

old Whigs, and the Secession party absorbed almost the whole of the old Democratic strength in the South; but the two forces were in reality new-born for the emergency. The old organizations both went to pieces—the one in 1852, and the other in 1860.

For a while there was a political chaos; but the transformation swept rapidly across the landscape, and a Union party appeared to fight for the integrity of the nation, and a States Rights, Secession party to fight for the idea of State sovereignty—the right of each commonwealth in the last resort to become independent, and the right of capital to *own* the labor necessary for its multiplication. A large percentage of Northern and border-State Democrats rallied to the Union, and many of the old Whigs in the South threw themselves at last with energy and passion into the secession movement. At length the war, from being political, became sectional. It was the North against the South, and the South against the North; and the North, having the National Government for its nucleus, and a tremendous population and wealth for its support, prevailed.

At the end of the conflict two parties remained: the Republican party claiming, with a measure of justice, that it had been the supreme agent in the suppression of the Rebellion and the restoration of the Union, and the Democratic party, claiming that it also had supported the Union, and that its support was *national, universal*, and therefore superior in patriotism to the sectional support and influence of the Republicans. Around this idea there was a survival and revival of many Democratic elements that had lain dormant during the war. The old name of Democrat seemed to charm, and as early as the Presidential canvass of 1868 the Democrats presented a solid and formidable line even to the compact and victorious forces of Grant. Subsequently the Democratic line wavered; it went back and broke in 1872, but came again afterward in orderly array, and in 1876 gave Samuel J. Tilden a popular majority for the Presidency.

The war for the Union was a still greater transforming force in the *civil* life of the American people. A new theory of what the Union was and is arose, and was vindicated by the sword. In general, the Hamiltonian notion of a consolidated Union triumphed over the Jeffersonian notion of States in a loose confederation. The latter theory was well-nigh extinguished in the Civil War. Though it survives to this day in many minds, and gains a fitful utterance here and there, it has no longer an important influence over the affairs of the nation. The doctrine of State Rights has virtually perished, and the doctrine of the consolidated Union has been made universal, if not eternal. It has been decided by the arbitrament of the sword that the American Government is not what the Germans call a *Staatenbund*, but rather a *Bundesstaat*—not a loose league of independent powers, but a consolidated, united and centralized great State. Possibly the tendency toward centralization has gone so far as to become dangerous to the legitimate autonomy of the States and to the local rights of the people; but from the extreme view a reaction is already discoverable which we may hope will maintain a true individuality and local right to the States, and make them as independent as they can be consistently with the unequivocal supremacy of the Union.

The Civil War also transformed the *nation*. The nation includes people, government, institutions, territory, arts, learning, industries, everything. All of these have felt in greater or less measure the heat of the transforming fire. In the seventh decade the old United States passed away, or were so greatly modified as to offer to the present generation an aspect widely different from the features and life of the past. The old simple industries and handicrafts and small arts practiced in local communities by our fathers were absorbed into larger facts, and the larger facts into still larger, until the industrial life became in the twenty years succeeding the war more consolidated than the Union itself. Then it was that gigantic enterprises sprang and flourished on the ruins of individuality. The tremendous factory came, and drew its nourishment out of the decay of a thousand shops. The stall of the bootmaker was absorbed in a prodigious establishment, employing thousands, and the old town smithy became the Steel Works of Homestead.

With this change the population of the United States began to fluctuate from the countryside into the towns and cities. The States and communities which composed the Union before the war were relatively debtless; they became heavily indebted. Debt is the mood of the present epoch in America, as it has long been the mood of Europe. Debt follows in the wake of war. A fund-holding interest is created. Around this a great number and variety of speculative schemes grow and flourish. Productive labor gets itself disparaged in comparison with that labor which labors not, but only reaps and thrashes and eats bread.

Coincidentally with the industrial change came also the rapid territorial expansion and flow of the people westward. The movement continued until the era of contraction set in, in the years 1873 to 1875, and stopped the healthy adventure of the people into the unoccupied regions of the Great West. Territorial organization, that went forward with such great strides for the first fifteen years after the end of the war, has moved more slowly since—partly from the occupation of our entire geographical area, and partly from the paralysis which has supervened with the coincident contraction of currency and the multiplication of people and enterprises.