

EMPIRE for LIBERTY



The Genesis and Growth of the
United States of America

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"... Such an Empire for Liberty as She

THOMAS JEFFERSON in a letter

EMPIRE for

The Genesis and Growth of the

DUMAS MALONE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

and UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

BASIL RAUCH

BARNARD COLLEGE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

has never surveyed since the Creation."

to JAMES MADISON, APRIL 27, 1809

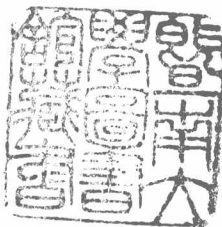
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LIBERTY

United States of America

VOLUME TWO

Since 1865



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New York

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To
the students we have been privileged to teach
—at COLUMBIA, BARNARD, YALE, the UNIVERSITY OF
VIRGINIA, the UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY, and
elsewhere—we gratefully dedicate this book.

PREFACE

THIS HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE HAS GROWN OUT OF our study and our teaching of American history in college and university. We believe that if history is to come alive in the minds of readers it must be presented primarily as a story. Therefore, this work is predominantly narrative in form. Within the inexorable limits of space, we have tried to do justice to all the important aspects of American history—political, economic, constitutional, diplomatic, social, religious, artistic, and intellectual.

In the process of selection, we have laid emphasis on two themes of special interest today. The course of world affairs in our century has magnified the importance of American foreign policy, and in this work we have emphasized the history of United States international relations. In response to the crucial importance of ideology and movements of thought in our time, we have also given special attention to these. But we do not forget that the American story is one of human beings rather than impersonal forces. We have paid special attention to the people and their leaders in all fields at each stage.

We are wedded to no single thesis, knowing of none by which the whole of our history can be adequately explained. But we do see, as a thread running through the entire fabric, the idea of the free individual. And we believe that, with occasional exceptions, an "Empire for Liberty" comprises the ambition that Americans have had for their expanding society.

The word "empire," as used by Thomas Jefferson in the quotation on our title-page, connotes no exploitation of subject regions on this continent or anywhere else. Its meaning has been newly illustrated by the admission of Alaska and Hawaii as full-bodied members of the Union of self-governing states. The vision of a better life for every human being, with faith that it would result from maximum liberty compatible with public order, inspired all the most fruitful public and private actions of Americans from the beginnings of English settlement. If this vision was temporarily blurred after the Civil War, it has gained renewed life because of events in the twentieth century, especially the rise of totalitarianism in the world.

The threat to the free individual that is implicit in the consolidating tendencies of our generation, both at home and abroad, intensifies the need of grasp the meaning of the American experience. Americans and all

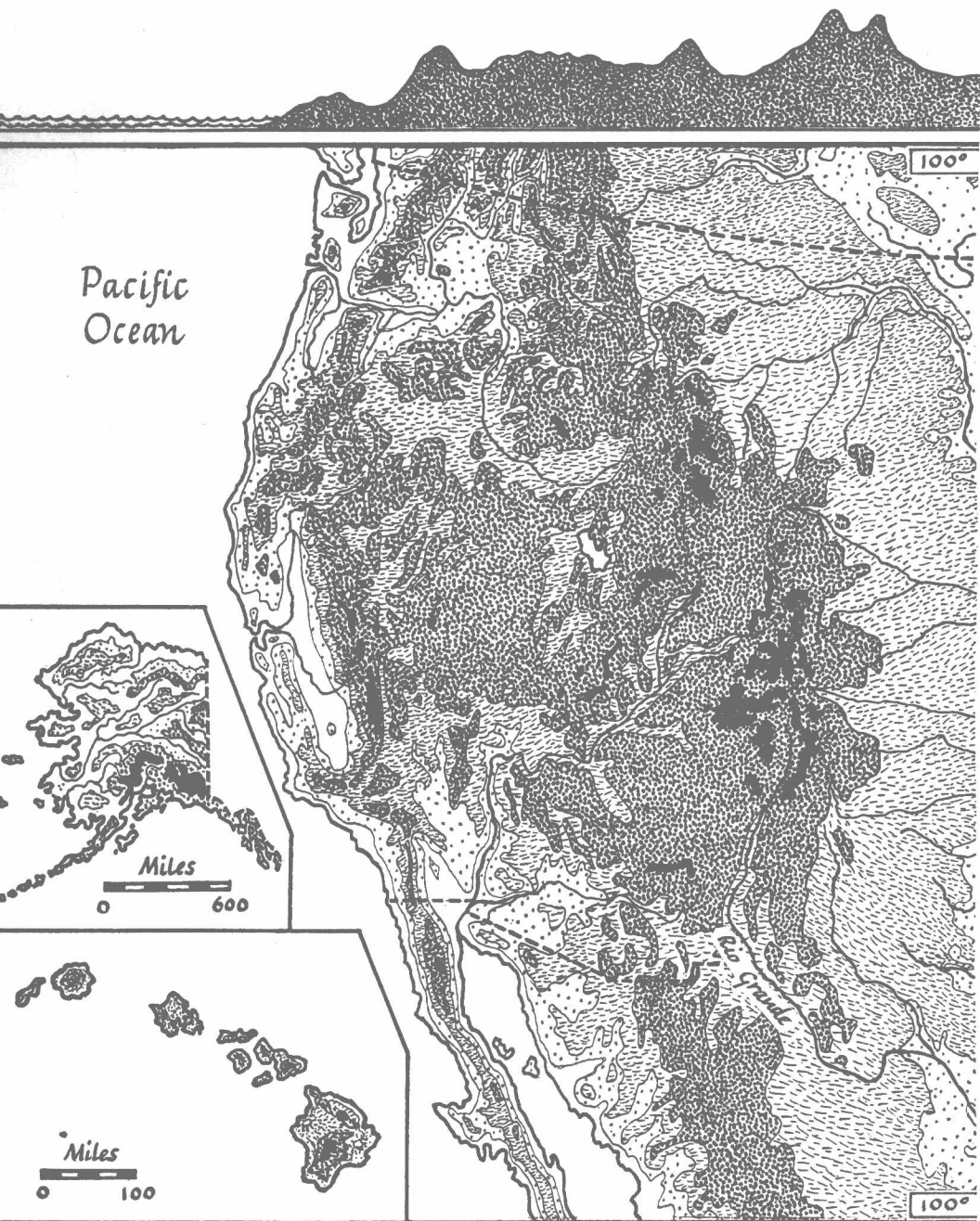
others who believe that man fulfills himself in conditions of political, social, economic, and cultural freedom should understand that American history is less important as a success story in material terms than as a struggle to fulfill human potentiality. The authors will be grateful to readers who accept this work as an effort to contribute to such understanding.

* * * * *

Our thanks are due to all those who have helped us through the years to understand our country better—especially to the host of scholars who have enlarged knowledge and increased understanding. That roll is much too long to call. More immediately we owe particular thanks for critical comments on large portions of this large work to Professors Gerald S. Brown of the University of Michigan, Chilton Williamson and Virginia Harrington of Barnard College, John L. Mundy of Columbia University, C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University, and John M. Blum of Yale University. Dr. Miles S. Malone of Phillips Academy, Andover, read and commented on the whole work; in addition he rendered special service with respect to the maps and appendices. Miss Ruth Douglas Keener, besides doing much skillful editing, deserves chief credit for the selection of illustrations. The index was prepared by Mrs. Grace Parker. Virtually the entire manuscript was copied by Miss Lucille Ogden. Our publishers have co-operated most generously with us towards completion of the book and at all times have given us the best of counsel.

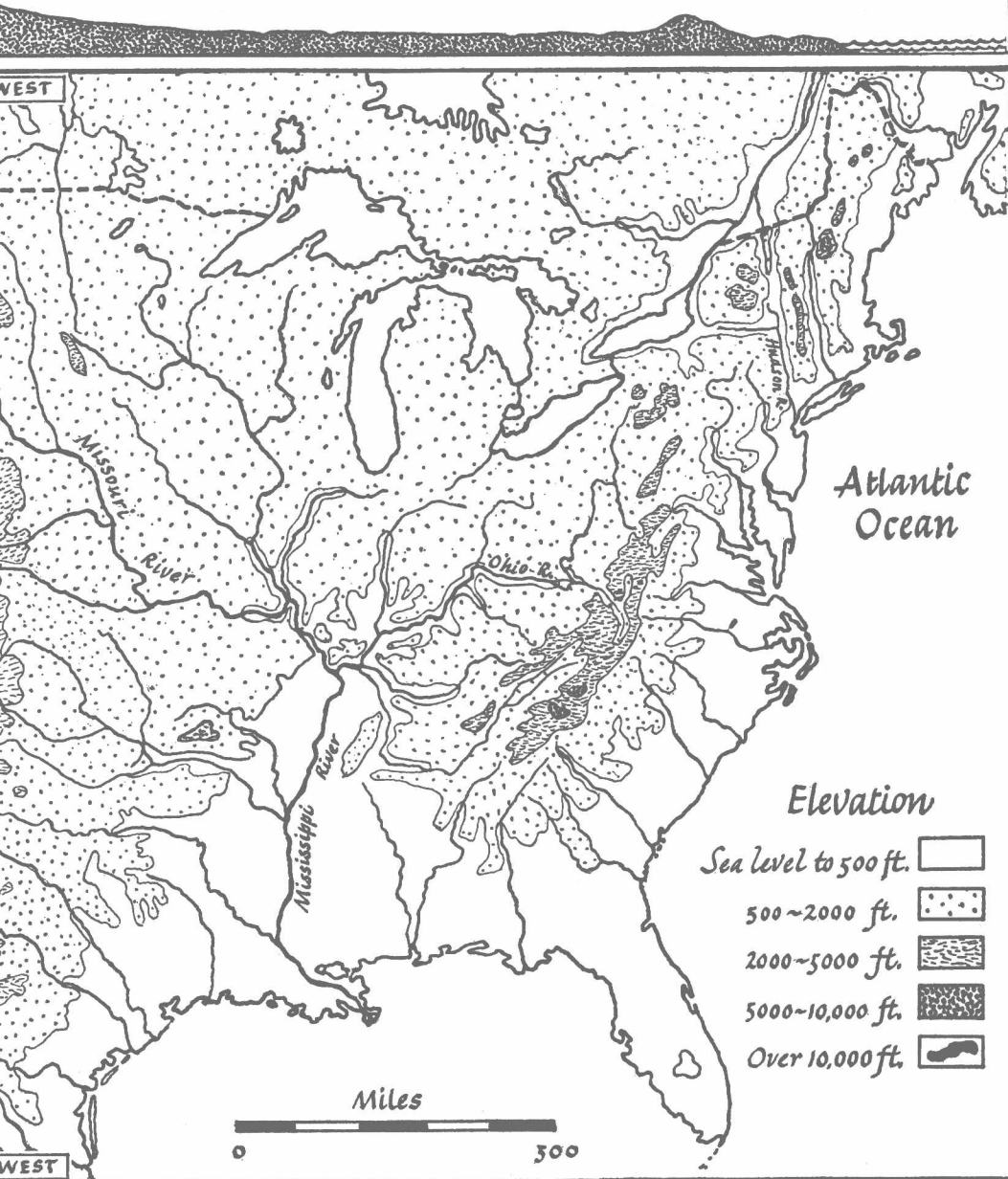
Since the labor and judgment of both authors have gone into all parts of this work, no precise apportionment of responsibility between them is possible. In the full meaning of the term this is a joint product. We have put far more time and labor into it than we expected; but, now that the task is done, we realize that in restudying and resurveying the whole of our country's past we have enjoyed a very great experience. We hope that this book will serve as an invitation to others to explore that past and share that experience.

D. M.
B. R.



PHYSIOGRAPHIC

Profile



UNITED STATES

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