudiced by no theorizing *a priori*, were what made the new doctrine of material creation irresistible and fixed it in scientific belief. In the strong body of ardent

Alfred R.
Wallace,
1822-1913

champions who rose promptly to support and confirm the conclusions of Darwin, Huxley, the most lucid and eloquent of all scientific writers, shines brilliantly preëminent. His agency seems next to that of Darwin in the conversion of mankind to a view which changes the standpoint of all thinking on the deeper problems of existence.

Herbert
Spencer,
1820-1903

Thomas H.
Huxley,
1825-1895

The results of recent research mark an epoch in the history of natural science and of civilization. "Perhaps the most striking feature of the more recent discoveries has been their cumulative effect. A new branch of physics at once bears chemical fruit, while knowledge gained in physical chemistry is applied alike by physicists, chemists, and physiologists. Archæology throws light on anthropology, and anthropology on the comparative history of religion. Academic study of the problems of heredity has immediate bearing on agriculture and sociology, while the mechanical arts are lying in wait for the results of research in the laboratory, and in using extend them. We understand at last that knowledge is one, and that only for convenience sake has it been divided into subjects and sections along lines determined by historical reasons."

*Cambridge
Modern
History,*
12 : 791

In literature, no less than in science, splendid promises at the opening of the late century were fulfilled with amplitude during two-thirds, at least, of its years. The wakening that had been signaled in the song of Burns, to simpler influences from nature, touching warmer depths of feeling, became manifest decisively in Words-

William
Words-
worth,
1770-1850

Sir Walter
Scott,
1771-1832

George
Noel Gor-
don, Lord
Byron,
1788-1824

Jane
Austen,
1775-1817

worth's more spiritual verse. At the same time, a corresponding and collateral waking to more vivid consciousness of the poetry in human life was inspiring, on one hand, the school of bards whose imagination followed Scott's into the unfamiliar past, and the less adventurous school of Byron, on the other hand, which found motives in the life of its own time. Scott, passing from verse to prose fiction, created the romantic historical novel; while Jane Austen perfected the design of the novel of contemporary domestic life.

The three movements or tendencies of imaginative feeling, toward nature, romance and contemporary life, ran everywhere, and were intermingled, more or less, in subsequent poetry and prose fiction, but always with one dominating strain. Goethe's genius was great enough to comprehend them all; yet its own personality was so controlling as to give to his poetry the classic tone of restraint. Patriotic and political feeling entered largely into all German literature during much of the first half of the century, expressing itself warmly in the lyrics of Körner and Arndt, and deeply coloring the satire, the wit and the fancies of the brilliant, cynical Heine; but the romantic *tendenz* is manifest generally in the imaginative writing of the time. This, in the early years, was stimulated ardently by Tieck and Novalis, and satisfied more perfectly, a little later by Uhland, the master balladist of his day.

After Rousseau, the starting impulse of the

Ernest
Moritz
Arndt,
1769-1860

Heinrich
Heine,
1797-1856

movement that liberated French literature from its long bondage to the old canons called classical is attributed most largely to Madame de Staël, who roused discontent with the literary spirit and tone that prevailed. Chateaubriand and Lamartine were pioneers in the emancipation movement; but Victor Hugo is the conspicuous chief of what became, in the third and fourth decades of the century, a singularly passionate revolt against the traditional judgments and tastes of the literary public in France. An almost riotous exuberance of freedom obtained indulgence then, for a time; but it underwent, presently, a taming, in poetry and prose fiction, from extreme romanticism to extreme realism, with an ultimate decadence in many writers to sheer animality of sentiment and imagination. Hugo, Vigny and Dumas,—Balzac, George Sand and Béranger,—Gautier and Musset,—Stendhal and Mérimée,—Flaubert and Zola, Baudelaire and Verlaine,—may be said to represent different phases of the change. The charming Erckmann-Chatrian tales, in their pure simplicity, seem to stand by themselves, quite apart from the general stream of tendency in their time. Criticism, as exercised by such writers as Villemain, Sainte-Beuve and Taine, has been an influence of unusual force in France; and the literary quality in serious writing, like that of Renan, is more than commonly an element of power.

Madame
De Staël
Holstein,
1766-1817

Alphonse
Lamartine,
1790-1869

Victor
Hugo,
1802-1885

Honoré de
Balzac,
1799-1850

Baroness
Dudevant
(George
Sand)
1804-1876

Louis Chas.
Alfred de
Musset,
1810-1857

Turning eastward, we see Russian literature entering upon its most glorious era, with Pushkin,

Nikolay
Vasilevich
Gogol,
1809-1852

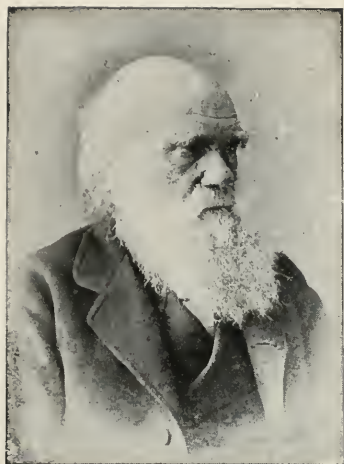
Leo Niko-
laevich
Tolstoy,
Count,
1828-1910

Baratynski, and Lermontov in the vanguard of the poets. Gogol, the creator of the Russian novel, established the school of realism and was followed by Turgenev, Goncharov, Dostoevski, Pisemski, and the most famous of them all, Tolstoy, a nihilist and mystic in whose writings Russian naturalism would seem to have culminated.

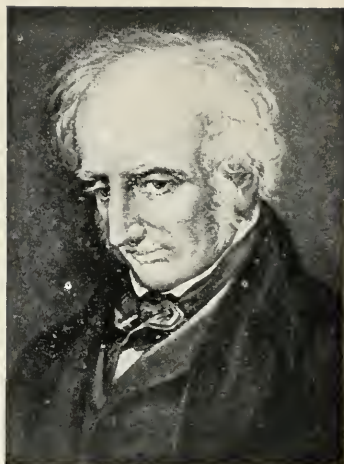
Scandinavia too has contributed generously to the world's literature in modern times. A race of intellectual giants was brought to a close with the four Danish poets, Grundtvig, Bødtker, Hans Christian Andersen, Paludan-Müller, and the celebrated critic, Brandes. Frederika Bremer, the Swedish novelist, is well-known in the United States; so too is Viktor Rydberg, one of the foremost writers of our day. The wave of realism that swept over Europe is manifest in the works of the Finlander, Runeberg, the greatest poet that has ever used the Swedish tongue, and of the celebrated Norwegians, Ibsen and Björnson.

Henrik
Ibsen,
1829-1906

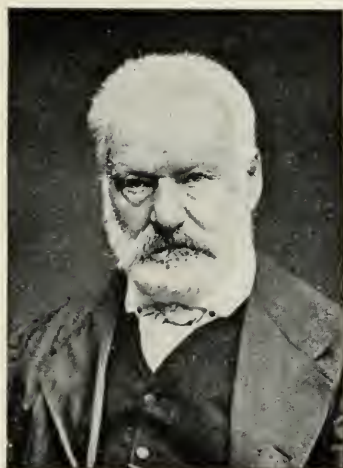
More in English literature than in any other, the reawakened inspirations from nature and from human life were soon harmonized and fused, with rich variations of effect. The fusion appears even in Wordsworth, who caught suggestions of thought or feeling from simple incidents of common life, as readily as his eye caught the beauty and the hint of simple objects that he found in his walks. It does not appear in Coleridge, fatally compounded as he was of the poet and the analyzing critic,—a positive deformation of



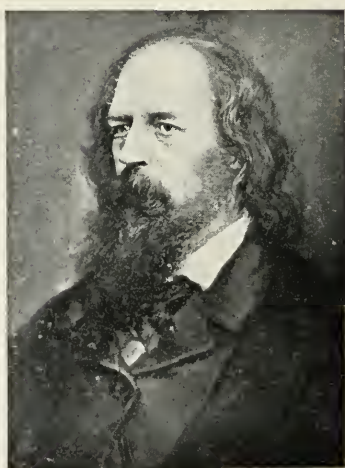
Darwin
From a photograph



Wordsworth
From painting by Haydon



Victor Hugo
From a photograph



Tennyson
From a portrait by Krämer

genius. All that is finest in his poetry is from sources within himself; romantic in the spirit, but fabricated from nothing out of any known past, and showing little sign of the seeing eye. But the poems of Shelley are one product of the fusion we speak of, while another, very different, is found in the poetry of Keats. The inexhaustible delightfulness of nature was felt intensely by both. Shelley blended it with profounder feelings, from the depths of a heart that was pained by the sufferings of humanity and angered by its wrongs. Keats, on the contrary, Greek-like in his genius, could take no inspiration from pain or wrong, or from anything adverse to the joy of life and the beauty of the world. He had to look into some twilighted past for visions of imagined life that would harmonize with the aspects of nature that he loved.

Samuel
Taylor
Coleridge,
1772-1834

Percy
Bysshe
Shelley,
1792-1822

John Keats,
1795-1821

And now we approach a generation that began to be moved profoundly by those great revelations of science that have changed the tenor of all thought. The pondering, questioning spirit of a scientific age entered poetry, charging the highest efforts in it with a deeper thoughtfulness, turning them on the problems of existence that fret our minds. This graver tone and weightier substance came slowly into the poetry of Tennyson, took possession of Browning's and gave its finest quality to Matthew Arnold's verse. The three pre-Raphaelite poets, Rossetti, Morris, and Swinburne, were the foremost singers of a revived romanticism, and show nothing of the scientific

Alfred,
Lord
Tennyson,
1809-1892

Robert
Browning,
1812-1889

influence; nor do any of the chief American poets of the same generation. Bryant ceased to sing when his youth was passed, and a busy city took him into its life, and he lost touch with nature. To Longfellow all influences from nature and life, past and present, were inspiring; but he was not moved to deal with the problems of his age. Nor was Lowell, critic, humorist, satirist,—warmly romantic at the bottom of all. Least of all did Whittier, equal lover of God, nature and man, touch any such questioning in his sweet and simple song. As for Poe, he was like a Coleridge of lighter genius on the critical and philosophic side. He took little from and gave little to any outward influence, drawing his poetry from sources of suggestion and imagination within himself. Emerson, alone, in America, tintured a subtly pregnant verse, as well as a rarely cogent prose, with the profoundest thinking of the age.

Henry W.
Longfellow,
1807-1882

Ralph
Waldo
Emerson,
1803-1882

Romantically as the imagination of the English novel-reading world had been excited by Scott, the pure romance did not hold its place long in English literature. There were no masters to uphold it after Sir Walter died, except Hawthorne, thê American, who found a realm of psychological romance in the Puritan past of New England, and explored it with a dark-lanterned imagination. In constructive art and purity of English prose the work of Hawthorne has hardly been surpassed. The other great writers of prose fiction who followed Scott found more to interest

Nathaniel
Hawthorne
1804-1864

and move them in the life of their own day than in that of the past.

Thackeray, with his fine discernment of character and of the play of mixed motives in human action, could and did compose historical novels that are nearer to perfection than any of Scott's; but his art was still finer and more perfect in the keenly satirical and no less keenly true pictures that he drew of society as he saw it in the living state. Dickens had none of that artistic fineness in his work, but he was far beyond Thackeray in creative power. He went to real life, not so much for characters as for hints of eccentricity, out of which to create characters that have the seeming of reality, while they bear their maker's stamp. They are not real to our experience, but easily become real to our imagination; and the same is true of the whole structure of the society into which we are carried by one of Dickens's tales. We know nothing quite like it; it has no actuality but that which it takes from his pen; yet that seems to be enough. His creative achievement, in fact, is unique: it is nothing less than the fabrication of a *Dickens world*, peopled wonderfully with a multitudinous community of Dickens characters, all consistent with it and with themselves. There is nothing else in imaginative literature with which it can rightly be compared.

After Thackeray and Dickens, the name of greatest eminence among English novelists is unquestionably that of George Eliot, who brought to the study of character, and to the artistic

William
Makepeace
Thackeray,
1811-1863

Charles
Dickens,
1812-1870

observation of life, a quality of intellectual power very different from that of any other great writer of fiction, unless Balzac may be thought to show somewhat the same. It seems to be the power of a profoundly rational mind, lending itself to imaginative tasks, not spontaneously, but under the constraint of a marvelous self-command.

Marian
Evans
Cross
(George
Eliot),
1819-1880

Charles
Kingsley,
1819-1875

Charlotte
Brontë,
1816-1855

Harriet
Beecher
Stowe,
1811-1896

Samuel
Langhorne
Clemens
(Mark
Twain),
1835-1910

Charles
Lamb,
1775-1834

Robert
Louis
Stevenson,
1850-1894

If these masters of prose fiction stand apart, in a class of their own, that most fertile field of English literature has been thronged for six decades, at least, with writers of the second rank. The number is too great for more than mention in this place: Kingsley, Bulwer, Disraeli, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Gaskell, Reade, Hughes, Trollope, Stevenson (whose higher rank as a great literary artist is in another company), Macdonald, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Ewing, George Meredith, Blackmore, Walter Besant, Black, in Great Britain, and Cooper, Mrs. Stowe, Bret Harte, S. L. Clemens (Mark Twain), F. Marion Crawford, in America,—who will question the right of these to a place in our list? From living writers we will venture no choice of names.

Outside of fiction, in English prose, what brilliant, beautiful, powerful work has been done within the last hundred years, in widely differing styles! Lamb, in the first generation of the century, Stevenson in the last,—each from his own delightful personality and in the spirit of his own age,—exemplify the high charm of that limpid, natural flow of written discourse which

nothing but a genius of perfect naïveté and sincerity can yield. De Quincey tests the flexibility of the language in subtle intricacies of inconclusive thought. Ruskin develops its pictorial capacities and brings to light new beauties of verbal effect. Carlyle moulds it into strange and striking forms of expression, which he uses with a power that is more extraordinary than the power of the thought conveyed. Hazlitt, Hunt, Landor, Mill, Bagehot, Huxley, Martineau, Newman, Symonds, Matthew Arnold, in England, and Irving, Emerson, Thoreau, Holmes, Curtis, in America,—each for his own purpose makes it a potent, satisfying vehicle of such message as he has for the world.

Thomas De
Quincey,
1785-1859

John
Ruskin,
1819-1900

Thomas
Carlyle,
1795-1881

Leopold
von Ranke,
1795-1886

No branch of the literature of knowledge has more to give distinction to its work in this period than the historical; and that is true equally if we judge it by the carefulness of preparatory investigation, by the conscientious candor of treatment, or by the literary excellence of composition. In Ranke, Mommsen, Häusser, Curtius, of Germany, Thierry, Guizot, Barante, Michelet, Martin, Thiers, of France, Hallam, Macaulay, Grote, Stubbs, Freeman, Green, Lecky, Gardiner, of England, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Parkman, Fiske, Rhodes, of the United States, we have a list of historians which all the preceding centuries, together, from Thucydides to Gibbon, cannot match.

Louis
Adolphe
Thiers,
1797-1877

Thomas
Babington,
Baron
Macaulay,
1800-1859

Francis
Parkman,
1823-1893

Apart from Germany, the notable and influential contributions to philosophical thinking, in

Isidore
Auguste
Comte,
1798-1857

Georg
Wilhelm
Hegel,
1770-1831

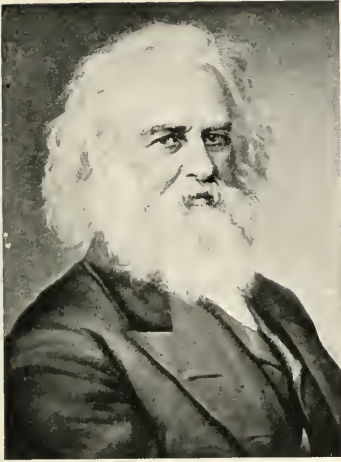
Arthur
Schopen-
hauer,
1788-1860

Henri
Bergson,
1859-

William
Booth,
1829-1912

the nineteenth century, were few. From France, Comte's skeptical system of "positive philosophy" made, for some time, a marked impression, which has waned since the project of a new religion was erected upon it. Hamilton, in Scotland, gave rise to wide discussion in his day by attempts to mediate between the transcendentalism of Kant and the common sense of Reid. The later movements of British thought in these regions have turned to controversy over the evolutionary principle worked out by Herbert Spencer and his school. It is in Germany that philosophy has had its chosen home since it was domiciled by Kant; and every generation there has taken famous new systems from famous new teachers,—Fichte, Hegel, Herbart, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Lotze, Hartmann,—in an unbroken line. The twentieth century sees the eyes of philosophical students turned once more to France where Bergson's teachings of "creative evolution" have opened up new horizons of thought. No such impression has been made by any contribution to philosophy since Kant launched his "Critique of Pure Reason."

In religious movements, the two most conspicuous are probably the Salvation Army, organized and firmly established by General Booth, and Christian Science, discovered and founded by Mary Baker Eddy, both of which achieved worldwide success during the lifetime of their founders. General Booth built up a militant organization outside the churches, bear-



Longfellow

From portrait by Krämer



Dickens

From a photograph



Carlyle

From a photograph



Mary Baker Eddy

From a photograph copyrighted by
The Christian Science Publishing
Society, Boston

ing the message of the Cross into the darkest abodes of vice and destitution, and working out a radical scheme of social reform. Mrs. Eddy, unusually gifted and spiritually minded, seems to have been the inspired leader needed to turn the world's thought away from its sordid materiality into spiritual channels. Her discovery, in 1866, of what she afterwards called the "Science of Christianity" has certainly produced prodigious results from whatever point viewed. Many thousands have been healed of hopeless disease, both of mind and body. Following the demonstration of such healing power, the establishment of Christian Science churches has spread with unprecedented rapidity to all parts of the globe, particularly in the English-speaking countries, while the influence of this teaching has permeated every branch of thought, scientific, philosophical, and religious. Though Mrs. Eddy claimed no personal glory, the fruit of her work surely entitles her to a place among the world's greatest benefactors.

Mary
Baker
Eddy,
1821-1910
*"Science
and Health,
with Key to
the Scrip-
tures"*

Now, at last, we may turn to the conspicuous actors in public affairs. In any former century they would have filled most of the stage and dominated the history of the time; for no period of equal length was ever productive of more stirring or more pregnant political events; but the greater marks on humanity and the world are made no longer by the energies that operate in politics and war. What are the marks that Napoleon left, compared with those visible or felt by all

mankind, to-day, from the work of Watt and Stephenson or from the thoughtful studies of Darwin and Pasteur? Large as he looks in the story of his brutal career, the great Corsican adventurer shrinks to a poor figure when the real outcome of his life is measured up. He was the incarnation of genius in those modes of intellectual power which bear upon the mastery of momentary circumstances and the command of men. But he had no spark of the higher genius that might have directed such powers to great ends. The soul behind his genius was ignoble, the spirit was mean; and his genius had its narrowness even on the intellectual side. His selfish projects were never sagacious, never far-sighted, thoughtfully studied, wisely planned. There is no appearance in any part of his career of a pondered policy, guiding him to a well-determined result from what he did. The circumstances of any moment, whether on the battlefield or in the political arena, he could handle with a swift apprehension, a mastery and a power that may never have been surpassed. But much commoner men have apprehended and have commanded in a larger and more successful way the general sweep of circumstances in their lives. It is that fact which belittles Napoleon in the comparison often made between him and Cæsar. Probably he was Cæsar's equal in war; but who can imagine Cæsar, in Napoleon's place, committing the blunders of blind arrogance which ruined the latter in Germany and Spain, or undertaking his

Napoleon
Bonaparte,
1769-1821

fatuous "continental system" against British trade?

On his own plane of character and genius, as a heartless warrior, Napoleon was unrivaled,—a prodigy, such as Providence has rarely permitted to be born, for the affliction of mankind. None who contended with him in war were nearly his equals,—neither Wellington and Blücher, who overcame him finally at Waterloo, nor Nelson, who forbade him the use of the sea; and opposing statesmanship was paralyzed by his military success. Moreover, unfortunately, no statesman of the first order came to power in Europe in that time of great need. Pitt, his foremost opponent, was a skillful parliamentarian, an effective speaker, a financier of ability, and he organized the European resistance with considerable skill; but he had nothing of his father's inspiring genius or force. Fox, the warm-hearted, the eloquent, the reckless, pleasure-loving man of personal charm, is hardly to be thought of as an efficient master of ministerial power. Metternich was too narrow, too limited in every way for dealing with situations like those which the French revolution and Napoleon had brought about. Stein and Hardenberg, who raised Prussia from her prostrate state, and prepared her for the subsequent leadership that made Germany what it is, found their opportunity too late for effects upon the European conflict till its end approached; but their work counts in history, from its durable results, for infinitely more than time has sifted

Arthur
Wellesley,
duke of
Wellington,
1769-1852

Horatio,
Viscount
Nelson,
1758-1805

William
Pitt, the
younger,
1759-1806

Charles
James Fox,
1749-1806

Prince
Metternich-
Winne-
burg,
1773-1859

Heinrich
Friedrich,
Baron von
Stein,
1757-1831

Prince Karl
August von
Harden-
berg,
1750-1822

out of the wreckage of ephemeral empire which Napoleon left.

American statesmanship, in the Napoleonic period, took from Jefferson a cast or spirit that was strangely misfitted to that stormy and strenuous time. It applied humanitarian and philosophic principles to circumstances in which philosophy and humanitarian sentiment were least likely to have force, and the experiment did not succeed. Measured by the lasting influence of his political opinions in the United States,—the profound impress of his thought and feeling on American democracy, and the fundamental quality which that shows in them,—Jefferson was more than a great statesman, for he was a great political chief,—the founder of an indestructible political creed; but his practical administration of government showed more weakness than strength. So, too, did Madison's, when he came to the helm of government in those difficult years. Madison the president was far from being the peer of Madison the chief architect of the federal constitution. As for those who took, practically, the reins from Madison, and drove the young republic into what was no less than an alliance with Napoleon against Great Britain, they were mere boyish minded young patriots and politicians, with no maturity of experience and judgment, such as statesmanship requires. Clay, their leader, kept something of the same buoyant boyishness in his nature through life, and it gave him no small part

Thomas
Jefferson,
1743-1826

James
Madison,
1751-1836

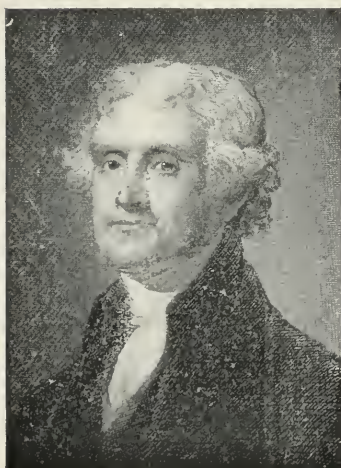
Henry
Clay,
1777-1852



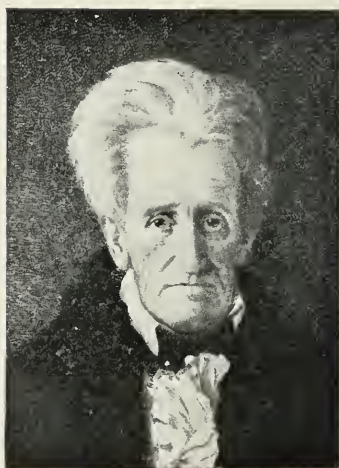
Napoleon
From painting by David



Pitt
From painting by Hickel



Jefferson
From painting by Gilbert Stuart



Andrew Jackson
From painting by Healy

of his personal charm and his political success.

It was one of the misfortunes to the United States of the war of 1812-15 that it created a popular hero who was not qualified for usefulness in that part. The prodigious force of will, the unlimited self-confidence and the thorough honesty of purpose in Andrew Jackson, were elements of a measureless personal power, when the masses of the people gave their confidence to him; and the rude training of the man, undisciplined and ill-informed as he was, made it a very dangerous power. It is a matter for wonder that the country suffered no more harm than it did from his autocracy of eight years and his dominating influence for a much longer time.

Andrew
Jackson,
1767-1845

In the years between Jefferson and Jackson, the character of most importance in American history is that homely man, of inerrable logic, the chief-justice Marshall, whose interpreting decisions were then giving to the federal constitution of the republic a nationalizing base, so solid in principle that it has resisted every shock.

John
Marshall,
1755-1835

The European revolutions of 1830, which started the undoing of the work of the "holy alliance," brought no striking character into prominence; but it was then that Mazzini's life of exile and laborious conspiracy, to rouse Italy against its many oppressors, was begun. On the surface of history there is little to be seen of the fruits of his labor; but no small part of the spirit that unified Italy at last, under a constitutional government, sprang undoubtedly from the seed

Giuseppe
Mazzini,
1805-1872

which Mazzini, with faithful patience, had been sowing for forty years.

Giuseppe
Garibaldi,
1807-1882

The dramatic revolutions of 1848 brought figures of more distinction on the scene. The picturesque Garibaldi, simple in habit, romantic in spirit, audacious in boldness, ready for any enterprise and any responsibility, came from fourteen years of exile in South America, to serve a few months of revolutionary apprenticeship in Italy, and then retired to exile again, and to humble candle-making, at New York. Kossuth, in Hungary, emerged from quiet missionary labors in patriotic journalism, to be raised, first, to sudden fame in the leadership of a great national revolt, and then to greater fame when failure drove him from his country, sending him to amaze and dazzle the English-speaking world with his marvelous eloquence in a newly-learned tongue. In France, an infatuated people took up a shallow adventurer, and lifted him to the summit of distinction and power, merely because he bore a name that ought to have carried warning in itself. It was according to the plainest probability that a second Napoleon Bonaparte would be a poor imitator of the first, impelled by like meannesses of nature, but weakly, with no imposing brilliancy and force; and so there was nothing to disappoint any reasonable expectation in that ignoble career which ended, after twenty-two years, in the crumbling of a rotten "second empire," with France crushed beneath the ruins of its fall.

Louis
Kossuth,
1802-1894

Louis
Napoleon
Bonaparte
(Napoleon
III.),
1808-1873

Great Britain passed through both of the periods of revolutionary excitement without serious disturbance of public order, because peaceful revolution, through pressure of public opinion and force of law, had been made practicable to the English race by centuries of constitutional experience. Englishmen, in 1830, were demanding a more real representation in parliament, and would, if necessary, have made the demand with arms in hand; but there was no such need. Two years later the reform of parliament was won by Earl Grey ("a pure and lofty character," says Goldwin Smith), who had persisted in contention for the measure since the days of Fox and Pitt. Possible rebellion in Ireland had been averted in 1829 by the great measure of partial justice known as "Catholic emancipation," which Daniel O'Connell, the most gifted and powerful leader that has ever arisen in Ireland, forced even a Tory government to concede. Similarly, in 1848, England had been pacified in advance of the continental convulsions by the repeal, in 1846, of the oppressive and iniquitous corn-laws, brought about by a great "campaign of education," organized and led by Cobden, the invincible champion of freedom for industry and trade.

Charles,
Earl Grey,
1764-1845

Daniel
O'Connell,
1775-1847

Richard
Cobden,
1804-1865

Peel, the Conservative premier who accepted and adopted that measure of repeal, deserves high honor for the open mind, the candor, the spirit above party, which led him, then and after, to break away from the old class-protective

Sir Robert
Peel,
1788-1850

William
Ewart
Gladstone,
1809-1898

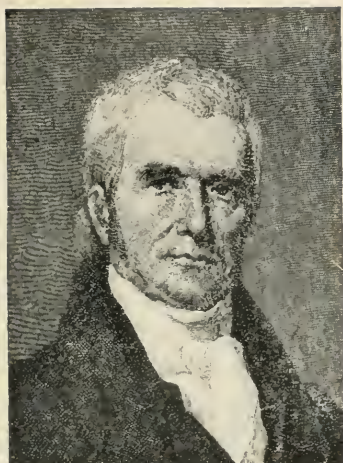
Benjamin
Disraeli,
Earl of
Beacons-
field,
1804-1881

Toryism in which he had been schooled. The same honor, in a measure even greater, is due to Gladstone, who went with Peel in the notable departure of 1846, turning toward liberalism, to become in time the chief of a new party of political progress and courageous reform. In his freedom from bondage to his own mistakes of opinion or act, in his capacity for large and larger convictions, in the intrepidity of his respect for public opinion, in the ethical authority that he acquired, Gladstone is a nobly shining character in British history, whatever the final verdict on his statesmanship may be. If Disraeli (Beaconsfield), his life-long opponent in politics and his opposite in every attribute of character, keeps a place of distinction in history, it will be, as he would probably prefer it to be, among the practitioners of dexterity in politics, who make the most of opportunity when it comes their way.

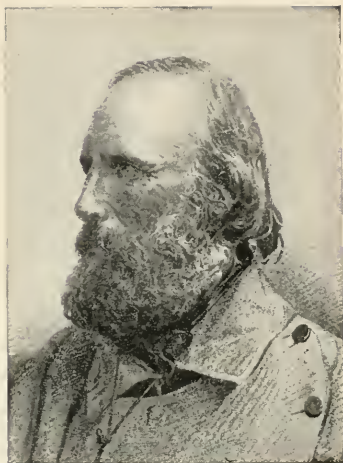
William
Lloyd
Garrison,
1804-1879

John C.
Calhoun,
1782-1850

In most parts of Europe, the last supports of arbitrary monarchy and class domination were being shaken down; but chattel slavery, the worst relic of barbaric institutions, appeared to be fastening itself more fixedly, as a hideous and incongruous parasite, on the democracy of the United States. It was strengthened by the passionate recklessness of the disunion spirit in Garrison's abolition crusade, until Calhoun, the accepted champion and counselor of the slaveholding interest, destroyed that effect by the more alarming spirit of his defense. Believing in slavery as a righteous social system, and confident



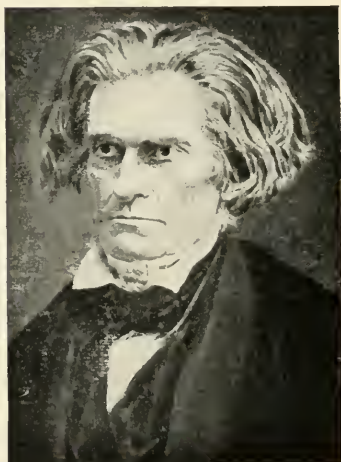
John Marshall



Garibaldi
From a photograph



Gladstone
From a photograph



Calhoun
From a photograph

of its perpetuity, while recognizing its incompatibility with the freedom of thought and speech that democracy had developed in the non-slaveholding States, Calhoun persuaded himself and his followers that the daunting and restraining of that freedom, on the one subject of slavery, was a practicable thing to do. For some years there was astonishing success in their measures to that end. Mere politicians *were* daunted and made submissive to their resolute dictation. The inevitable revolt of northern spirit was tardy and slow, but it grew. The voice that roused it most was the voice of John Quincy Adams, the venerable ex-president, who would not and could not be silenced on the floor of congress, in his vindication of the constitutional right of petition, which the Calhounists had denied.

John
Quincy
Adams,
1767-1848

Then came the period of a dozen years in which the old parties crumbled steadily, and the political forces of the country were drawn by degrees into two sectional camps, while statesmen of the elder school, like Clay, "the great compromiser," and Webster,—worshiper of the Union and the constitution, greatest of American senators, most superb of American orators,—made vain attempts to hold the middle ground. Douglas, the adroit, resourceful, vigorous "opportunist" of a younger generation, was the last to make that hopeless attempt.

Daniel
Webster,
1782-1852

Stephen A.
Douglas,
1813-1861

In 1861 the two political camps became armies, and civil war began. Many reasons may be found for explaining why slavery perished in the

Abraham
Lincoln,
1809-1865

war and the Union was saved from dissolution, but the one discernible reason that outweighs all others is in the fact that Abraham Lincoln led the winning cause. His wise mind, his simple magnanimity of temper, his perfection of lucid speech, his plain straightforwardness in thought and deed, his unequalled discernment and understanding of the people,—all, in fact, that made him the beloved “Father Abraham” of the country,—were factors in the conflict of more final potency than measures in congress or armies in the field. He was wise with a wisdom which nothing but genius bestows. It was not in the shrewd, diplomatic brain of Seward, nor in the resolute and willful mind of Stanton, nor in the large, strong intellect of Chase. Lincoln could *feel* the argument and meaning of events. And so it happened that all he did and all he said in the great crises of the conflict were done and said with a timeliness, a fitness, an effect, which no calculating sagacity could have hit.

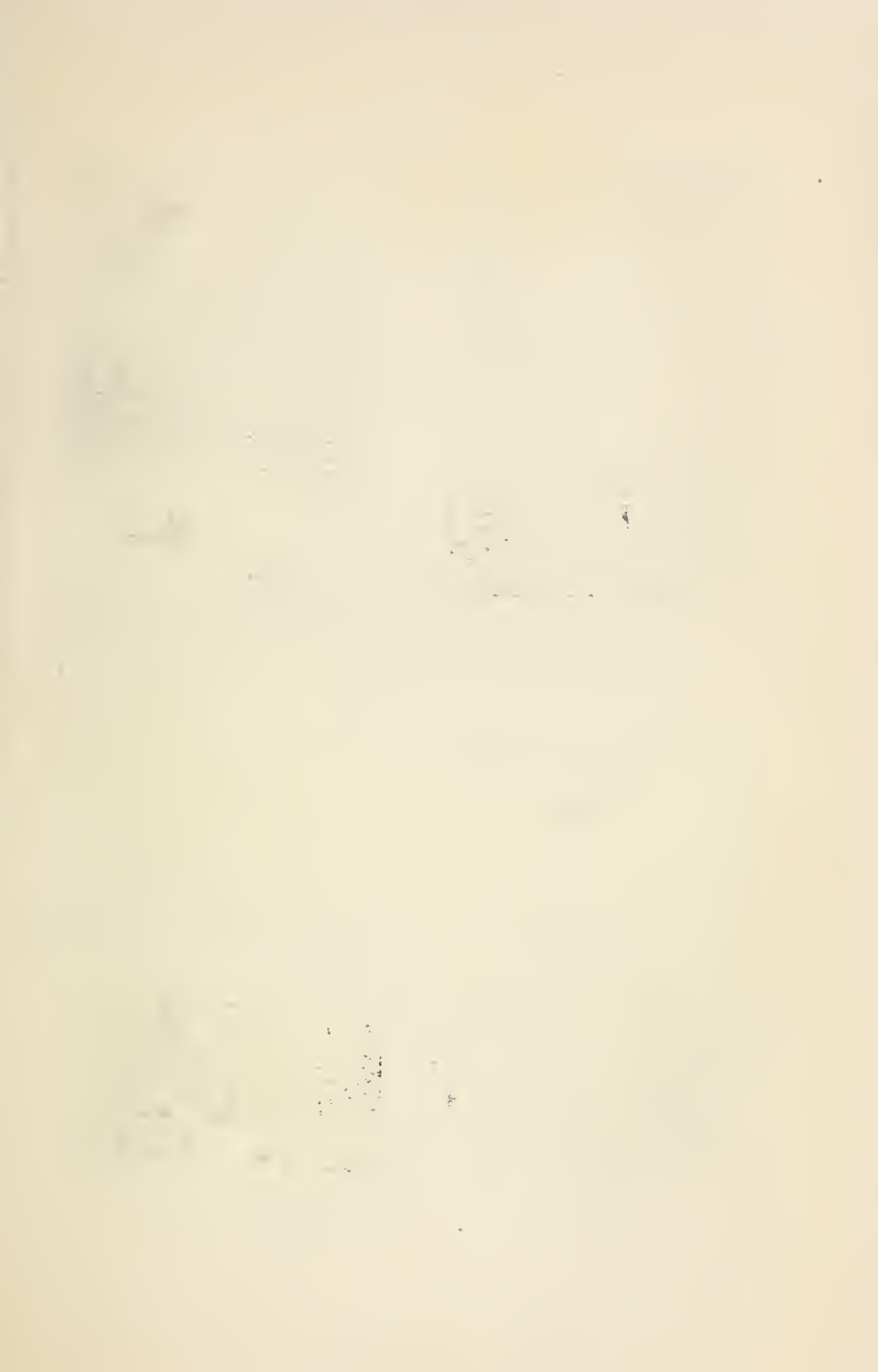
William H.
Seward,
1801-1872

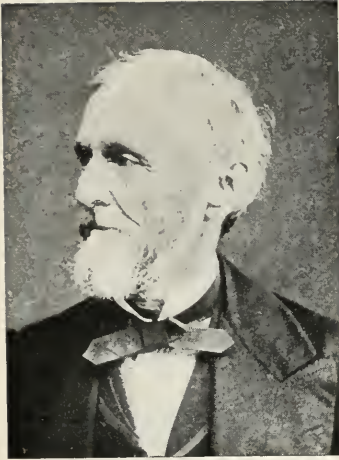
Edwin M.
Stanton,
1814-1869

Salmon P.
Chase,
1808-1873

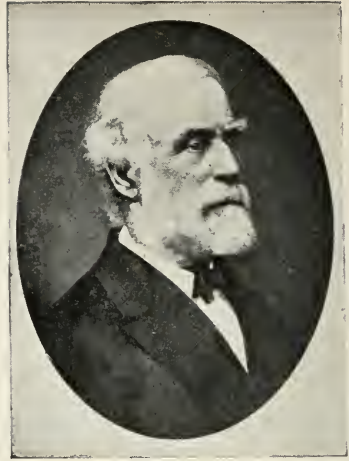
Jefferson
Davis,
1808-1889

Providence did not favor the rebellious Confederacy with so choice a gift. Davis, its chief, was an able, strong, experienced man, but only of the better grade in a common political class. There was nothing of a fatherly character in his relations to the cause for which he stood; nothing in his personality that centered the cause in himself, as Lincoln’s did, warming devotion to it from his own devotion, and strengthening public faith by his own abiding faith. It was Lee, not Davis, who held that place in the Confederacy,





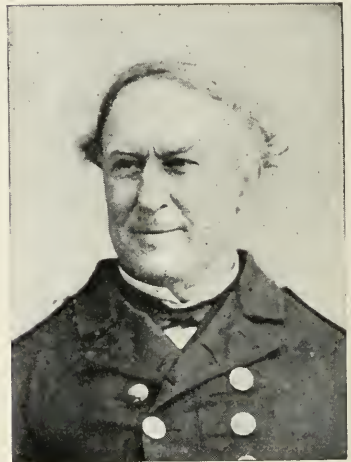
Jefferson Davis
From a photograph



General Lee
From a photograph



General Grant
From a photograph



Farragut
From a photograph

when he came to be known for what he was. He was the high-souled great character, as well as the great soldier of the contest, on its southern side; a figure more nearly companioned to that of Lincoln than any other in the history of the civil war.

That Lee was the ablest soldier of all who fought in the war, on either side, can hardly be questioned by a candid mind. Who can believe that Grant or Sherman, with Lee's resources and his task, would have accomplished what he did, or that Stonewall Jackson could have taken Lee's place? They deserve their fame, as admirable soldiers, each notably representative of a type; but Lee seems entitled to a rank with Frederick the Great, with Marlborough, with Cromwell, who represent a superior type. Farragut's exploits in the war are equaled by nothing that has been done in naval warfare since Nelson ended his career.

Robert E.
Lee,
1807-1870

Ulysses S.
Grant,
1822-1885

William T.
Sherman,
1820-1891

Thomas J.
(Stonewall)
Jackson,
1824-1863

David G.
Farragut,
1801-1870

During the conflict in America and within a few subsequent years, two achievements of constructive statesmanship that are not surpassed in history were accomplished in the European world. That of Cavour, the architect of a united Italy, was, perhaps, the finer work of art; for his resources were slender and his difficulties were great. His footing was a small kingdom, of no prestige, till he won a little for it by engaging in the Crimean war. His source of authority was a not very popular king. His main dependence was on foreign help and Italian revolution, both

Camillo
Benso,
Count di
Cavour,
1810-1861

serving him with intentions adverse to his own. His most effective military instrument was Garibaldi, self-commissioned and independent commander of an army formed without authority of law. On the other hand, Bismarck, builder of a federated German empire, had, for the base of his structure, a compact Prussian nation; for his masterworkman, a strong king; for his mighty implement of force an army moulded, marshaled and directed by Moltke, the most consummate military organizer of modern times. The greatness of Bismarck's work was in his powerful bending of circumstances, to produce the opportunities for which he had prepared. That of Cavour's was in the fitting of his means and his tools to such circumstances as came.

Prince von
 Otto
 Bismarck,
 1815-1898

Count
 Helmuth
 von
 Moltke,
 1800-1891

Alexander
 II., of
 Russia,
 1818-1881

Stephen
 Grover
 Cleveland,
 1837-1908

William
 McKinley,
 1843-1901

Queen
 Victoria,
 1819-1901

King
 Edward
 VII.,
 1841-1910

Our list of famous names is nearly filled. We must take into it the tzar who gave freedom to the Russian serfs, though he angered his subjects by later oppressions and was horribly slain. We must include the President who maintained the inviolability of the Monroe doctrine, and who stamped his individuality upon the life of the United States in no uncertain manner. Nor can we omit his successor, William McKinley, a man of less force and originality, who fell a victim to an anarchist's bullet. We must give a place to the good English queen whose long influence in her own wide realm and in the world was all for good. We must enroll her universally beloved son whose reign was all too brief, but who will live in history as Edward the Peacemaker. We



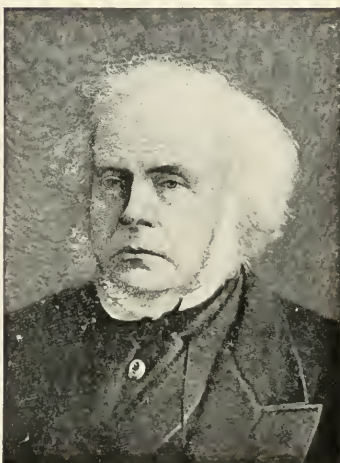
Count di Cavour
From a painting by Mitzmacher



Bismarck
From a photograph



Moltke
From a photograph



John Bright
From a photograph

must surely admit to it the great-hearted, golden-tongued apostle of peace and righteousness, John Bright. Thiers, who did notable work in the founding of the third republic of France on the ruins of the second empire, cannot with justice be left out; nor can Deák, the master-spirit of the movement that restored Hungary to a footing of distinct nationality, in the Austro-Hungarian empire; nor yet can George, the Danish king of the Hellenes, whose life was cut off by an assassin in the hour of Greece's triumph.

John
Bright,
1811-1889

Ferencz
Deák,
1803-1876

For a moment, we may turn to Africa, and note the work of Livingstone, whose missionary explorations were the first to waken a wide, general interest in the bringing of that vast unknown part of the earth into relations with the civilized world; then of Speke, Burton, and Baker, who solved the mysteries of the Nile; then of Stanley, who revealed the enormous stretch of the Congo and the expanse of its valley; and lastly of Rhodes and Kruger, representatives of rival ambitions, whose antagonized projects of African dominion caused the terrible Boer war. These are but a few among the men, in our own generation, who have been drawing a long-obscured continent out of prehistoric darkness into historic light.

David Liv-
ingstone,
1813-1873

Henry M.
Stanley
(John
Rowlan
1841-1904

Cecil
Rhodes
1853-1902

Paul
Kruger,
died 1904

When we come to living men we deem it best to pause. It will be left for future historians to characterize the work of present European rulers, notably George V. of England, William II. of Germany, Nicholas II. of Russia, Alfonso

King
George V.,
1865-

Emperor
William
II., 1859-

Emperor
Francis
Joseph,
1830-

Woodrow
Wilson,
1856-

William
Howard
Taft,
1857-

Theodore
Roosevelt,
1858-

Pius X.,
1835-
Pope,
1903-

Queen
Alexandra,
1844-

Queen
Mary,
1867-

XIII. of Spain, Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary, Constantine of Greece, Emmanuel III. of Italy, Christian X. of Denmark, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Gustav V. of Sweden, Albert of Monaco, Haakon VII. of Norway, Albert of Belgium, Mehmed V., successor of the ill-fated Abdul-Hamid of Turkey, and President Poincaré of France; of Yuan Shi-kai, first president of the Chinese Republic, and of President Wilson and his immediate predecessors, William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt of the United States; of Pius X., whose singleheartedness and apostolic zeal have commanded the esteem of Catholics and non-Catholics alike; of the two British queens, the widowed Alexandra and the consort of the King-Emperor; of eminent statesmen and diplomats, such as Asquith, Chamberlain, Balfour, Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Curzon, Morley, and Bryce of Great Britain, Laurier and Borden of Canada, Seddon and Stout of New Zealand, Deakin, Joseph Cook, and Forrest of Australia, Vice-President Marshall, Bryan, Champ Clark, and Cannon of the United States; of the eminent British generals Roberts, Kitchener, and French; of the renowned admirals Noel, Fanshawe, May, and the veteran Beresford of Great Britain, and Dewey of Manila fame; of the princely benefactors Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Mrs. Russell Sage.

Finally, we recall the exploits of the men who pierced the frozen solitudes of the polar regions, wresting therefrom the secrets that civilization

wished to learn. Nansen and the Duke of Abruzzi made splendid efforts to reach the North Pole, getting within 225 miles and 206 miles respectively; but it was left to Peary to achieve the goal of centuries. Peary reached the North Pole in 1909. The South Pole still remained to be explored. The British explorers Scott and Shackleton had already penetrated to within a comparatively short distance of the coveted objective; Shackleton, after locating the magnetic South Pole, reaching a point only 97 miles from the terrestrial Pole. The final struggle became virtually a race between Amundsen, the Norwegian, and Captain Scott, the Englishman, the former reaching the South Pole in December 1911, followed by Scott a month later. On the return journey, Captain Scott, with four of his companions, perished of starvation, leaving behind them a splendid record of bravery and self-sacrifice. Disaster also attended the Australian Antarctic Expedition (1912-1914), Dr. Douglas Mawson, leader of this scientific expedition, losing two of his comrades, leaving him to press forward to his distant base alone and undaunted. Mawson's expedition has defined a considerable part of the coast of Antarctica, and has added greatly to the store of scientific and geographical knowledge. With these brave men and their inspiring achievements we may properly close our scroll.

Fridtjof
Nansen,
1861-

Robert
Edwin
Peary,
1856-

Robert
Falcon
Scott,
1868-1912

Sir Ernest
H. Shackle-
ton, 1873-

Roald
Amundsen,
1872-

Dr.
Douglas
Mawson,
1882-

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON TO THE ADVENT OF STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY

(1799 to 1830)

The days of absolute government numbered.—History assuming a new tenor.—Beginning of a transformation of the world. *The Napoleonic Wars*: Second defeat of Austria.—Reconstruction of Germany.—Napoleon emperor.—Austerlitz and Trafalgar.—Subjugation of Prussia.—Warfare by destruction of trade.—Napoleon's crime against Spain.—The Spanish uprising.—The humiliation of Germany.—The making of Prussia.—Napoleon in Russia.—Beginning of his overthrow. His fall.—His return from Elba.—Waterloo.—St. Helena. *The United States of America during the Napoleonic Wars*. Neutral trade.—Humiliations endured.—Presidency of Jefferson.—The Louisiana purchase.—Wrongs and insults from England and France.—English claim to a right of search.—Madison's presidency.—Napoleon's knavery.—War of 1812 with England.—Beginning of a conscious national life. *Europe after the fall of Napoleon*: The English corn laws.—Reconstruction work of the Congress of Vienna.—The Holy Alliance.—Revolutions of 1820 and 1830.—Ireland and Catholic emancipation. *New departure in social progress*: Effects of steamboat and railway. *The United States after the war of 1812*: Steam navigation.—Canal building. "The cotton gin."—Its effects on slavery. Question of slavery in the Territories.—The Missouri compromise.—The "Monroe doctrine." *British America*: Discontent in the Canadas. *Spanish America*: Revolt and independence of Spanish provinces. *Santo Domingo*: Revolt.—Slave rising.—Toussaint L'Ouverture. *Brazil*: Founding of the independent empire. *Australia*: Growth of New South Wales. *India*: Extension of British rule.

When the nineteenth century began, the days of absolute government had been numbered for all Christendom, excepting possibly for the empire of the Russian czar. Though it seemed to have been not much injured by the great shock from France, yet its bases had been broken beyond repair, and gave way in its formidable seats, one after the other, till the czar was left alone in his autocracy, among the princes of the Christian world. Napoleon, with all his prestige and his masterfulness, failed to found a new

The
crumbling
of absolute
govern-
ments

absolutism in France, even for the term of his own life; and the subsequent labors of the "holy alliance" of European kings were undone in a generation. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had been determined, past disputing, that civilized peoples, within the range of Christendom at least, would have a voice in their own government, and that the powers of government would be constitutionally defined. The fundamental political issue, between sovereigns and subjects, that had filled so much of past history, was thus settled substantially, and cleared away, so far as concerned the leading nations of the world.

Hence history has assumed a new tenor. Room has been made in the life of the peoples for so many more energies to become active,—for so many more interests to acquire a motive force,—that the whole plot and character of the human drama have undergone a prodigious change. Multitudes are on the stage, where a few figures were in action before. Parties are casting ballots where kings used to be signing decrees. The masses—the populace—that were curtained formerly out of historical sight, are now busy and conspicuous in every scene, using the freedom of opportunity that has been opened to men, for each to make the most of his faculties and powers. In scientific discovery, in mechanical invention, in commercial and industrial enterprise, in educational and reformatory social work, millions, of the last two or three generations, have been

History
assuming a
new tenor

Emergence
of the
masses into
historical
activity

contributing to the improvement of the conditions of human life, where thousands were contributing before; and the result of their labors already is a "transformation of the world."

First period of the Napoleonic wars

In the first year of his consulate, Bonaparte recovered Italy by an extraordinary campaign, in which his main army, of 40,000 men, crossing the Alps at the Great St. Bernard pass, struck the Austrians in the rear of their position, defeated them on the plain of Marengo, and won back all the losses of the previous year. At the same time, Moreau, on the northern side of the Alps, gained the victory of Hohenlinden, and Austria was forced to make peace on Bonaparte's terms. In the treaty of Luneville she renewed the concessions of Campo Formio, and assented to a reconstruction of Germany under the victor's dictation. The ecclesiastical states were secularized, the freedom of all save six of the forty-eight imperial cities was extinguished, and Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Saxony were aggrandized as protégés and dependencies of France.

England was now left alone in the war, with hostile feeling raised against her in Europe and America by the arrogant use she had made of her mastery of the sea. The neutral powers had been embittered by her maritime pretensions, and Bonaparte brought about the organization among them of a northern league of armed neutrality. England broke it with a single blow, by Nelson's

Lanfrey,
*History of
Napoleon*
I., vol. 2,
and vol. 3,
ch. i-ix

Second
defeat of
Austria,
1800-1801

Treaty of
Luneville,
Feb. 9,
1801

Recon-
struction of
Germany

England
alone
against
Napoleon

April 1,
1801

bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet. Napoleon, however, had conceived the plan of starving English industries and ruining British trade by a "continental system" of blockade, which involved the compulsory exclusion of British ships and British goods from Europe at large. This impossible project committed him to a desperate struggle for the subjugation of Europe. It was the fundamental cause of his ruin.

Napoleon's
continental
system

"The significance then of the Peace of Luneville lay in this: not only that it was the close of the earlier revolutionary struggle for supremacy in Europe, the abandonment by France of her effort to 'liberate the peoples,' to force new institutions on the nations about her by sheer dint of arms; but that it marked the concentration of all her energies on a struggle with Britain for the supremacy of the world. . . . To strike at England's wealth had been among the projects of the directory: it was now the dream of the first consul. It was in vain for England to produce, if he shut her out of every market. Her carrying-trade must be annihilated if he closed every port against her ships. It was this gigantic project of a 'continental system' that revealed itself as soon as Bonaparte became finally master of France."

Green,
*History
of the
English
People*,
4 : bk. 9,
ch. v

In 1802 the first consul advanced his restoration of absolutism in France a second step, by securing the consulate for life. A short interval of peace with England was arranged, but war broke out anew the following year, and the

Peace of
Amiens,
March,
1802

English had no allies for a time. The French occupied Hanover, and the Germans were quiescent. But, in 1804, Bonaparte shocked Europe by the abduction from Baden and execution of the Bourbon prince, Duc d'Enghien, and began again to challenge the interference of the surrounding powers by a new series of aggressive acts. His ambition had thrown off all disguise. He transformed the republic of France into an empire, so-called, and himself, by title, from consul Bonaparte into emperor Napoleon, compelling the pope to crown him as such, in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame. The Cisalpine or Italian republic received soon afterward the constitution of a kingdom, and he took the crown to himself, as king of Italy. Genoa and surrounding territory (the Ligurian republic) were annexed, at nearly the same time, to France; several duchies were declared to be dependencies, and an Italian principality was given to Napoleon's elder sister.

Napoleon crowned emperor, Dec. 2, 1804; also, king of Italy, April, 1805

The effect produced in Europe by such arbitrary and admonitory proceedings as these enabled Pitt, the younger, now at the head of the English government, to form an alliance, first with Russia, afterward with Austria, Sweden and Naples, and finally with Prussia, to break the yoke which the French emperor had put upon Italy, Holland, Switzerland and Hanover, and to resist his further aggressions.

Third European coalition, 1805

The amazing energy and military genius of Napoleon never had more astonishing proof than

in the swift campaign which broke this coalition at Ulm and Austerlitz. Austria was forced to another humiliating treaty, which surrendered Venice and Venetia to the conqueror's new kingdom of Italy; gave up Tyrol to Bavaria; yielded other territory to Württemberg, and raised both electors to the rank of kings, while making Baden a grand duchy, territorially enlarged. Prussia was dragged by force into alliance with France, and took Hanover as pay.

Ulm and
Austerlitz,
Oct. 19 and
Dec. 2, 1805

But England triumphed at the same time on her own element, and Napoleon's dream of carrying his legions across the Channel, as Cæsar did, was dispelled forever by Nelson's dying victory at Trafalgar. That battle, which destroyed the combined navies of France and Spain, ended hope of contending successfully with the Britons at sea.

Trafalgar,
Oct. 21,
1805

France was never permitted to learn the seriousness of Trafalgar, and it put no check on the vaulting ambition in Napoleon, which now began to o'erleap itself. He gave free reign to his arrogance in all directions. The king of Naples was expelled from his kingdom and the crown conferred on Joseph Bonaparte; Louis Bonaparte was made king of Holland; southern Germany was reconstructed again. The little German kingdoms of Napoleon's creation and the small states surrounding them were declared to be separated from the ancient empire, and were formed into a Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France. Warned by this rude

Confedera-
tion of the
Rhine

End of
the Holy
Roman
Empire,
Aug. 6, 1806

announcement of the precarious tenure of his imperial title as the head of the Holy Roman empire, Francis II. resigned it, and took to himself, instead, a title as meaningless as that which Napoleon had assumed,—the title of emperor of Austria. The venerable fiction of the Holy Roman empire disappeared from history on the 6th of August, 1806.

Subjuga-
tion of
Prussia

Jena and
Auerstadt,
Oct. 14,
1806

But, while Austria had become submissive to the offensive measures of Napoleon, Prussia became fired with unexpected, sudden wrath, and declared war in October, 1806. It was a rash explosion of national resentment, and the rashness was paid for dearly. At Jena and Auerstadt (two battles fought on the same day) Prussia sank under the feet of the merciless conqueror, as helplessly subjugated as a nation could be. Russia, attempting her rescue, was overcome at Eylau and Friedland; and both the vanquished powers came to terms with the victor at Tilsit. The king of Prussia gave up all his kingdom west of the Elbe, and all that it had acquired in the second and third partitions of Poland. A new German kingdom, of Westphalia, was constructed for Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome. A free state of Danzig, dependent on France, and a grand duchy of Warsaw, were formed.

Treaty of
Tilsit, July,
1807

The bribery
of the czar

The Russian czar, bribed by some pieces of Polish Prussia, and by prospective acquisitions from Turkey and Sweden, became an ally of Napoleon and an accomplice in his plans. By

the treaty of Tilsit, he enlisted his empire in the "continental system" against England, and agreed to the enforcement of a decree which Napoleon issued from Berlin, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade.

Great Britain and Ireland

The younger Pitt, who had been the master-spirit of the resistance to French aggressions and Napoleonic ambitions, was dead. Feeble in health and worn out with labors and cares, he had succumbed to the shock of the news of Austerlitz, which frustrated all his plans. Early in 1806 he died, and the direction of the government was undertaken by a ministry made up of brilliant men from differing parties, who could not act effectively together, nor with the king. Charles James Fox, the most distinguished member of this ministry, died within the year, but not till he had insured the passage of an act against the slave trade, which was the measure he had most at heart. The colleagues of Fox, in what came to be described as "the ministry of all the talents," were not long in office after his death. They resigned because the bigoted king would not listen to proposals for some relief to the Roman Catholics of the kingdom, who had writhed under shameful disabilities for more than two hundred years.

Death of
Pitt, Jan.
23, 1806

British
"ministry
of all the
talents,"
1806

In that period, and through all the prior centuries of their subjection, the treatment of the Irish people by the English was as cruel and as

English
treatment
of Ireland

Walpole,
*History of
England
from 1815,*
2 : ch. viii

heedless of justice and right as the treatment of Poles by Russians or of Greeks by Turks. They were trebly oppressed: as conquered subjects of an alien race, as religious enemies, as possible rivals in production and trade. They were deprived of political and civil rights; they were denied the ministrations of their priests; the better employments and more honorable professions were closed to them; the industries which promised prosperity to their country were suppressed. A small minority of Protestant colonists became the recognized nation, so far as a nationality in Ireland was recognized at all. When Ireland was said to have a parliament, it was the parliament of the minority alone. No Catholic sat in it; no Catholic was represented in it. When Irishmen were permitted to bear arms, they were Protestant Irishmen only who formed the privileged militia. Seven-tenths of the inhabitants of the island were politically as non-existent as actual serfdom could have made them. For the most part they were peasants and their state as such scarcely above the condition of serfs. They owned no land; their leases were insecure; the laws protected them in the least possible degree; their landlords were mostly of the hostile creed and race. No country in Europe showed conditions better calculated to distress and degrade a people.

Oppression
of the
Catholic
Irish

The Protes-
tant Irish
legislature

This was the state of things in Ireland until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. In 1782 legislative independence was conceded; but the

independent legislature was still the parliament in which Protestants sat alone. In 1793 Catholics were admitted to the franchise; but seats in parliament were still denied to them and they must elect Protestants to represent them.

Lecky,
*History of
England in
the 18th
century,*
6 : ch. xxv

Pitt had planned a great measure of statesmanship and justice, contemplating not only the union of Ireland with England and Scotland, under one parliament and one system of law, but, likewise, the admission of Catholics to that parliament, and their general liberation from the disabilities under which they were kept. One part of his measure was carried through; the other failed. By acts of the parliaments in both islands, "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was created in the year 1800, and the British realm assumed that name on the 1st day of January, 1801. But when Pitt then attempted to give substance as well as form to the union of Ireland with Great Britain, by placing its Catholic citizens on a footing of political equality with their Protestant fellow citizens, he found his course blocked by the immovable bigotry of the king. Thereupon he resigned, and was out of office during the period of the Peace of Amiens; but when war broke out afresh, and Napoleon began formidable preparations to invade England, Pitt was recalled to the helm, and the new coalition against Napoleon was his final work. As said before, he died when it failed. Nelson, at Trafalgar, had foiled the project of invasion, by destroying the united

Union of
Ireland
with Great
Britain,
Jan. 1, 1801

Pitt's resign-
ation and
recall,
March,
1801,
May, 1804

fleets of France and Spain; but the coalition was broken at Austerlitz.

Warfare with bloodless weapons

For the time being that failure ended effort on the part of the British government to array continental armies against those of France. The deadly combat between England and Napoleon took on a different form, was fought with other weapons than the musket and the cannon, and inflicted other wounds. As described by Captain Mahan: "England had no army wherewith to meet Napoleon; Napoleon had no navy to cope with that of his enemy. As in the case of an impregnable fortress, the only alternative for either of these contestants was to reduce the other by starvation. On the common frontier, the coast line, they met in a deadly strife in which no weapon was drawn. The imperial soldiers were turned into coast-guardsmen, to shut out Great Britain from her markets; the British ships became revenue cutters, to prohibit the trade of France." But this was a kind of warfare that wounded neutral nations as sorely as the combatants themselves, and many countries—the United States of America more, perhaps, than any other—suffered the consequences of hostilities in which they had no part.

Napoleon had been the first challenger to this reckless scheme of warfare; but the really desperate attempt of the two antagonists to destroy each other's traffic with the outer world

The combat in a new form

Mahan,
*Influence of
Sea Power
upon the
French
Revolution
and
Empire,*
2 : ch. x

was opened by the British government in May, 1806. This was done by an "order in council" which declared the whole western coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest (all controlled by Napoleon) to be in a state of blockade, even where no British war vessels were present to maintain an actual blockade, and that neutral vessels bound to that coast or sailing from it would be prize of war, wherever caught. This declaration of what is described as a "paper blockade" was an arrogant assumption of the right to dictate rules of war. Napoleon, then lording it at Berlin, retorted in November by a decree which declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade; prohibited all commerce and correspondence with them; ordered all British merchandise and property found in any country occupied by the troops of France or her allies to be seized, and all British subjects within similar reach of his arm to be made prisoners of war.

British
"order in
council,"
May, 1806

Napoleon's
Berlin
decree,
Nov., 1806

The Berlin decree drew fresh orders in council from Great Britain, extending the earlier ones to every port from which British ships were shut out. Napoleon met these by a new decree, from Milan, declaring that every vessel, of any nation, that submitted to the British orders in council, should be deemed British property, subject to seizure and condemnation. And so the warfare of orders and decrees, contemptuous of all neutral rights of trade, went on for years, culminating in a mandate from Fontainebleau, that all British goods found in France, Germany, Holland,

British
orders, Jan.
and Nov.,
and Na-
poleon's
Milan
decree,
Dec., 1807

Fontaine-
bleau
decree,
Oct., 1810

Italy, Spain, and other regions obedient to Napoleonic commands, should be burned.

The effects

Neither orders nor decrees wrought the ruin that their authors desired, since the power of Napoleon could not suppress an extensive smuggled commerce with Great Britain, nor could the fleets of England catch half of the neutral ships that became carriers for France; but the suffering produced on all sides was undoubtedly very great, and the insolence of the powerful belligerents toward neutral nations, especially toward the young republic of the United States, was hard to endure.

Second period of the Napoleonic wars

Lanfrey,
*History of
Napoleon*
I., vol. 3,
ch. ix-xv,
and vol. 4

Having prostrated Germany, in 1807, and captivated the tzar, Napoleon turned toward another field, which had scarcely felt, as yet, his intrusive hand. Spain had been in servile alliance with France for ten years, while Portugal adhered steadily to her friendship with Great Britain, and now refused to be obedient to the Berlin decree. Napoleon took prompt measures for the punishment of a defiance so bold. A delusive treaty with the Spanish court, for the partition of the small kingdom of the Braganzas, won permission for an army under Junot to enter Portugal, through Spain. No resistance to it was made. The royal family of Portugal quitted Lisbon, setting sail for Brazil, and Junot took possession of the kingdom.

Napoleon's
attack on
Portugal

Oct. 27,
1807

This accomplished only half of Napoleon's

design. He meant to have Spain, as well; and he found, in the miserable state of the country, his opportunity to work out an ingenious, unscrupulous scheme for its acquisition. His agents set on foot a revolutionary movement, in favor of the worthless crown prince, Ferdinand, against his equally worthless father, Charles IV., and pretexts were obtained for an interference by French troops. Charles was coerced into an abdication; then Ferdinand was lured to an interview with Napoleon, at Bayonne, was made prisoner there, and compelled in his turn to relinquish the crown. A vacancy on the Spanish throne having been thus created, the emperor brought together at Bayonne a small assembly of Spanish notables, who offered the seat to Joseph Bonaparte, already king of Naples. Joseph, obedient to his imperial brother's wish, resigned the Neapolitan crown to Murat, his sister's husband, accepted the crown of Spain, and was established at Madrid with a French army at his back.

Napoleon's
crime
against
Spain

Seeley,
*Short
History of
Napoleon
I.*, ch. v

Joseph
Bonaparte
on the
Spanish
throne,
1808

This was one of the two most ruinous of the political blunders of Napoleon's life. He had cheated and insulted the whole Spanish nation, in a way too contemptuous to be endured, even by a people long cast down. The consequence was a revolt which did not spring from any momentary passion, but which had an obstinacy of deep feeling behind. French armies could beat Spanish armies, and disperse them, but they could not keep them dispersed; and they could

The upris-
ing of Spain

Wellington
in the
peninsula,
1808-1813

not break up the organization of a rebellion which organized itself in every province, and which went on, when necessary, without any organization at all. England sent forces to the peninsula, under Wellington, for the support of the insurgent Spaniards and Portuguese; and thenceforward, to the end of his career, the most inextricable difficulties of Napoleon were those in which he had entangled himself on the southern side of the Pyrenees.

The exasperating of
Germany

The other cardinal blunder in Napoleon's conduct, which proved more destructive to him than the crime in Spain, was his exasperating treatment of Germany. There was neither magnanimity on the moral side of him nor wisdom on the intellectual side, to restrain him from using his victory with immoderate insolence. He put as much shame as he could invent into the humiliations of the German people. He had Prussia under his heel, and he ground the heel upon her neck with the whole weight of his power. The consequence was a pain and a passion which wrought changes like a miracle in the temper and character of the abused nation. Springs of feeling were opened and currents of national life set in motion that might never, otherwise, have been brought into play.

Brutal
insolence
of the
conqueror

The
makers
of a new
Prussia

Enlightened men and strong men from all parts of Germany found themselves called to Prussia and to the front of its affairs, and their way made easy for them in labors of restoration and reform. Stein and Hardenberg remodeled the administra-

tion of the kingdom, uprooted the remains of serfdom in it, and gave new freedom to its energies. Scharnhorst organized the military system, on which arose in time the most formidable of military powers. Humboldt planned the school system which educated Prussia beyond all her neighbors, in the succeeding generations. Even the philosophers came out of their closets and took part, as Fichte did, in the stirring and uplifting of the spirit of their countrymen. So it was that the outrages of Napoleon in Germany revenged themselves, by summoning into existence an unsuspected energy that would turn against him to destroy him, in the end.

Seeley,
Life and Times of Stein

But the time of destruction was not yet come. He had a few years of triumph still before him,—of triumph everywhere except in Portugal and Spain. Austria, resisting him once more, was crushed once more at Wagram, to such submissiveness that she gave a daughter of the imperial house in marriage to the parvenu sovereign of France, next year, when Josephine, his wife, was divorced. The Corsican was at the summit of his renown that year, but declining already from the greatest height of his power.

Wagram,
July 6, 1809

The Corsican at the summit of his career, 1810-1811

The fatal expedition of Napoleon to Russia, in 1812, was the beginning of the end of his career. In the next year Prussia, half regenerated within the brief time since Jena and Tilsit, went into alliance with Russia, and the War of Liberation was begun. Austria joined the alliance; and at Leipsic the three nations shattered at last the

The War of Liberation, 1813-1814

Napoleon
in Elba,
1814-1815

His return
to France

Waterloo,
June,
18, 1815

Napoleon
at St.
Helena,
1815-1821

yoke of oppression that had bound Europe so long. At the same time, the French armies in Spain were expelled, and Wellington entered France through the Pyrenees, to meet the allies, who pursued Napoleon across the Rhine. Forced to abdicate and retire to the little island of Elba (the sovereignty of which was ceded to him), he remained there in quiet from May, 1814, until March, 1815, when he escaped and reappeared in France. Army and people welcomed him. The Bourbon monarchy, which had been restored by the allies, fell at his approach. The king, Louis XVIII., fled. Napoleon recovered his throne and occupied it for a few weeks; but the allies who had expelled him from it refused to permit his recovery of power. The question was settled finally at Waterloo, on the 18th of June, when a British army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher won a victory which left the beaten emperor without hope. He surrendered himself to the commander of a British vessel of war, and was sent to confinement for the remainder of his life on the remote island of St. Helena.

The United States of America during the Napoleonic wars

A troubled
period

The fifteen years of the Napoleonic wars were a troubled period for the American people,—a time of many excitements, of many humiliations, of sore trial to their undeveloped national spirit, and of grave harm. So prolonged a state of widespread war, involving half of Europe and every European colony, opened extraordinary oppor-



SUMMONS TO WATERLOO
From a reproduction of the original painting

tunities for neutral trade, which the Americans were well prepared to improve. They entered the field with eager enterprise and made it almost their own. Their ships swarmed in every sea and their flag became familiar in every port. England saw reason to fear that the carrying trade of the ocean would pass into their hands, and began a sharp narrowing of neutral rights, by dictatorial rulings which her naval supremacy gave her power to enforce. Then came Napoleon's attempt to exclude British products from European marts, and the finally frantic endeavor of both belligerents, abusing land-power on one side and sea-power on the other, to destroy all neutral trade. Struck unsparingly by both, the Americans suffered heavy losses; and yet large profits remained to them in the commerce which neither cruisers nor coast guards could stop. Their more serious suffering came from the humiliations which their national weakness and their governmental policy required them to endure.

American activity in neutral trade

The attack on neutral rights

Mr. Jefferson, who became president in 1801, held views of the federal constitution and general theories of government which differed extremely from those of his two predecessors. In his opinion, and that of his party, the functions of the federal government should be restricted as nearly as possible to foreign affairs, and should touch nothing beyond a strict necessity in even those. His declared aim was a "frugal government," "which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free

Views of President Jefferson

to regulate their own pursuits." He believed the commerce of America to be so necessary to European countries that merely withholding it would compel them to redress any wrong they might do to the United States, without need of war.

Jefferson,
Writings
(Ford's ed.)
7 : 451-2;
8 : 4

Unfortunately the circumstances of the time were singularly adverse to the working in practice of this noble philosophy of government. At the outset of his term the president was forced to chastise the pirates of the Barbary states of north Africa, opening a war with the insolent pasha of Tripoli which lasted for four years. A little later he was confronted by a question which went to the core of his doctrines concerning the constitution of the American Union and the powers of its general government. Napoleon, then first consul of France, was found to have extorted from Spain a secret cession of that great territory, called Louisiana, which France made over to Spain in 1763, including New Orleans, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, as well as the whole western watershed of the river. To have such complete control of the mouth of the Mississippi pass from the weak kingdom of Spain to a power so aggressive as Napoleonic France was profoundly alarming to every western interest of the United States. In the face of this danger the scruples of President Jefferson as to functions and powers in the federal government, and even as to war, gave way. He opened negotiations with Napoleon for the purchase of New Orleans and the Floridas

Adverse
circum-
stances

(See pages
982-3)

Negotia-
tions for
New
Orleans
and Florida

(supposing the latter to have been embraced in the transfer from Spain to France), and pressed his proposals with a plain intimation that the United States would go into alliance with Great Britain "on the day that France takes possession of New Orleans."

Jefferson,
Writings,
8: 145

Fortunately, Napoleon became embarrassed in his colonial schemes, by the failure of an attempt to re-enslave the revolted negroes of Santo Domingo, or Hayti, and by the re-opening of war with England, after the brief peace of Amiens. He abandoned those projects, accordingly, and offered, not New Orleans alone, but Louisiana as a whole, to the United States. The welcome proposal was accepted promptly, and, at a price equivalent to about \$15,000,000, the magnificent territory in question, extending from the Mississippi, throughout its length, to the Rocky Mountains, was conveyed to the American government by a treaty signed in May, 1803.

The Louisi-
ana pur-
chase, 1803

No reasoning could reconcile this momentous transaction with the constitutional theories of President Jefferson and the party which he led. It implied attributes of nationality in the federal union and attributes of sovereignty in the federal government which they had refused to concede. Mr. Jefferson made frank acknowledgment of the fact, and desired a constitutional amendment to sanction what had been done; but he yielded to the judgment of political friends, who believed the purchase to be justified and authorized sufficiently by the practical exigencies of the case.

The consti-
tutional
question

If the Republicans, in this matter, did violence in practice to their political theories, so, too, and even more, did their opponents of the Federalist party. On every principle for which the Federalists had contended, they might have been expected to approve and welcome the Louisiana purchase. Hamilton, the great statesman of the party, did so, without reserve; but most of the New England Federalists allowed sectional jealousies and party animosities to pervert their minds. They denied the existence of any power, anywhere, even by constitutional amendment, to incorporate new territory in the Union against the will of a single State. On this ground they opposed the treaty and resisted, even with threats of secession, the legislation that gave it effect.

Party
incon-
sistencies

Holst, *Con-
stitutional
and Political
History
of the U. S.*,
1 : 183-185

Federalist
opposition
to the pur-
chase

This evil temper in the opposition had deplorable results. It led to a disunion conspiracy between certain New England Federalists and Vice-President Aaron Burr. Burr's trickeries and treacheries in politics had turned the leaders of his party against him, and provoked slights which he sought to avenge. In prosecuting the scheme of secession he became a candidate for governor of New York, and was opposed by Hamilton, whose plain speaking in the canvass furnished Burr with a pretext for demanding the barbarous satisfaction of the duel. Hamilton felt constrained by the false notions of the time to accept his challenge, and received a mortal wound.

A disunion
conspiracy,
1803-1804

The Burr-
Hamilton
duel, July
11, 1804

Burr was abhorred and shunned as a murderer, and became, apparently, a desperate man. At the

close of his vice-presidential term he went into the southwest and was busy for months in a mysterious undertaking, the full objects of which have never, with certainty, been ascertained. A filibustering conquest of Mexico and other Spanish provinces was in his plan, without doubt; but, beyond that, he is supposed to have been working for a separation of western States and Territories from the Union, to form an independent power in the Mississippi Valley and on the Gulf. Discontent among the French of New Orleans, and a restless spirit in the American population of the western border, seem to have given some encouragement to his schemes. At length, in November, 1806, his preparations went so far, mustering men, boats, and munitions, on the Ohio and its tributaries, that the president issued a proclamation, commanding the arrest of all concerned. Burr was taken and brought to trial at Richmond, but escaped conviction on technical grounds.

Burr's plotting in the south-west, 1805-1806

During the first years of the second term of President Jefferson the country was in a highly prosperous state. Though Great Britain had narrowed her own former rules for determining what merchandise should be treated as neutral, and had increased her captures and confiscations to an enormous extent, the ocean trade yielded great gains. The revenue of the federal government rose far above its frugal expenditures, promising an early extinction of the public debt. Anticipating a surplus in the treasury, the presi-

Prosperity of the United States, 1805-1806

Modified
views of
Mr. Jefferson

dent recommended an amendment of the constitution, to authorize its use for "great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and . . . other objects of public improvement." This indicated a very notable modification of Mr. Jefferson's political views, and one creditable to the statesmanlike openness of his mind.

Prosperity
checked,
1807-1808

(See pages
1113-1114

Assumed
British
right of
search

McMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U. S.*,
3 : 240-246,
253-270

Unfortunately, the expected surplus was not acquired. The prosperous trade of a few years was checked by the British orders in council and the French decrees. To those high-handed measures the British government added one still more offensive, by asserting a right on the part of its cruisers to search the ships of other nations for deserters from its own, and for British subjects whose services it claimed and impressed. That assumed "right of search" was exercised upon American ships, especially, with increasing insolence on the part of British naval officers, until the climax of insult was reached in June, 1807. The *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, sailing then out of Norfolk navy yard, wholly unready for battle, was attacked by a waiting English frigate, disabled by three broadsides, which she could not return, and compelled, on a false claim, to give up three of her crew.

An experi-
ment in
"peaceable
coercion,"
1807

The cry for war which this crowning outrage provoked was resisted calmly by President Jefferson, who acted upon his belief in the practicability of extorting justice from other nations without resorting to arms. His extraordinary influence caused a singular experiment in the

policy of "peaceable coercion" to be tried. It took the form of an "embargo act" of congress, forbidding the exportation of any merchandise from the United States to any foreign port, holding every American ship tied fast to her wharf, and commanding all foreign ships to depart. This made a strange demand on the American people, for an heroic endurance of great loss and suffering, as a means of inflicting some lighter suffering on other peoples. It ruined the shipping interests of New England, stopped the marketing of southern cotton and tobacco, and paralyzed many industries in every part of the country, without a sign of effect on the conduct of Great Britain or France. The former was pinched in her supplies of cotton and breadstuffs, and her West India colonies were half starved; but there was nothing in those results that moved her government to rectify the abuse of her naval power. As for Napoleon, the embargo touched his own empire so lightly and hurt England so much more, that he used influence at Washington to have it prolonged. The experiment, though a failure, was persisted in till the end of President Jefferson's term. Then the embargo was withdrawn, but a conditional measure of non-intercourse was adopted instead. This forbade importations from England and France so long as they, severally, persisted in their violation of neutral rights.

Had the opponents of the embargo policy been able to act together, it is not at all probable that

Adams,
*History of
the U. S.
during the
Administration of
Jefferson,*
4 : ch. vii-
xii, xiv, xv,
xx

Effects of
the
embargo
act

Failure of
the experi-
ment

Presidency
of James
Madison,
1809-1817

Mr. Erskine's mis-
take, 1809

The situa-
tion made
worse

Napoleon's
knave-
trick, Aug.,
1810

the Republicans could have carried the ensuing presidential election; but they could not unite, and President Jefferson was succeeded, consequently, by his disciple and intimate friend, Mr. Madison, in the spring of 1809. In the first month of the new administration an unfortunate blunder, committed by the British minister at Washington, Mr. Erskine, gave rise to a new disturbance in the relations of the United States with both England and France. Mr. Erskine entered into an agreement with President Madison, that the British orders in council, on one side, and the American non-intercourse act, on the other (so far as concerned Great Britain), should be annulled. Thereupon the president proclaimed a suspension of the non-intercourse act, and there was great joy and busy trade in the country for about three months,—until news came from England that Mr. Erskine had misunderstood his instructions, and that his government refused to be bound by the agreement he had made. Feeling was then embittered on all sides and the situation made worse. Congress repealed the non-intercourse act, but authorized the president to prohibit intercourse with either one of the belligerent powers, if the other should withdraw its offending decrees.

This suggested to Napoleon a characteristic fraud. He gave notice to the American minister at Paris that “the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked,” and called upon the United States to enforce the act (as above described) against

England if her orders in council were not withdrawn. Trusting the notice so given, President Madison proclaimed it, and interdicted commerce with Great Britain; but only to learn, after months of questioning and expostulation, that he had been duped by a shameless knave. The seizure of American vessels and cargoes, wherever they came within the clutch of the great Corsican brigand, went on without check, and there was never a sign that his decrees had been revoked.

Adams,
*History of
the U. S.
during the
Adminis-
tration of
Jefferson
and
Madison,*
5 : ch. vii-
xiv, xvi,
xviii

The conduct of the French government toward the United States at this time was more insulting, if possible, and more injurious, than that of Great Britain; but the feeling of the party in power leaned strongly against the latter, and made the most of offenses which came from that side. Of such offenses a new one was supposed to be added in 1811 by an Indian rising in the west, under Tecumseh or Tecumthe, a Shawnee chief. The hostile tribes were defeated by General William Henry Harrison, the territorial governor of Indiana, in a battle fought on the Tippecanoe, and Tecumseh took refuge in Canada, which strengthened a belief that he had acted under instigations from the authorities there.

Anti-Eng-
lish feeling

Tecumseh

Tippe-
canoe,
Nov. 7,
1811

Despite these irritations, the opposition to war was very strong in New England and in parts of the middle States; but the old anger against England burned yet in the south and in the new western States, and the impetuous spirit of a few young men in Congress from those sections—Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun conspicuously

in the lead—was able to fan it into a flame. With much reluctance President Madison yielded to pressure from his party, and recommended a declaration of war with Great Britain, which Congress adopted and which he signed on the 18th of June, 1812. A month later news came that the British government had actually revoked its offensive orders in council and had announced the fact in parliament one day before the American declaration of war. It offered no concession, however, in the matter of impressments from American ships, and its proposal of a truce, to reopen negotiations, was declined. To vindicate “sailors’ rights” remained, therefore, the sole purpose of the war. That it failed to accomplish that purpose, and that every plan and expectation of those who undertook it was disappointed, has never surprised any student of the period who learned how entirely the country was unprepared for war. It had neither trained soldiers, nor officers of experience (excepting aged veterans of the Revolution), nor any real military organization, nor any system of administration that would allow such an organization to be evolved. The results that followed were inevitable.

The war party had counted on a speedy conquest of Canada; but every attempt on the Canadian frontier found the British forces better prepared than their assailants and more alert. General Hull, who led the first movement of invasion, from Detroit, was not only driven back, but followed, and forced to surrender after a

Declara-
tion of war,
June 18,
1812

British
orders
revoked
too late

A war for
“sailors’
rights”

The
country
unprepared

Soley, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
Am.*, 7: ch.
vi

Hull’s sur-
render,
Aug. 16,
1812

short siege. The next attempt to enter Canada, made on the Niagara frontier, was repulsed at Queenston, in October, with heavy loss. An undertaking to recover Detroit, by General Harrison, with forces assembled in Indiana, had no better success. General Winchester, who led Harrison's advance, allowed his column to be surprised at Frenchtown, on the Raisin River, and the whole body, nine hundred in number, was captured or slain.

Queenston,
Oct. 13,
1812

Jan. 22,
1813

Meantime the small American navy was having triumphs which went far toward redeeming the military disasters of the year. The famous frigate *Constitution* (known familiarly as *Old Ironsides*), commanded in the first instance by Captain Isaac Hull and by Captain Bainbridge in the second, won two signal victories, capturing the frigate *Guerriere*, in August, and destroying the frigate *Java*, four months later, after a fierce fight off the coast of Brazil. A third British frigate, the *Macedonian*, surrendered to Captain Decatur, commanding the American frigate *United States*. Probably it was the satisfaction produced by these naval achievements that enabled the war party to reëlect President Madison in November, notwithstanding the military disappointments of the war. But the triumphs at sea were soon ended. The next season brought a grievous downcasting of the pride of the Americans in their ships. Captain James Lawrence, commanding the unfortunate frigate *Chesapeake*, sailed out of Boston Bay to accept a challenge from

American
naval vic-
tories, 1812

Roosevelt,
*The Naval
War of 1812*

Reëlection
of President
Madison,
1812

Duel of the
"Chesa-
peake"
and
"Shan-
non," June,
1, 1813

Naval
battle of
Lake Erie,
Sept. 10,
1813

Battle
of the
Thames,
Oct. 5,
1813

Chippewa
and
Lundy's
Lane,
July 5 and
25, 1814

Siege of
Fort Erie,
1814

Captain Broke, of the British frigate *Shannon*, and fought a naval duel in which he fell mortally wounded and his ship was overcome.

On the fresh water of the Great Lakes, however, the navy still gathered most of the few laurels of the war. By a hard won victory on Lake Erie, near the mouth of the Sandusky River, Captain Oliver H. Perry made the position of the British and Indian forces at Detroit untenable and compelled them to retreat. They were followed into Canada by General Harrison, defeated in a battle fought on the river Thames, and Tecumseh, the Indian leader, was slain.

Practically these successes had no important effect, and a fresh failure was experienced soon afterward, in an expedition undertaken against Montreal. The last attempt of the Americans to carry the war into Canada was made in the summer of 1814, by General Jacob Brown, who crossed from Buffalo and had two engagements with the enemy near Niagara Falls, the first at Chippewa, the second at Lundy's Lane. Both armies claimed a victory in the latter engagement; but the Americans fell back to Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, where they withstood a determined siege for two months, and then withdrew to their own side of the river, destroying the fort.

The circumstances of the war had been changed immensely at this time by the fall of Napoleon, which liberated British forces from service in Europe and allowed them to be brought to the American field. The military authorities

in Canada were then prepared for an aggressive movement toward the Hudson, on the old route of Burgoyne. At the head of Lake Champlain they fitted out a squadron of small vessels and gunboats, to attack a similar small fleet which the American commodore, Macdonough, had put afloat on the lake. The decisive battle—in some views the most important of the war—was fought at Plattsburg, on the 11th of September, and won by Macdonough, stopping the British advance.

Naval
battle
of Lake
Champlain,
Sept. 11,
1814

With more success the British were opening attacks upon the coast. Their blockade of American ports had been nearly complete for a year, and most of the few vessels of the regular navy of the United States were shut in; but swift privateers were active, as they had been from the beginning of the war, and English commerce suffered severely from their attacks. In August a considerable British force was landed in Patuxent River, Maryland, and marched, with slight resistance at Bladensburg, to Washington, where, under barbarous orders from its commander, most of the government buildings were destroyed. A little later Baltimore was assailed, but saved by the defense of Fort McHenry, which the enemy's fleet could not pass. It was the bombardment of Fort McHenry that inspired the composition of the song of "The Star Spangled Banner," by Francis Scott Key.

Privateer-
ing

Capture
and
destruction
of Washing-
ton, Aug.
24, 1814

Everywhere, all heartiness in the war had disappeared; the feeling against it, especially in New England, had become intense. In December, on

"The Star
Spangled
Banner"

The Hart-
ford Con-
vention,
Dec., 1814

the invitation of Massachusetts, a convention representing the New England opposition was assembled at Hartford and remained in secret session for three weeks. On adjourning it published a report, demanding certain amendments to the federal constitution and recommending another convention, "to decide on the course which a crisis so momentous might seem to demand." What ultimate action was contemplated is a question that has been always in dispute; but the men of the Hartford convention were stigmatized as disunionists to the end of their lives. So far as disloyalty to the Union had arisen in New England it expired then. Peace came unexpectedly, so soon after the Hartford convention adjourned that all the feelings represented in it were swept away.

Negotia-
tions for
peace,
Aug.-Dec.,
1814

Negotiations for peace had been in progress at Ghent since August, 1814. "With all her advantages in the war, England was most anxious for peace. She was weary of war; the situation in Europe was still precarious, and her commerce was badly broken by American privateers. Hence the American commissioners, by stout insistence, secured better terms in the end than the condition of their country gave them reason to expect. But the treaty signed on the 24th of December, 1814, contained no mention of the naval searches and impressments that had been the chief provocation to war. The question about them was settled by being dropped; for the English stopped practicing what they still held

The treaty
of Ghent,
Dec. 24,
1814

Schurz,
Life of
Henry Clay,
1 : 99-125

to be their right. Other important questions, relating to the Newfoundland fisheries and the navigation of the Mississippi, were postponed for future settlement; and so the treaty was scarcely more than an agreement that matters between the two nations should be as they were before the war. There was little to show for the 30,000 lives it was estimated to have cost the country, and the hundred millions, or nearly, that it had added to the national debt."

Larned,
*History of
the U. S.*,
352

Fifteen days after the signing of the treaty of peace, but before news of it could reach America, the bloodiest battle of the war was fought at New Orleans. Defending that city against an expedition from Jamaica, General Jackson intrenched his riflemen so well that 2,000 British veterans fell in a rash attempt to carry his works by assault, while the loss of the Americans was but seventy-one. The British commander, General Pakenham, was among the killed. Naturally General Jackson became the hero of the war.

Battle of
New Or-
leans, Jan.
8, 1815

The ending of the War of 1812-15 with Great Britain was the ending of a period of great harassment and trial to the young American republic, and brought it, we may say, to the real beginning of its conscious national life. Thus far in its corporate existence it had been struggling with circumstances which made a common consciousness and general spirit of nationality among its people impossible. Its peculiar relations to the warring powers in Europe, with its youthfulness, its weakness, its insignificance as a nation in their eyes,

Beginning
of a con-
scious
national
life

exposed it to an exasperating ill treatment, which angered half of its people against one offender and half against the other. For this reason the roused temper that ought to have flamed patriotically, and welded them to unity, was burned out in their party politics and went to worse than waste. In reality there had been next to nothing in their politics,—next to nothing in their conflicts of party,—but heats of feeling against England in one faction and against France in the other. Now the situation was cleared for a different working of the American public mind. For the first time since the early years of Washington's administration, it was free from foreign distractions, and could give an undivided attention to its own domestic concerns. In these circumstances a more common national spirit could not fail to arise.

Ending of
foreign dis-
tractions

The west }
and its
democracy

This was stimulated, too, by the rapid spread of population westward and the creation of new States. Before the opening of the war, four States (Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Louisiana) had been formed in the Mississippi Valley, and four more (Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama) were added to the Union within four years after it closed. The conditions of the pioneer life in these newer communities moulded society in them more democratically than in the older States of the east, and gave it a more distinctly American character and tone.

Roosevelt,
*The Win-
ning of the
West*, 4 :
223-257

A natural consequence of all that had taken place was the quick final decay of the Federalist

party. It represented the old Federalism of Hamilton and his day no longer. It had permitted the opposing party of the Democratic Republicans to appropriate the better part of its original principles; for both parties had been faithless alike to the doctrines of government on which they divided at the beginning. Each, when controlling the federal government, had been eager to magnify its powers by broad constructions of the constitution, and each, when in opposition, had shown equal eagerness to minimize those powers. As exemplified practically in legislation and administration, there was little of doctrinal difference to distinguish the one party from the other in 1815. At the same time, the Republican party was recommended to popular favor by the democratic spirit which it drew from its founders and which never was lost. So it became for a time the sole occupant of the field in American politics, and the Federalist party was left with no substantial ground on which to stand. Discredited by its opposition to the late war, it was hardly able to contest the presidential election of 1816. James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected by a large majority of electoral votes. Before the next election the Federalist party, as a national organization, had disappeared.

Decay of
the
Federalist
party

Little doctrinal differences between the parties

Election of
President
Monroe,
1816

Great Britain after the fall of Napoleon

To large classes of the working people of Great Britain, the interruption of trade in the long conflict with revolutionary France and with Napo-

Distress of
the work-
ing people

leon had been a cause of heavy distress. Industries had been checked and wages lessened, while the prices of food were raised. Suffering from these causes was deepened by temporary disturbances, resulting from the great industrial revolution through which the country was passing at the time. At every stage of the transition from hand work to machine work, and from home spinning and home weaving to the factory system, the nation as a whole was made richer, by economy and increase of production, but multitudes of individuals lost employment, or were starved in a hopeless endeavor to labor and live in the old ways. The period of adjustment to the new industrial conditions of the age of machinery and steam was a sad one, on the whole, in the wage-working world.

Two classes in England—the landlords and the farmers—were enriched by the high prices to which breadstuffs were raised by the long wars. Peace should have lowered those prices; but, unfortunately, the landlord class, controlling parliament, had power to prevent that result. For some time past they had upheld prices for the farm produce on which their high rents depended, by what were known as “corn laws” (all cereals being called “corn”), imposing protective duties on imported grain. Now they passed a corn law which practically prohibited the importation of wheat whenever its price fell below eighty shillings (about \$20) a quarter (eight bushels); and that atrocious law, which starved many for the

(See pages
1023-4-5

Period of
adjustment
to new con-
ditions

Enrich-
ment of
landlords
and
farmers

The “corn
law” of
1815

Ashworth,
*Recollections of
Cobden*,
ch. i.

enrichment of a few, was enforced for thirteen years. In the light of this glaring exhibit of the class-government then maintained in Great Britain, the common people were wakened fast to a sense of the political rights which they ought to claim and which they had power to take. The demand for a better representation in parliament began to be peremptory in tone, and a period of agitation and disorder, both political and industrial, ensued. In the midst of these conditions George III., who had been hopelessly insane for ten years, died, and his son, the fourth George, acting regent since 1810, became king.

Agitation
and dis-
order

Death of
George III
Jan. 29,
1820

Europe at large after the fall of Napoleon

Delivered from one tyrannical master by the overthrow of Napoleon, Europe, thereupon, was given over to a combination of despots who oppressed it for another generation. The sovereigns who had united to dethrone Napoleon, with the two emperors, of Austria and Russia, at their head, and with the Austrian minister, Metternich, for their most trusted counselor, assumed first, in the congress of Vienna, a general work of political rearrangement, to repair the revolutionary and Napoleonic disturbances, and then to assume an authoritative supervision of European politics which proved as meddlesome as Napoleon's had been.

The con-
gress of
Vienna

Fyffe, *His-
tory of
Modern
Europe*,
2 : ch. i.

Their first act was to restore the Bourbon monarchy in France, indifferent to the wishes of the people. In Spain, Ferdinand had taken the

Recon-
structed
Europe

throne, when Joseph fled. In Italy, the king of Sardinia was restored and Genoa transferred to him; Lombardy and Venetia were given back to Austria; Tuscany, Modena and some minor duchies received Hapsburg princes; the pope recovered his States, and the Bourbons returned from Sicily to Naples. In Germany, the Prussian kingdom was enlarged again by several absorptions, including part of Saxony, but some of its Polish territory was given to the czar; Hanover became a kingdom; Austria resumed the provinces which Napoleon had conveyed to his Rhenish protégés; and, finally, a Germanic confederation was formed, to take the place of the extinct empire, and with no more efficiency in its constitution. In the Netherlands, a new kingdom was made up, to bear the Netherland name, and to embrace Holland and Belgium in union, with the house of Orange on the throne.

The "holy
alliance"

Between the czar, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, there was a personal agreement that went with these arrangements of the congress of Vienna, and which was prolonged for a number of years. In the public understanding, this was associated, perhaps wrongly, with a written declaration, known as "the holy alliance," in which the three sovereigns set forth their intention to regulate their foreign and domestic policy by the precepts of Christianity, and invited all princes to join their alliance for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of brotherly love. Whether identical as a fact with

this "holy alliance" or secreted behind it, there was, and long continued to be, an undoubted league between these sovereigns and others, which had aims very different from the promotion of brotherly love. It was wholly reactionary, hostile to all political liberalism, and repressive of all movements in the interest of the people. Metternich was its skillful minister, and the deadly, soulless system of bureaucratic absolutism which he organized in Austria was the model of government that it strove to introduce.

Hostility
to all
liberalism

In Italy, the governments generally were reduced to the Austrian model, and the political state of the peninsula, for forty years, was scarcely better, if at all, than it had been under the Spanish rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Italy

Germany, as divided as ever, under a federal constitution which federated nothing else so much as the big and little courts and their reactionary ideas, was profoundly depressed in political spirit, while prospering materially and showing notable signs of intellectual life.

Germany

France was not slow in finding that the restored Bourbons and the restored émigrés had forgotten nothing and learned nothing, in the twenty-five years of their exile. They put all their strength into the turning back of the clock, trying to make it strike again the hours in which the revolution and Napoleon had been so busy. It was futile work; but it sickened and angered the nation none the less. After all the stress and struggle it

France
under the
restored
Bourbons

Peasant
landowners

had gone through, there was a strong nation yet to resist the Bourbonism brought back to power. It recovered from the exhaustion of its wars with a marvelous quickness. The millions of peasant landowners, who were the greatest creation of the revolution, dug wealth from its soil with untiring free arms, and soon made it the most prosperous land in Europe. Through country and city, the ideas of the revolution were in the brains of the common people, while its energies were in their brawn, and Bourbonism needed more wisdom than it ever possessed to reconcile them to its restoration.

Spain

It was not in France, however, but in Spain, that the first rising against the restored order of things occurred. Ferdinand VII., when released from his French imprisonment in 1814, was received warmly in Spain, and took the crown with quite general consent. He accepted the constitution under which the country had been governed since 1812, and made large lying promises of a liberal rule. But, when seated on the throne, he suppressed the constitution, restored the Inquisition, revived the monasteries, called back the expelled Jesuits, and opened a deadly persecution of the liberals in Spanish politics. In 1820 a revolutionary movement took form, which forced the king to reëstablish the constitution and call different men to his council. Portugal, at the same time, adopted a similar constitution, and it was accepted by the exiled king, John VI., who returned from Brazil.

Spanish
and Portu-
guese
revolu-
tions, 1820

The revolution in Spain set fire to the discontent that had smouldered in Italy. The latter broke forth, in the summer of 1820, at Naples, where the Bourbon king made no resistance to a sudden revolt of soldiers and citizens, but yielded the constitution they demanded at once. Sardinia followed, in the next spring, with a rising of the Piedmontese, requiring constitutional government. The king, Victor Emmanuel I., who was very old, resigned the crown to his brother, Charles Felix. The latter refused the demands of the constitutionalists and called upon Austria for help.

Revolts in Italy, 1820-1821

These outbreaks of the revolutionary spirit were alarming to the sovereigns of the "holy alliance" and excited them to a vigorous activity. The congenial duty of restoring absolutism in the Two Sicilies, and of helping the king of Sardinia against his subjects, was imposed upon Austria, and willingly performed; while the Bourbon court of France was solicited to put an end to the bad example of constitutional government in Spain. Both commissions were executed with fidelity and zeal. Italy was flung down and fettered again; French troops occupied Spain. England, alone, protested against this flagrant policing of Europe by the "holy alliance." Canning, its spirited minister, "called in the New World," as he described his policy, "to redress the balance of the old," by recognizing the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, which, Cuba and Porto Rico excepted, were now

Action of the "holy alliance"

England's protest

Canning's policy

separated forever from the crown of Spain. Brazil in like manner was cut loose from the Portuguese crown, and assumed the constitution of an empire, under Dom Pedro, the eldest son of John VI.

Rising of
the Chris-
tian sub-
jects of the
Turks,
1821

These stifled revolutions in western Europe failed to discourage a more obstinate insurrection which began in the east, among the Christian subjects of the Turks. The Ottoman government had been growing weaker and more vicious for many years. The corrupted and turbulent janissaries were the masters of the empire, and a sultan who attempted, as Selim III. had done, to introduce reforms, was put to death. Russia, under Alexander I., had been continuing to gain ground at the expense of the Turks, and assuming more and more of a patronage of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

Greek war
of inde-
pendence,
1821-1829

There seems to be little doubt that the rising begun in 1821, which had its start in Moldavia, and its first leader in a Greek, Ypsilanti, who had been an officer in the Russian service, received encouragement from the czar. But Alexander turned his back on it when the Greeks sprang to arms and appealed to Europe for help. England alone showed sympathy, but did nothing as a government, and left the struggling Greeks to such help as they might win from individual friends. Lord Byron, with others, went to Greece, carrying money and arms. Generally, however, these volunteers lost much of their ardor in the Greek cause when they came into close contact

with its native supporters. But, if the Greeks lacked high qualities, they made an obstinate fight, and held their ground against the Turks, until the feeling of sympathy with them had grown strong in England and in France. In 1825 Russia, Alexander I. had been succeeded by the aggressive czar Nicholas, who had not patience to wait for the slow crumbling of the Ottoman power, but was determined to break it as summarily as he could. To that end he joined France and England in a naval demonstration against the Turks, which had its result in the battle of Navarino, and the destruction of the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets.

1825

Battle of
Navarino,
Oct. 20,
1827

Egypt, at this time, was under the practically independent rule of an adventurer, Mehemet Ali, who went to it in 1801 as one of the officers of the Turkish force sent to act with the English in expelling the French. In the confusions that followed he succeeded in rising to a position which forced the sultan to make him governor. His authority was disputed by the Mameluke beys,—chiefs of the old military organization that had held and ruled Egypt for a long period before they yielded, in the sixteenth century, to the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan. By a general massacre, accomplished through treachery, he swept them from his path, and went steadily forward in the pursuit of plans which aimed at the establishment of an independent state. His project was promoted by the troubles in which Turkey was now involved.

Egypt
under
Mehemet
Ali

After the battle of Navarino, the French and English went no farther in hostilities; but czar Nicholas pursued the undertaking, in a war which lasted till the autumn of 1829. Turkey at the end of it conceded the independence of Greece, and practically that of Wallachia and Moldavia. In 1830, a conference at London established the Greek kingdom, and in 1833 a Bavarian prince, Otho I., was settled on the throne.

The kingdom of Greece established, 1830-1833

European revolutions of 1830

In France

Before this result was reached, revolution in western Europe, arrested in 1821-23, had broken out afresh. Bourbonism had become unendurable to France. Charles X., who succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII., in 1824, showed not only a more arbitrary temper, but a disposition more deferential to the church. He was fond of the Jesuits, whom his subjects very commonly distrusted and disliked. He attempted to put shackles on the press, and, when elections to the chamber of deputies went repeatedly against the government, he undertook practically to alter the suffrage by ordinances of his own. A revolution seemed then to be the only remedy that was open to the nation, and it was adopted in July, 1830, the veteran Lafayette taking the lead. Charles X. was driven to abdication, and left France for England. The crown was transferred to Louis Philippe, of the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family,—son of the Philip Egalité who joined the Jacobins in the revolution.

Exile of Charles X.

Crowning of Louis Philippe

The July Revolution in France proved a signal for more outbreaks in other parts of Europe than

had followed the Spanish rising of ten years before.

Belgium broke away from the union with Holland, which had never satisfied its people, and, after some struggle, won recognized independence, as a new kingdom, with Leopold of Saxe Coburg raised to the throne.

Russian Poland, bearing the name of a constitutional kingdom since 1815, but having the czar for its king and the czar's brother for viceroy, found no lighter oppression than before, and made a hopeless, brave attempt to escape from its bonds. The revolt was put down with unmerciful severity, and thousands of the hapless patriots went to exile in Siberia.

In Germany, there were numerous demonstrations in the smaller states, which succeeded more or less in extorting constitutional concessions; but there was no revolutionary movement on a larger scale.

Italy remained quiet in both the north and the south, where disturbances had arisen before; but commotions occurred in the papal states, and in Modena and Parma, which required the arms of Austria to suppress.

Ireland had been at the point of rebellion in 1829, but was pacified by a tardy yielding to the demand of the Catholics for representation in parliament by members of their own faith. The agitation which extorted this concession had been led with extraordinary eloquence and resolution by Daniel O'Connell, who became then a great

1828

Catholic
emancipa-
tion, 1829Great
BritainNew
departure
in social
progressThe railway
and
Stephenson's
steam
locomotive,
1825-1830

power in the realm. The Tory ministry of the day, headed by the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, had given signs already of a relaxing conservatism, by moderating the iniquitous corn laws, and by opening the doors of public office to Protestant dissenters from the established church, who could enter no such office hitherto without an infringement of law. Now the same ministry abrogated the test oath which barred Catholics from parliament and from all public life.

The movements of feeling and opinion which accomplished these results were hurrying the British people toward a greater reform; toward one that would surpass all other revolutions of the time in the lasting importance of its effects, and exhibit in their grandest early triumph the peaceful forces of the platform and the press. The account of this belongs to our next chapter.

By several tokens it can be seen that a fresh point of departure in the social progress of the world had been reached at this time. For more than half a century past, scientific discovery and mechanical invention had been marking such points, by setting new agencies in action, with wonder-working effects on the relations between men and communities of men. The early applications of the steam engine, to mining and manufacturing industries and to the propulsion of boats, had produced influences that are traceable in all the lines of the stretch of history just surveyed. And now the mounting of the steam engine upon wheels and the wheels upon a railway

was the beginning of another revolution, in travel and transportation, which transformed the world in every circumstance of civilized life. George Stephenson, the Englishman who proved the practicability of the railway and the steam locomotive, did so first, on a small scale, in 1825, when he ran his "traveling engine" from Stockton to Darlington, and more effectively in 1830, when a railway from Liverpool to Manchester was opened with triumphant success. A new chapter in human history was opened by that event.

Smiles, *Life of George Stephenson*

The United States of America

At this time no other country was gaining so much as the United States from the service of that floated locomotive, the steamboat, because no other possessed such natural waterways, opening such broad and rich expanses of unoccupied land. The first practical success in steam navigation had been attained in America, by Robert Fulton, on the Hudson River, in 1807. Within five years there were steamers on the Mississippi; within ten years they were launched on the Great Lakes; and from that time they were everywhere hurrying the movement of emigrants and merchandise, to populate the American interior and develop trade. Where nature had not given the needed waterway, men were stimulated to dig it for themselves, and astonishing enterprises of canal-making were set on foot. As early as 1817 the State of New York, then containing no more than a million and a quarter of inhabitants, began the

Steam Navigation, 1807-1830

Thurston, *History of the Growth of the Steam Engine*, ch. v.

The Erie Canal, 1817-1825

building of the great Erie Canal, which it opened to travel and transportation, from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, in 1825. Then the streams of emigration flowing westward became a mighty flood, sweeping away forests, effacing the wilderness, creating farms, towns and cities, along the line of its swift advance.

From a simpler mechanical invention than the steam engine or the paddle wheel, the southern section of the Union had received still another and more powerful impulse to the extension of its settlements, the increase of its population, and the enlargement of its wealth. Cotton culture had been unprofitable till Eli Whitney, in 1793, perfected his "gin," for separating the fiber of cotton from the seed. At the same time an eager and unlimited demand for the fiber had been created in England, by the inventions for machine-spinning and weaving and by the development of the factory system, with the use of steam power. At once Whitney's "cotton gin" enabled southern planters to supply that demand, with large profit to themselves, and cotton-growing was spread over the States and Territories of the warmer belt as fast as slaves for new plantations could be procured.

Whitney's
"cotton
gin," 1793

Effects of
the cotton
gin upon
slavery

In American history there is no occurrence of graver moment than this; for it fastened the institution of slavery on the States of the south. Previously there had been reason to hope that the system of enslaved labor would be extinguished gradually throughout the country, in a natural

way. A sentiment repugnant to it was gaining force in all the border States of the slaveholding section, and emancipation in those States would weaken the institution in its small remaining seats. But a sudden and sinister change in the whole prospect was produced by the simple working of the Whitney "gin." Not only was slave labor made doubly profitable in the regions where cotton could be grown, but slaves were made doubly valuable in all the marts of the neighboring States. After 1808, no further introduction of slaves from outside of the Union was permitted, and the cotton planters must depend on a home supply. This gave rise to slave-breeding as a business, and established it in the border slave States, creating an interest in the perpetuation of slavery which moral sentiment could not overcome.

Slave labor made doubly profitable

Development of slave-breeding

Free States and slave States, 1819-1820

Of twenty States that formed the Union in 1819, slavery had been abolished or prohibited in exactly one-half. Hence the free labor and the slave labor interests were represented equally in the federal senate; but the slave-holding States had lost and were losing ground in the other branch of congress, notwithstanding the representation of three fifths of their slaves. The greater streams of emigration flowing into the country were drawn to the regions where labor was free, and there could not be a doubt that the weight of numbers in population, and therefore of votes in the federal house of representatives, would always be adverse to the slaveholding

Holst, *Const. and Pol. Hist. of the U. S.*, 1 : 350-378

Slave-holding interest in the senate

States. Alarmed by this prospect, the latter strove to hold the senate as a citadel of political defense, by keeping at least an even balance in that body between free and slave States. By tacit agreement and without much discussion this equilibrium had, so far, been maintained. The States added to the Union from territory south of the Ohio came in with slavery permitted; those formed in the old northwestern domain were secured against it by the Ordinance of 1787, —and each section counted ten States, with twenty senatorial votes.

Question of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase

But how should it be in the making of more States, from the great new domain bought from France? That vast territory, beyond the Mississippi, had come into the possession of the United States with slavery sanctioned in it by Spanish and French laws. One slaveholding State, Louisiana, had been carved from it already, and a slaveholding population was spreading along its southern streams. Should the nation take care of its future in this matter, or leave it to be ruled by events? The question came to congress in 1819, when a bill to authorize the organization of the State of Missouri was taken up, and an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery, with provision for emancipating the future children of slaves, was offered by a member from New York. A passionate debate ensued, and the first stormy agitation of slavery questions convulsed the whole country for two years. It resulted in the famous "Missouri compromise,"

The "Missouri compromise," 1821

agreed to in March, 1820, but not determined until February, 1821, by the terms of which Missouri came into the Union with no restriction concerning slavery, but slaveholding was forbidden in all that part of the Louisiana Purchase which lies north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, north latitude. Maine, detached from Massachusetts, was admitted to the Union at the same time.

The larger part of the Louisiana Purchase was secured for free labor by this compromise; but the slaveholding interest had acquired, just prior to it, another considerable extension of territory, by the purchase of Florida from Spain. That transaction was sequent to a war with the Seminole Indians of Florida, in the prosecution of which General Jackson, pursuing the Indians to their home in the Spanish province, took practical possession of East Florida, in a lawless way, expelling Spanish garrisons from Pensacola and St. Marks. West Florida, claimed by the United States, rather groundlessly, as forming part of the Louisiana Purchase, had been dealt with as American territory since 1810. After Jackson's performance, the Spanish government seems to have abandoned the hope of holding any part of the province, and consented to a cession of the whole.

Four months prior to this, a convention with Great Britain established joint occupancy for ten years of the region called Oregon, lying west of the Rocky Mountains, between Mexico and Russian America, which both nations claimed.

Purchase of
Florida,
1819

1818

The Oregon
question,
1818

Thereafter the northern boundary question in that region stood unsettled till 1846.

In 1820 President Monroe was reelected without opposition,—a distinction which he shares with President Washington alone. He owed it to no special popularity, but simply to the disorganized conditions in politics, which broke up the old Federalist party and left the Democratic Republicans in sole possession of the field. Somebody described the time as an “era of good feelings,” and the pleasing phrase was much in use; but the political feeling of the period was pacified only by being confused. The Republicans as a party had lost their bearings. Many had strayed from Jeffersonian to Hamiltonian principles; had chartered a second United States bank in 1816; had framed and passed a distinctly protective tariff in the same year; had declared for a policy of “internal improvements” by the general government; had upheld Chief Justice Marshall in constitutional decisions which affirmed the sovereign nationality of the federal government. But Jeffersonian beliefs were not extinct, nor sectional oppositions reconciled; they had only lost organization for a time. They were soon to reappear in a new array, and the old battles, on the old issues, would be renewed.

The second administration of President Monroe was distinguished only by the famous declaration of American policy known as the “Monroe Doctrine,” which appeared in the president’s message of 1823. It was called out

Reelection
of Presi-
dent Mon-
roe, 1820

So-called
“era of
good feel-
ings,”
1820-1824

Hamil-
tonian
measures of
the Jeffer-
sonian
party

Promulga-
tion of “the
Monroe
doctrine,”
1823

(1) by the movements of the "holy alliance" in Europe, which seemed to be meditating some attempt to restore the sovereignty of Spain over her revolted American provinces, and (2) by signs of an ambition in Russia to broaden her American claims. In substance, the president gave notice that the United States would oppose any attempt of European powers to make conquests in the western hemisphere, or to overturn the governments existing in it, or to extend their own political system to it; and, further, that the American continents could be regarded no longer as open fields for new colonies under European control. This firm attitude on the part of the American government was encouraged by Canning, the then British secretary for foreign affairs, who had made a recent proposal that the United States and Great Britain act together in resisting the American projects of the "holy alliance." It is probable that the president's message received much of its tone from John Quincy Adams, who was Monroe's secretary of state.

MacMaster, *History of the People of the U. S.*, 5: 28-48

Canning's proposal

Mr. Adams was made president by the election of 1824. The issues in that election were purely personal, between five candidates, all professing the same political principles and stamped with the same party name. General Jackson, "the hero of New Orleans," received the largest vote, Henry Clay received the smallest, and there was a majority for none. This carried the election into the house of representatives, and Clay's

Election of President John Quincy Adams, 1824

Cry of
"bargain
and corrup-
tion"

Schurz,
*Life of
Henry
Clay*, I:
236-257,
276-286

influence gave it to Adams. The fact that President Adams invited Clay to be secretary of state gave the partisans of Jackson an opportunity to charge that a bargain had been made,—that the presidency had been sold and the people cheated of their choice. It was an utterly groundless charge; no men in public were less capable of such corruption than Adams and Clay; but the public mind in large sections was poisoned by the venomous slander, and embittered against one of the purest of presidents throughout his term.

Recon-
struction of
parties

Many circumstances conspired to weaken the administration of the second Adams and expose it to humiliations and defeats. The inevitable reconstruction of parties was begun. All the Jeffersonian reaction of the time, toward new assertions of "State sovereignty" and "State rights," went into a movement which accepted Jackson for its leader and conducted a long campaign for his election in 1828. All the Hamiltonian and Federalistic leanings that survived were rallied to the support of the Adams administration, but in a disheartened way. The latter party took the name of National Republican; the former kept the old title of Democratic Republican, but liked best to be called Democratic. President Adams was nominated for reëlection by the National Republicans, but with small chance of success. General Jackson was elected by an overwhelming Democratic vote in the south and the west.

Democrats
and
National
Republi-
cans

British America

In the war of 1812-15 with the United States, the Canadians, French as well as English, showed loyalty to the British flag. Nevertheless, even before that time, both provinces were seething with discontent, which came hotly to the surface in the years after the war. In Lower Canada, race antagonisms were at the bottom of the feeling. The French Canadian majority of population, dominant in the representative assembly, claimed a right of control over revenues and expenditures which the executive branch of government, wholly English, would not concede. The contentions that arose from this cause grew in bitterness from year to year. In Upper Canada, the popular irritant was a small, exclusive party, or class, formed within the established church of England, which had contrived to get impregnable possession, for its members and their church, not only of every office of honor or emolument in the province, but of most other desirable things, such as bank charters, land grants, and the like. In the parlance of the day, their snug little bureaucratic organization, which successive governors seemed to look upon as the only part of Canada that merited their attention, was described as "the Family Compact," and the political literature of the time is full of the wrath which its pretensions stirred up. In the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there was much the same friction as in Lower Canada, between legislative assemblies and irre-

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*, 1:
ch. iii

Contentions in
Lower
Canada

The
"Family
Compact"
in Upper
Canada

The
maritime
provinces

sponsible executives; but it lacked the passion that came in the other case from jealousies of race.

Spanish America

At least from the time of the American revolution, thoughts of attempting to escape from the rule of Spain appear to have been working in many of her American provinces. The first man to act on them was Francisco Miranda, a Venezuelan of considerable military experience, acquired in the service of France. Miranda's undertaking, in 1806, received no support; but the next four years, during which Napoleon stole the Spanish crown for his brother, wrought a change of feeling, and Venezuela was one of five presidencies and viceroalties in which independent governments were formed and revolt begun in 1810. The movements in Venezuela and in the neighboring viceroyalty of New Granada (which embraced the Colombia, the Ecuador and the Panama of the present day) were connected closely, and were promising success, till the awful earthquake of 1812, at Caraccas, was construed by the superstitious people as a chastisement for their revolt. This caused a quick collapse of the revolution in Venezuela, and Miranda, who led it, was sent to imprisonment in Spain, where he died. Miranda's work was then taken up by Simon Bolivar, a native of Caraccas, who, from New Granada, where the independent government held its

Markham,
in *Narrative and
Critical
History of
Am.*, 8 : ch.
v

Miranda

Revolutionary
move-
ments, 1810

Simon
Bolivar

ground, organized a fresh rising in Venezuela, with temporary success; but, again, the Spanish authorities recovered power, not only in Venezuela, but in New Granada, and it was not until 1818 that they were overcome. In fact, the independence of the two provinces was not fully secured until 1822. Bolivar had been the military chief of both, throughout the contest, and had proved himself a soldier of the higher class. Now, he entered upon a political career, with less advantage to his fame. New Granada, Venezuela, and the presidency of Quito (Ecuador), were united in a single republic of Colombia, and Bolivar was elected to its presidential seat. Meantime, events elsewhere were calling him to a wider field.

Independence of Venezuela and New Granada, 1818-1822

Republic of Colombia

The viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres was one of those in which revolutionary governments were set up in 1810; and there the revolution had immediate and complete success, so far as concerned the extinction of Spanish rule. The difficulty of the revolutionists was in establishing any authority in the capital city which the rude cattle-breeders of the pampas would submit to, or any kind of efficient bond of union between the provinces of the confederacy which they tried to form. It was a difficulty they could not overcome. In their independence, however, they were so secure that they could lend their neighbors a helping hand. The Chileans, in 1810, had renounced their allegiance to Spain, intrusted their government to a junta, and upheld it for

Buenos Ayres (Argentine confederation)

Revolution in Chile, 1810-1826

three years. Then the viceroy of Peru, the firmest seat of Spanish power in America, attacked them with forces which they could not resist, and they would have been hopelessly crushed if the Argentines, or Buenos Ayreans, had not come to their relief. Early in 1817, San Martin, one of the leaders of the latter, crossed the Andes with 4,000 men, and, joining forces with O'Higgins, the Chilean leader, defeated the Spaniards at Chacabuco and established an independent government with O'Higgins at its head. Nevertheless, the Chilean struggle was not entirely ended till 1826.

San Martin
in Chili,
1817-1820

Before that time, Spanish authority in Peru, its last stronghold, had been overturned by attacks from the independent provinces on both sides. San Martin, with a force of Argentines, Chileans and European volunteers, greatly aided by a small Chilean fleet under the command of the English Lord Cochrane (afterward earl of Dundonald), entered Peru in 1820, forced the Spaniards out of Lima in the following year, proclaimed independence, and assumed for a time dictatorial power. Friction with jealous Peruvian leaders nearly caused the loss of all that he had gained, and in 1822 he resigned authority, returned to Chile, and departed thence to France. Bolivar was then approaching Peru with forces from the north, and the two liberators had an interview and an understanding before San Martin withdrew. The final victory which won Peruvian independence was won at Ayacucho, by Bolivar's able general, Sucre, in December, 1824.

San Martin
in Peru,
1820-1822

Bolivar in
Peru,
1822-1824

In the region called Upper Peru (now Bolivia), a Spanish force held its ground for another year. That region was then declared to be a separate state, taking the name of Bolivia, and received a constitution from Bolivar, under which Sucre, his lieutenant, was chosen president for life.

Upper
Peru
becomes
Bolivia,
1825

Bolivar was now dictator of Peru (formally declared so in 1823), being president, at the same time, of the republic of Colombia, and practical master of the new state that bore his name. In possession of this great power and prestige, he showed an autocratic disposition, adopted oppressive measures, was suspected of designs hostile to republican institutions, and his popularity waned fast. The suspicion was only strengthened by his endeavor to form a general confederation of the Spanish-American states, in South, Central and North America, for which purpose he proposed a congress at Panama, which assembled in 1826. The United States were invited to send delegates, and did so; but the appointment of delegates was delayed so long, by opposition in the congress at Washington, that the Panama congress had adjourned (with no result) before they reached the ground. By this time, Bolivar's Colombian confederation was undergoing dissolution, Venezuela and Ecuador breaking away from it, and the liberator was losing both prestige and power. In 1830 he withdrew from public life, and died the same year. Generally, in the field of his liberating services, and in all the new Spanish-American republics, factious contentions

Bolivar's
autocratic
disposition
and sus-
pected aims

Congress at
Panama,
1826

Fall and
death of
Bolivar,
1830

made settled governments impossible for many years,—even, in some instances, to the present day. It may be that Bolivar's alienation from republican aims was due, with reason, to the experience he had had.

An exception to the prevailing disorder was found in Paraguay. Jesuit missionaries had been supreme in that province down to 1767, and the natives had been trained like children to be submissive to control. Spanish authority over them was exercised from the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; but they refused to acknowledge the independent government that was seated there by the revolution of 1810. The result was a local dictatorship, extraordinarily despotic, which a native advocate, Dr. Francia, was able to set up, in the Napoleonic way, and to maintain for twenty-six years. In that period the Paraguayans were absolutely, in every particular, submissive to his will, having no trade with and receiving no visitors from the outer world, save rarely, by special permit.

Paraguay
under the
Jesuits

Dr. Francia's dicta-
torship,
1814-1840

Revolutionary
struggles
in Mexico,
1810-1817

Revolt in Mexico was set in motion in 1810; but after seven years of repeated risings and cruel warfare, in which leader after leader had suffered defeat, capture and death, the cause of independence seemed hopelessly lost. It was won selfishly, at last, by one who had fought against it, but who saw an opportunity to win power for himself. This was after the constitution of 1820 had been conceded in Spain. Many of the ruling party in Mexico disliked the concession, and this

created a situation which an ambitious colonel in the army, Agustin de Iturbide, thought favorable for a bold stroke. Securing the support of his own command, he issued a pronunciamiento, declaring for the independence of Mexico, as a separate kingdom, under a resident Bourbon prince, with guarantees for the maintenance of the Catholic church. The scheme met with so much favor that small opposition appeared, and it was referred for consideration to Spain. When rejected by the Spanish government, as was expected, no doubt, Iturbide had become so conspicuous a national hero that his partisans proclaimed him emperor, with the title of Agustin I.; but Mexico at large was not quite prepared for this, and Iturbide wore his crown no longer than ten months. Forced then to abdicate and accept exile, with a large pension, he had the folly to return in the next year, whereupon he was arrested and shot. A federal republic had been organized meantime, with a constitution modeled on that of the United States. Santa Anna, an officer of the army, who had been prominent in the overthrow of Iturbide, became the ruling spirit of the country, and, whether in the office of president or out of it, and whether leading or resisting revolution, controlled its affairs for many years.

Pronunciamiento of Iturbide, 1821

Iturbide proclaimed emperor, 1822

His downfall and death, 1823-1824
Santa Anna

It was not until 1821 that the Central American provinces declared for independence and set aside the Spanish captain-generalcy, seated in Guatemala. During the brief reign of Iturbide in

Central American provinces, 1821-1829

Mexico they were annexed to his empire, but escaped from the Mexican connection when he fell, and united themselves in a federal republic, which was broken up in 1826 and reconstructed in 1829. For many years thereafter their history is a record, in the main, of factious and sectional contests and revolutions, not profitable to pursue.

Cuba

In Cuba there were formidable risings of the creole (non-Spanish or mixed) population, in 1823 and 1829, against the oppressive domination of the "Spanish party," but the latter were entrenched in power too strongly to be overthrown. For those who controlled its advantages, the island was in a highly prosperous state. Ever since the Seven Years War, when the English captured Havana, held it for a year, and showed in that short time what could be made of its productions and trade by throwing open its ports, there had been an improvement in the management of both. Sugar and tobacco culture gave great wealth to the planter class, with consequent power, against which the less favored elements of the population were never able to contend.

Lesson
from the
English oc-
cupation of
Havana,
1762-1763

Hayti (Santo Domingo)

The island which the Caribs called Hayti, which Columbus named Española, and which is sometimes known as Santo Domingo, from one of its divisions, was half lost to Spain in the seventeenth century, when French buccaneers took possession of its western part. French settlements were then so established that France

S. Hazard,
*Santo
Domingo*

Divided
between
Spain and
France,
1697

obtained title to that western part by treaty with Spain in 1697. Soil and climate were both favorable to sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa and ginger culture, with negro slave labor, and the spread of plantations went rapidly on. When the eighteenth century approached its close there were 38,000 inhabitants of European origin in this French colony, 28,000 free people of color, mostly mulattoes, and a great number of slaves. The free colored people, though many of them were wealthy and well educated, had no political rights. Then came the French revolution, and a decree by the French national assembly that people of color, born of free parents, were French citizens, entitled to all political privileges as such. The whites resisted and delayed the operation of the decree; the free mulattoes and blacks were determined to secure the rights it conferred; both parties were more or less divided between republicans who sympathized with the revolution in France and royalists who abhorred it; and out of the whole ferment came a conflict that was made hideous by savage risings among the slaves. Then, to make the situation worse, the French assembly revoked its decree, while Great Britain, appealed to by the white royalists, landed forces for a conquest and pacification of the island, and Spain made a rival attempt of the same kind. Commissioners sent from France to act for the revolutionary government proclaimed universal freedom, and thus won the general support of the blacks, who turned their arms against both the

Conflict of
races, and
slave insur-
rection,
1791-1793

August,
1793

foreign invaders and drove them out. To this course the insurgent blacks were drawn by a remarkable leader, who had been raised by his own force of intellect and high character to an influence among them that was very soon supreme. He was a slave and the son of slaves, but had been educated by a priest. His name was Toussaint, to which the surname L'Ouverture was added when he came to be a personage of note; but why and with what meaning seems an unsettled question.

Toussaint
L'Ouverture

Beard,
*Toussaint
L'Ouverture* (con-
taining
autobiog-
raphy)

For some years Toussaint held dictatorial power over the whole Haytian island, and displayed an extraordinary political genius, comparable with that of the greater statesmen of history. He restored order, peace and prosperous industry to a land blackened with ruins and stained horribly with blood. Until 1801 he ruled it in the name of the French republic; then he did in Hayti what Napoleon had done in France—setting the republic aside. But Napoleon was not willing to be so imitated by a black, and dispatched an army, not merely to arrest Haytian independence, but to restore slavery, as well. By treacherous means, the French commander lured Toussaint into his hands and sent him a captive to France, where he died in a dungeon, in 1803. That he was treated inhumanly in his prison, with intention to cause his death, and that his jailers were obedient to the wishes of Napoleon in what they did, has been made plain by documents drawn from the archives of France.

Character
and rule of
Toussaint
in Hayti

His fate

H. Adams,
*Historical
Essays*,
essay 4

Then came evil days for Hayti, which have never reached their end. Insurrection blazed anew, and yellow fever thinned the ranks of the French till they abandoned the island and gave it up to the triumphant blacks. Leaders very different in character from Toussaint rose among them; first Dessalines, then Christophe, who established despotisms of the worst oriental pattern, one styling himself emperor and the other king. Then, in 1820, a better period was opened by an able mulatto, Jean Pierre Boyer, who contented himself with a republican presidency, and ruled intelligently, though despotically, till 1843.

French abandon-
ment of the
island

Reign of
negro
despots

Brazil

Driven from Lisbon by Napoleon in 1807, the prince-regent of Portugal, afterward King John VI., transferred his court to Brazil, and Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese kingdom for the next fourteen years. In many ways Brazil, and especially Rio, profited immensely by the change, which broke the trammels of the old colonial system, while Portugal suffered loss. After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, the regent (who became king the next year, on the death of his insane mother) still hesitated to return to Portugal, finding it hard to reconcile the opposed interest in the two parts of his realm, and seeming to value the great American dominion most. His difficulties were not removed by a decree which incorporated Brazil and Portugal in one kingdom. To the Portuguese, Brazil was a colony, and must

(See p.
1114)

The Portu-
guese court
in Brazil,
1807-1821

Return of
the king to
Lisbon,
1821

be kept under colonial bonds. In 1820 they resorted to revolutionary proceedings which forced King John to return to Lisbon the following year, leaving his son, Dom Pedro, to rule as regent in Brazil. He found the cortes of Portugal uncontrollable in the matter of the treatment of the Brazilians, determined to reduce them to their old colonial dependence and restraint in trade. Its fatuous measures drove the Brazilians to a declaration of independence, with the regent's consent, and Dom Pedro accepted the title and crown of emperor in December, 1822. Portugal resisted feebly for three years and then acknowledged the accomplished fact. The reign of Pedro I. was not satisfactory to his subjects, and in 1831 he gave up the throne to his son, Dom Pedro II., who occupied it for nearly sixty years. Shortly before the abdication of the father an important province had been lost to Brazil, by a successful revolt, which established the republic of Uruguay in 1828.

Brazil an
independ-
ent em-
pire, 1822

Uruguay

Australia

New South
Wales

In 1800, twelve years after the founding of the settlement (mostly of convicts) at and near Sydney, in New South Wales, its numbers had increased to a little more than 6,000, and that was the total white population of Australia. The vast flocks and herds of a later time were pioneered then by no more than 1,000 cattle and 6,000 sheep; but the fitness of the country for sheep-breeding had been proved, and that profitable

Beginning
of sheep-
breeding

industry was beginning to engage capital and men. Hitherto, the colony had gone through much suffering, in a struggle with natural conditions, which were overcome. It still had serious troubles to meet, due to a dominating body of military officers, who defied the governors, assumed special privileges and monopolized wool-growing, as well as various branches of trade. After the removal of this troublesome corps, in 1810, affairs settled into a better state. Under Governor McQuarie, then appointed, exploration was pushed through the Blue Mountains, which had shut the colony into a narrow strip of coast land; broad expanses of pasture and farm land were found, and roads were constructed to open them up. The incoming of free settlers was rapid from that time. In 1823, the previous autocratic government of the colony was modified, by an act of the British parliament which created a legislative council and a supreme court. At this time, and for some years after, there was no other settlement on the continent; but a branch colony had been founded on the island at the south (Tasmania), known then as Van Dieman's Land. Some missionaries were in New Zealand, but no settlement on those islands had been undertaken.

Governor]
McQuarie

Van Die-]
man's Land
(Tasmania)

India

In this period, of the first third of the nineteenth century, the British subjugation of India made its most important advances. An enlargement of imperialistic ambitions was carried into

the administration of the East India Company by Richard Wellesley, earl of Mornington, afterward marquis of Wellesley, who was appointed governor-general in 1798. On the military side of his policy, Wellesley was assisted with great ability and vigor by his younger brother, Arthur, who found then the full opening to a career which made him duke of Wellington and gave him his splendid fame. Tippoo Sahib, successor to his father, Hyder Ali, as sultan of Mysore, and continuing his father's alliance with the French, was the first enemy to be crushed by the British arms. Two wars with the powerful confederacy of Mahratta chiefs of central and western India, conducted by the Wellesleys and Lord Lake in the first instance, and by Lord Hastings in the second, put an end to their power. Aggressions by the warlike Ghorkas of Nepal, on the northern frontier of British territory, and by the Burmese, on the eastern border, were stopped decisively, by governor-general Hastings, in 1816, and by Lord Amherst in 1824-6. Without war, the once famous Sikh ruler in the Punjab, Runjeet Singh, was checked in his projects of conquest south of the Sutlej, and his arms turned against Afghanistan and Kashmir. Within the bounds of the company's government, important measures of administration were the suppression of the dreadful Hindu practice of suttee—the burning of widows—and the extermination of the secret society of Thugs, which made murder a religious rite.

The
Wellesleys

Tippoo
Sahib

Overthrow
of the Mah-
rattas,
1803, 1817-
1819

Runjeet
Singh

Suppres-
sion
of suttee
and the
Thugs

Africa

Prior to the nineteenth century there had been little of European action in Africa south of the great desert. The Portuguese had established settlements and stations on both the east and west coasts; the Dutch, between 1652 and 1795, had been in possession of the Cape of Good Hope and adjoining territory; an English settlement for freed slaves had been founded (1787) at Sierra Leone; an African association formed in England had sent Mungo Park to explore the western interior, from the Gambia; Bruce had ascended the Blue Nile; England, in 1795, had seized the Dutch Cape Colony, to keep it from passing, with Holland, under French control; some Christian missions had been undertaken in a few parts of the continent:—and the substance of known central and south African history, down to 1800, is in those facts.

Early settlements and explorations

In 1802, England restored Cape Colony to the Dutch, but in 1806, after Holland had been transformed into a Napoleonic kingdom, she took the settlement again, and gave it back no more. Between that time and 1830, more active investigations of the African interior were carried on, by British explorers, — Mungo Park, Campbell, Lyon, Laing, Clapperton, Denham, and others,—by Lichtenstein, a German, by Burchhardt, a Swiss traveler, and by Caillé, a Frenchman, who penetrated to Timbuctoo. Missions, too, of great importance in their effect, were undertaken, especially in South Africa, where the labors of

English conquest of Cape Colony, 1806

Explorations and missions

Liberia

Robert Moffat were begun. The republic of Liberia was founded by the American Colonization Society, in 1822, to receive a population of free negroes from the United States.

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