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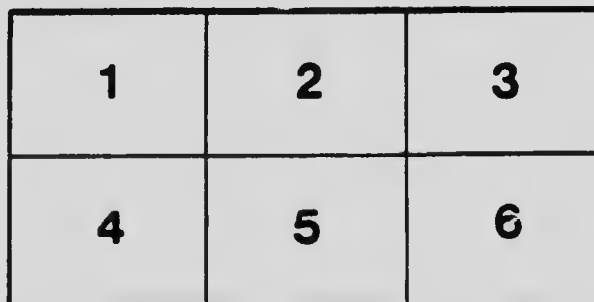
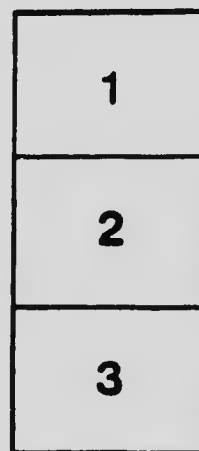
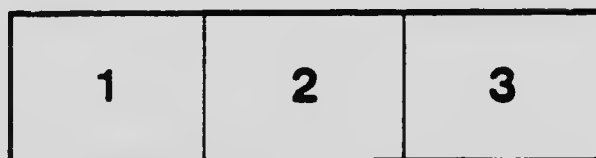
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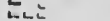
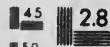
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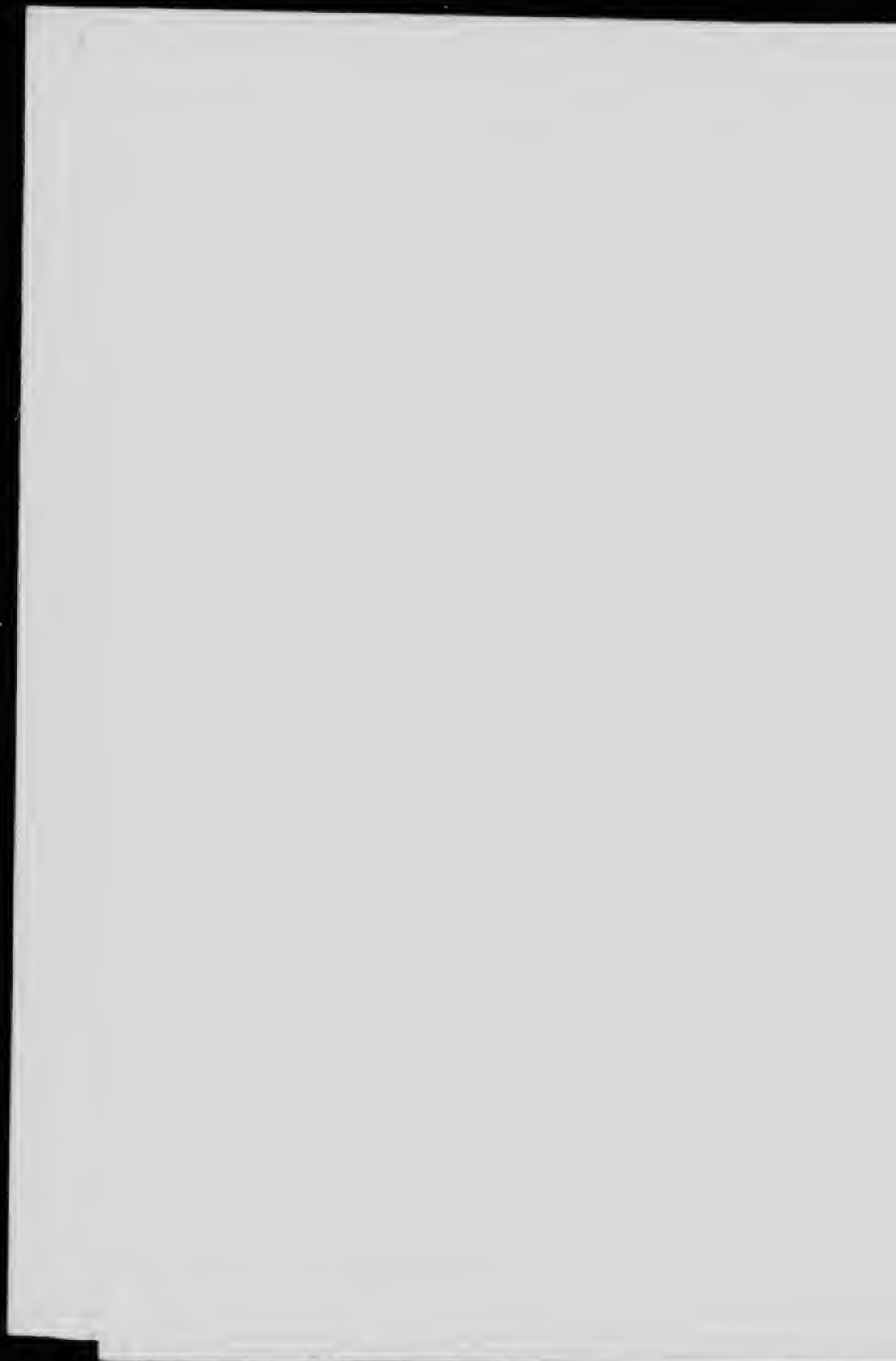
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ENGLISH INFLUENCE
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PREFACE

THESE essays are on the subjects of addresses which I delivered during October and November, 1914, in Boston and Cambridge, Mass., in Providence, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. They were primarily intended to show the close connection between English and American life; but they also emphasise the fact that from the first there have been divergences between English institutions, as they were maintained and developed in the Old Country, and the similar social elements as transplanted and moulded by the environment of a New World and the experience it afforded. I have drawn at times on architectural evidence, the importance of which does not seem to me to have been fully appreciated, either as regards the precise character or the long continuance of English influence.

As I had many opportunities of conversation with American friends on these topics, I feel able

to put forward the opinions here expressed as something more than the impressions of a passing visitor; and I venture to hope that these essays may do something to explain the Englishman to the American, and the American to the Englishman, and thus conduce to the mutual understanding which is the basis of a firm friendship.

W. C.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

11 *March*, 1916.

INTRODUCTION

IN the two volumes of my *Essay on Western Civilisation* I tried to mark the special contributions which have been made by different peoples in the past to the civilised life of modern Europe; I did not endeavour, however, to enter on any discussion of the movement which has been the characteristic feature of recent times, or to analyse the diffusion of European civilisation throughout the world. The essays which are here collected indicate the lines on which we must proceed in order to deal with this problem. I have endeavoured to separate one particular thread, and to show the ties which have connected England with one of the new nations of the world—the United States. Many influences have been at work—French and Spanish, Teutonic¹ and Scandinavian; but England, as the Mother Country, and the source of ideas of law and government in the United States, may be rightly regarded as the main channel by which European civilisation

¹ Roosevelt, *History as Literature and other Essays*, 99.

has reached North America. I have tried to render the discussion more precise, by confining myself to what is specially English rather than British; it is only in the chapter on academic life (Chapter IV) that I have touched on anything that is characteristically Scottish.

The influence of the English stock and of English origin can be traced in every aspect of American life, rural and urban, social and political; but there is need for discrimination as to the degree of influence exercised in different departments. The connection was extraordinarily close at first in regard to rural life and the organisation of the township (Chapter I). While the city life of America shows traces of an English origin, it appears to be almost entirely an independent development (Chapters II and III). It is interesting, too, to notice how much the two countries have shared a common opinion as to the limitation of the functions of government and the free play of private interests on the one hand (Chapter V), and as to the wisdom of holding aloof from foreign complications on the other (Chapter VI); and to see how difference of experience, during the last century and a half, has been reflected in the attitude towards modern social and political problems which the people of each country are inclined to take.

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CHAPTER I

THE TOWNSHIP¹(i) *The Settlement in Britain and in America
compared.*

The word Colonisation implies the plantation of an organised community, and cannot be properly used to describe the migration of individual men and women who have no ties to hold them together; this is true both of the ancient and of the modern world. The surplus population of Greek cities swarmed off, with the design of reproducing their own type of civilised life on some distant coast. The Romans settled colonies of veterans as outposts on the frontiers of the Empire, and archaeological research brings home to us the pains which they took to carry their civilisation with them. This, too, was the aim of the English and French settlers in North America. The Pilgrim Fathers, and the

¹ Harvard Historical Society.

founders of other colonies, were not casual immigrants who prepared to take their chances of making their way as new comers in a strange land; they desired to realise the ideals of life in a civilised community which they had framed in the old country. Their habits of life had been formed; and they did not wish to break with England altogether, but to infuse English institutions with a new spirit and make the community more truly Christian.

The main difference between ancient colonisation and the plantation of the New World lies in the fact that the city was the unit of Greek civilisation, and colonisation consisted in the planting of cities. The necessities of military organisation rendered it inevitable that Roman colonisation should have a similar character; but the English plantations in America aimed on the whole at being self-sufficing communities which would raise the necessaries of life from their own soil, though they did not forget the possibility of exporting their products. They established themselves in groups which were convenient for defence against possible Indian attacks, and for the prosecution of tillage and pasture farming. Inevitably they reproduced, in the New World, the methods of farming and the organisation of agricultural labour with which they had been familiar in England; though with such modifications as were

rendered necessary by the conditions of a new country. England had not yet become either a great commercial or industrial nation; her material prosperity was mainly due to her success in the cultivation of the land; corn had been one of the principal exports of Britain, both in Roman, and later in Elizabethan times. Considerable attention was given in the early seventeenth century to the possibilities of reclaiming waste land and extending agriculture within Great Britain, and the founders of the American colonies aimed at organising agriculture and land management on English lines in the New World.

There may well be some question, however, as to the precise character of the system and methods of tillage which they carried with them. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century English agriculture was in a state of transition; at an earlier period the manorial system had been dominant, and this type of organisation would doubtless have been reproduced, as it was in New France. A few generations later the collective management of arable land had so far broken up in England, that there would have been little reason to look for any signs of it in the New World; but at the close of the reign of Elizabeth and under the first two Stuarts, there was an

extraordinary variety of agricultural conditions in different parts of England; and it is interesting to try to see how closely the various elements, which were established in the plantations, were connected with prototypes in seventeenth century England.

In the plantation of the New World, history was repeating itself. Some 1100 years earlier the Anglo-Saxon tribes had migrated from the Continent and planted themselves in England. There is an interesting parallel between the tribal settlement in Britain and the plantation of the Atlantic coast; for the ingrained habits of the old stock were once more illustrated. New England became a land of true nucleated villages, not of the separate hamlets which characterise Celtic settlement¹. The colonists established themselves in agricultural communities, according as they were attracted by natural conditions and the convenience of wood and water². But while there is this broad similarity, there are also striking contrasts between the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain and the plantation of New England.

When the Anglo-Saxons planted themselves in Britain they found the relics of an ancient civilisa-

¹ See Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Germanen*, especially II. 119 ff.

² Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 16.

tion; they entered on the possession of a highly cultivated country, which had, till recently, been one of the granaries of the Roman Empire; much of the land they occupied was doubtless under cultivation when the Britons were driven out, and there was little to be done in the way of clearing¹. The Angles and Saxons as they drove the Britons back and occupied one district after another, became acquainted with fruit trees and cereals which the Romans had taught the Britons to cultivate, and with breeds of horses, sheep and cattle which had been introduced from the Continent. The Anglo-Saxons could profit immensely from the material vestiges of the arts of life as practised by the Romans, but there was a complete break between the Imperial political system and the life of the English people as it was gradually organised.

This may be noted both in town and country; the Roman roads had been the great arteries of communication in the Empire, for commercial as well as for military purposes, but the Anglo-Saxons had no use for such facilities for travel; they regarded

¹ The Southern, Midland and Eastern Counties of England which were occupied by the Romans for a long period of years have had a character impressed on them which differs from that of the parts of Britain north of the Ribble and the Tees and west of the Dee and the Wye, where there are few traces of permanent occupation by the Romans.

the roads as convenient boundaries by which to mark the limits beyond which their cattle should not stray, but their villages were not built upon the roads. The parish map of Cambridgeshire illustrates the contrast between rural life under the Romans, and after the English occupation. The Roman roads, as well as the old British lines of fortification, seem to have been useless to the new comers for their original purposes; but like the river channels, these roads and dykes were made to serve as boundaries between one village and another, and formed a territorial framework, into which their villages were fitted by the settlers.

The contrast in the habits of life is still more striking in the towns, such as London, Lincoln and York, where the site of the Roman city has been adopted for an English town. Usages in regard to the burial of the dead are among the most persistent of social habits and the Romans buried their dead in cemeteries outside the city like those of the catacombs at Rome. When the Roman troops were withdrawn and the Britons fell back towards the West, the Roman cities must have fallen into decay, if they were not wholly deserted; the English were not tempted to occupy them at all at first; but as commerce began to develop and centres of

I] *Cemeteries and Burial Grounds* 7

trade sprang up afresh, it became convenient to reoccupy portions of the old site. The English carried their own habit of burial into the towns, and buried their dead in plots adjoining their houses, so that numerous burying grounds were set aside within the cities. The difference of habit between the English and the Romans in this respect has left a deep mark on English life. In the Middle Ages, when there was an intense realisation of the unseen world, the religious sense demanded that there should be places for worship in close connection with burial grounds; and all through the rural districts, every village burying ground was consecrated, and churches were erected so that regular provision for Christian rites was rendered available through the length and breadth of the land. Ecclesiastical Institutions took a territorial character and the burying ground in every English village was associated with the village church. Modern cities are forced to conform to the Roman practice and to provide cemeteries outside the town; but it is interesting to note that the English habit of burial, as contrasted with the Roman, had asserted itself in the New World. At Portsmouth in New Hampshire, there are several examples of small burying grounds, established in the home lots within this populous place. Puritanism was shy of

superstitious observances in regard to the departed, and the close association of places for burial with facilities for Christian prayer and worship seems to have been the exception rather than the rule, at least in Massachusetts¹. This practice was appropriate to the changed spirit of the time, for a parish church and a parish burying ground are found in every village in England, but comparatively little provision has been made for maintaining Christian ordinances throughout large rural areas in New England²; meeting houses were not erected by the colonists unless there was a prospect of a considerable congregation to hear sermons, and grounds were set aside for burial wherever it seemed convenient.

There was one striking contrast between the personnel of the original English settlers in Britain and that of the colonists in New England. The primitive hero is represented as a handy man who might have some acquaintance with land management as well as with seamanship, who could forge the sword he wielded in battle, and was skilled as

¹ The depositing of George Whitefield's remains at Newburyport, under the pulpit where he last preached, with the arrangement for showing his relics, is probably unique.

² Governor Rollin of New Hampshire. Proclamation in *Concord Evening Monitor*, 6 April 1899. Quoted by Cunningham, *Christianity and Social Questions*, 58. Compare also p. 152 below.

a bard; he did his best at everything his hand found to do but he could hardly have been said to be an expert. Eleven hundred years later when the American coast was colonised, the division of employments had long been recognised; those who were organising a new plantation endeavoured to see that the colonists should be provided with skilled artificers of every kind¹, and, as clergy, doctors and lawyers were joining in the new ventures, men of education were available who could be relied upon to take a leading part in the management of affairs.

There were also great differences in the opportunities for learning and for improvements which were afforded by the changed conditions. It is impossible to gauge how much the English were indebted to Rome, or what English agriculture in the Middle Ages owed to Imperial survivals in Britain, and to the introduction of Roman practice through monastic influence. Gregory the Great, who sent out the first mission to the Angles, was a careful and skilful administrator of the great estates of the Roman See; and the Benedictine monasteries, which were planted in every part of England, maintained a type of agricultural organisation that was generally pursued throughout the whole country. Each

¹ *Advertisement*, 1609. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II. 338.

village was a unit of collective agriculture, where the various inhabitants, who had shares of land and oxen for ploughing, co-operated together in agricultural labour. All had to conform to the same system in regard to the management of land and the rotation of crops. But though there were some valuable products in the New World with which the English settlers had been previously unacquainted, they had comparatively little to learn in regard to the arts of life from their Indian neighbours.

A typical English village in the later Middle Ages, with its burying ground and church, consisted of a main street along which the houses were ranged. Each house facing the street had a yard and garden or orchard behind, which constituted the home lot; while there might sometimes be a row or two of humbler cottages set end-wise towards the street, with little, if any, ground attached to them. The arable holdings lay intermixed in common fields which stretched beyond the home lots; and each husbandman could claim a larger or smaller number of the half-acre strips which were not separated by any fence, but merely marked out by narrow grass baulks. Each husbandman had a share of the hay of the meadow; and all pastured their cattle together on the common waste, and on such portions

of the open fields were not under crop. The settlements which the colonists laid out in the New World were similar in many respects to those they had left in the Old. Arrangements were made for common pasturage on the common; it appears to have been quite usual for the settlers in New England to use the arable fields for common pasturage after the crops were cleared from the ground; but in one respect there was a complete departure from the traditional system. The practice of laying out each man's holding as a number of separate strips, intermixed with the strips of other owners, in an arable field was abandoned¹; and each man had his arable, and sometimes his meadow land in severalty²: the system of common cultivation in common fields does not seem to have been introduced into the New World. The typical arrangement of New England arable land did not correspond at all to the typical virgate in Mr Seebohm's map of Hitchin³. The arable lands were held in severalty;

¹ On the laying out of land in tiers and granting allotments in each tier, compare C. M. Andrews, *River Towns of Connecticut*, 45 (Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series VII.).

² On difficulties in regard to rights of meadow, see Hudson, *Lexington*, 33.

³ *English Village Community*; this map has been reproduced in Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I. 44.

and the normal holding was an oblong strip, with a narrow frontage towards the river or the street¹. It is interesting to note that the methods of farming for which provision was thus made in New England closely reflect the conditions which were becoming current in Elizabethan England². Collective cultivation was falling into desuetude, and energetic farmers demanded scope for individual management of arable land; but the practice of common pasturage was still very generally retained³.

(ii) *The Township in England.*

The settlements which were formed in the New World embodied an immense amount of experience which had been acquired during the centuries that intervened between the invasion of Britain and the English colonisation of any part of North America: and this holds good, not only of the

¹ The lots at Malden in 1634 were eight times as long as they were broad (Corey, *History of Malden*, 61). Compare also the map of allotments in Witherfield in C. M. Andrews, *op. cit.* 5. The same general method of arrangement is found in Pennsylvania (Browning, *Welsh Settlement in Pennsylvania*, 31) and in Canada, W. B. Munro, *Seignioral System in Canada* (Harvard Historical Studies), 80.

² See p. 20 below.

³ Each individual was responsible for fencing his own boundaries so as to prevent damage to his neighbour's crops. C. W. Alvord, *Introduction to Collections of Illinois Historical Library*, II. pp. xxii, 139. Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 49.

methods of tillage, but of habits of self-government. "The Puritans who colonised New England did not," as Mr Fiske¹ rightly points out, "invent the town meeting. They were familiar already with the proceedings of the vestry meeting and the manorial courts, but they were severed now from church and from aristocracy." A close examination is necessary, however, in order to show precisely what they left behind and what they carried with them to the New World.

Throughout the Middle Ages there were two distinct elements in the administration of English rural life, and it is a problem of great difficulty to make out in what fashion they were combined at any particular place or time². There was, on the one hand, the manorial or seignorial authority, which exercised control over the whole organisation, and served as the link through which each village discharged its duties and responsibilities towards the realm as a whole³. On the other hand, there was an element of communal assent and approval, which was none the less real because it is exceedingly obscure. There are innumerable records which preserve the history of English villages from the

¹ *American Political Ideals*, 49.

² W. J. Ashley, Introduction to translation of Fustel de Coulange's *The Origin of Property in Land*, p. xli.

³ See below, p. 103.

manorial point of view; but communal management was very generally a matter of custom and tradition, and we have to rely for the most part on incidental allusions. In the plantation of the New World these elements may be said to have fallen apart; in Virginia and the South, the manorial system and the organisation of labour by dependents were introduced, and a similar system was established by the Dutch in New York, and by the French in Canada, Louisiana and the valley of the Ohio; and in these areas the communal element fell into the background, especially where the planters were dependent on slaves or servitors for agricultural labour. In New England, on the other hand, the manorial element seems to have been quite unimportant, while communal control became the method by which local administration of internal affairs was carried on. The township had existed in England from time immemorial, but it did not attain its full development until it was transplanted from the old country to the New World.

The term township, which is typical of New England, has almost dropped out of use in the greater part of England, though it is still familiar in the Northern Counties; we speak more commonly of parishes or manors or villages; and it is not quite clear whether a township was only another

name for these groups, or whether it had any special significance. We can perhaps settle the matter most easily by considering the way in which this special term is applied. One of the earliest instances is in the *Rolls of Parliament*, where it is applied to the village of Chesterton, which was mostly comprised in a royal manor and was a parish (1414)¹. On the other hand, there were many parishes, especially in the North of England, which contained a number of townships; the parish of Kendal contained twenty-four "townships or constabularies, and fifteen chapelries²"; while the borough of Much Wenlock, in Shropshire, consisted of several separate townships. Life in an English village had various aspects, and it seems that the terms parish and manor and township were ordinarily applicable to the same social group. When it is viewed in its ecclesiastical relations, and with reference to episcopal authority, it is termed a parish; its relation to civil authority and the payment of taxation³ is accentuated if it is called a manor, and with respect to the communal management of its internal affairs it is properly designated a township. The township

¹ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 603.

² Nicholson and Burn, *Westmorland*, i. 65.

³ Townships were assessed for the wages of Knights of the Shires in 1444. *Rot. Parl.* v. III.

and its officials were concerned with internal police¹; but it had also important functions to discharge during the Middle Ages in the management of the cultivation of the Common Fields, and the exercise of rights of pasturage on the Common Waste². It has besides been utilised as a unit for the administration of the Poor Law in some of the Northern Counties, since the time of Charles II³. The Borders between England and Scotland had been exposed to constant raids, and were very sparsely inhabited; after the Union of the Crowns there seemed to be a possibility of reducing this turbulent area to order, and the centres of cultivation and pasture farming, which were formed within the limits of ancient ecclesiastical parishes, were rightly spoken of as Townships.

We have a few hints which enable us to guess at the methods by which the business of the township

¹ H. B. Simpson, *The Office of Constable*, in *English Historical Review*, x. 627.

² As the unit for agricultural purposes, it has recently come into fresh notice. Since 1850, the Enclosure Commissioners have found it convenient to take the township as the unit in terms of which they report on any scheme for the enclosure of Commons. Gonner, *Common Land and Enclosure*, 270.

³ Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland. 14 Chas. II, c. 12.

was conducted in the county of Durham during the fourteenth century. The tenants of Wallsend were summoned to a town meeting in 1368¹, and at Acley in the following year² a committee of six was elected for ordering the affairs of the community. These would include the management of the collective agriculture of the place, and this was not by any means an easy matter. The two branches of land management were closely interconnected, though distinct areas were allotted to the open fields on which a course of tillage was carried on continuously, to the meadow land which was used for hay, and the waste which was permanent pasturage. The course of cultivation on the open fields and the quota of work which each man should do were laid down by custom, and there would be little opportunity for revising them unless the lord of the manor consented. But the rights of pasturage on the waste, and the management of the stock, must frequently have given rise to difficult decisions. In many cases it seems that the right to pasture on the waste was reserved to those who had strips in the open fields, and who could not carry on their tillage unless they had the means of pasturing the

¹ *Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society LXXXII. (1886), 70.

² *Ibid.* 82.

oxen which they contributed to the plough teams of the village. In other cases each cottager could claim a right to put one cow or more upon the common waste. It cannot have been an easy matter to decide what persons had a common right and to settle exactly what kind of stock and what number of beasts each commoner was entitled to put out to feed¹. There were other difficulties, not about the rights of commoners, but about the management of the stock. It was desirable to have the means of separating any sheep or cattle that were diseased and to be able to segregate the cattle at special times. In one or two cases this communal management of the live stock on the common waste has lasted till recent times; it is still maintained at Whittlesea in Cambridgeshire; and specimens of the orders, which were made in the seventeenth century, at Cottenham, have been printed². The good management of the village stock was essential

¹ The *Durham Halimote Rolls* show that questions were raised in the fourteenth century as to whether sufficient pasturage was available for the tenantry (p. 12); and as to one who had no land being prevented from using the common (p. 17). Questions of meadow (Sec. 23), of closes and separate pastures (pp. 24, 40, 54) had to be dealt with, as well as the provision which should be made for oxen (p. 62) and for horses (pp. 22, 69). It was a complicated business.

² *Common Rights at Cottenham and Stretham in Cambridgeshire* in *Camden Miscellany*, XII. (Camden Society, 3rd series, xviii. 1910).

to village prosperity. In many cases land was more valuable for purposes of pasture than for tillage; but there is ample reason to believe that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries insufficient attention was given to this important branch of the economy of the township.

The great agricultural improvement, which was being introduced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was the substitution of individual for communal management of land. The man who succeeded in withdrawing his holding from communal control and working at it on his own lines, was able to make much more of it, especially if his holding was large enough to enable him to bring both tillage and the management of stock into his own hands and to make them co-operate. The old common fields were being exhausted; but when a farmer could convert his arable fields into pasture and keep his stock upon them, they recuperated after a few years¹. Fitzherbert goes fully into the advantages which accrued when this method of convertible husbandry superseded the old cultivation of open fields, and the maintenance of stock on common

¹ Simkovitch, *Hay and History*, in *Polit. Science Quarterly* (1913), XXVIII. 401.

waste¹. In any township where one or two of the more substantial men had succeeded in withdrawing their holdings and their stock from communal management, they would of course have no interest in seeing that good order was maintained on the common waste. As early as the fourteenth century there were complaints that the election of communal officials was falling into disuse²; and as regulation ceased to be effective the privileges of the commoners were more and more abused. We hear complaints, on the one hand, of rich men who put so many cattle on the waste that the common was eaten bare and the poor commoners were seriously wronged; on the other hand, there is ample evidence that undesirables were able to establish themselves as squatters on the common waste³. Wherever the chief fault may have lain, there seems to be little doubt that the old system of managing the pasturage had broken down, and that the resources of the commons were being shamefully wasted in the seventeenth century. Generally speaking the communal management, not only of the open fields but of the village stock, appears to have come to an

¹ Fitzherbert, *Surveyinge* 1539, in *Certain Ancient Tracts*, 1777.

² *Victoria County History, Durham*, II. 223.

³ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II. 568.

end in most parts of England before the close of the eighteenth century and to have been superseded by individual management of separate farms.

There were, however, some exceptional cases; in several parts of Cambridgeshire the management of the stock, and especially of the great herd of milk kine, was by far the most important part of the village economy, and the substantial men were eager to maintain effective regulation of the common rights of pasturage. Here the communal element asserted itself more strongly than before. At Stretham and Waterbeach the tenants, acting under manorial authority, carried on an efficient system of regulation; while at Cottenham the commoners succeeded in buying out the lords of the manors altogether so far as the management of the stock was concerned. An agreement was drawn up which was confirmed by the Court of Chancery in 1596 by which the commoners secured that the entire management of the stock should be in the hands of their own Order-makers, and this system appears to have been successfully maintained till 1842. In these instances it appears that the township was capable of taking a new lease of life so far as village economy was concerned and of coming into new prominence. It is to be noticed that this revival

of the township took place in connection with that branch of husbandry, in regard to which there is most evidence of collective management in New England.

This revival of the township for agricultural purposes was somewhat exceptional; but there were other causes at work which gave an increased stimulus to local self-government all over the country; new duties were put upon the township, which began to be known as the civil parish. After the Reformation, a revolution took place in ecclesiastical finance; the lands, which had been set aside as an endowment to provide means for the repair of the parish church¹, had often passed into private hands. Necessary church expenses had to be met, under the new order, by raising an income in money, and church ales² were a favourite expedient for this purpose, though contributions were also obtained from the parishioners. Communal parochial organisation thus came to be charged with the responsibility of controlling local ecclesiastical finance; and this function is still discharged by the parishioners at Easter Vestries. These assemblies were sometimes turbulent, and the practice of constituting Select

¹ S. L. Ware, *Elizabethan Parish*, 64 (Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series xxvi.).

² S. L. Ware, *op. cit.* 70.

Vestries for the more orderly conduct of business was favoured by the Bishops in the early seventeenth century¹.

Under the new conditions, too, the resources of local government were taxed by the difficulty of maintaining order, and repressing crime. The great households of the feudal nobility had been broken up and monasteries had been dissolved, and the progress of agricultural improvement was inconsistent with the maintenance of the old economic life in many villages. The parish constables were responsible for dealing with vagrancy, and their expenses ultimately fell upon the civil parish²; while the civil parish was also responsible for the maintenance and employment of the poor³. This had ceased to be regarded as a matter of religious duty, and as Christian charity; it was coming to be a part of the civil administration of the realm. In the same way the civil parish became responsible for the maintenance of roads, and surveyors⁴ were appointed to discharge these duties. There was also a great deal of internal police for which the constable, a civil official of the parish,

¹ S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government; the Parish and the County*, 189, 190.

² S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.* 29.

³ 39 Elizabeth, c. 3.

⁴ 18 Elizabeth, c. 10.

was primarily responsible. And hence it may be said that the township, especially in those cases where communal management of the stock was preserved, had attained to an importance at the beginning of the seventeenth century which it had never possessed before¹. After the English Revolution parochial public spirit declined, but it is at least noticeable that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the communal administration of local affairs had attained an importance, which was not traditional and which has not been maintained, and that under the name of township it was transplanted into New England with a similar organisation and similar responsibilities.

(iii) *The changes in New England.*

The Elizabethan township in England, in so far as it had freed itself from manorial control, and was charged with a great variety of duties, is practically identical with the township as it was planted in New England; but the colonists were able to introduce a more efficient system of administration by the changes they made in the appointment of officers and the terms on which they served. The annual town meeting could lay down the general principles of management, while details were left to be carried

¹ S. L. Ware, *op. cit.* 64.

out by competent men who were remunerated for the time and trouble they gave to official duties. In the English village the responsibilities of the constable or the churchwarden were undertaken in turn by men who found their only reward in winning the respect of their neighbours for the manner in which they discharged their duties during their term of office. Communal management, with constantly changing administrative officers, was long maintained as the English habit of local government; and an immense amount of local administrative work was done, not by men of leisure, but by busy men who made time for it and never expected to be remunerated for the days or hours they spent in the service of the public. This system, however, could not secure the highest degree of efficiency, as it was not possible to select the most capable man for any post, nor to take full advantage of the experience he had acquired during a period of office. Public business under this system is necessarily carried on by men who are amateurs, as it is only when he enters upon office that the Englishman discovers the precise nature of his duties and learns by a hurried experience how they may best be done.

Increased efficiency of administration cannot,

however, be secured without cost, not only in the payment of salaries, which can be reckoned in money, but in the loss that occurs to the community through the diminished opportunities of participating actively in public life. The principle has been forcibly stated by an American writer¹: "When we accepted democracy as our form of government," he says, "we ranked the political education of the individual as more important than the expert administration of government." But so far as the New England township goes, the political education which is given to each man who is willing to take office, by embracing an opportunity of serving his country, has been neglected. Even in modern times in England when parish affairs are relatively unimportant because so much is done by the paid official of the central government, we can see how educative a period of office is, as regards the individual who undertakes it; and we can feel that this must have been far more true in Elizabethan times when the parish was such an important organ for local government. It is chiefly in ecclesiastical matters that the communal activities of the township survive, in the Easter Vestry. The churchwarden, who undertakes office for a year, knows that he is personally responsible to the parishioners who

¹ J. J. Chapman, *Causes and Consequences*, 133.

appointed him, and he is anxious to do his routine duties so as to merit their approval. In regard to any large expenditure, such as substantial repairs or the purchase of a heating apparatus or an organ, he knows that he will have to defend himself against criticism, and he is anxious to form his opinion for himself, and to try and judge on the advice which may be given him by various men of experience. He is not willing to rely on the guidance of any individual however skilled, and to follow him blindly, for he is an empiricist pure and simple. He thus becomes for time to come an excellent critic of the manner in which his successors discharge duties with which his experience has rendered him familiar.

It is also to be noticed that the man who enters on an office for a short period is likely to have initiative. He has not got into a rut, or to be the creature of routine, as so often happens to capable servants; and he will often desire that his term of office should be rendered memorable by the introduction of a definite improvement which he has thought out and carried through.

The cumulative effects of a cause that is constantly in operation may be very great, and it is not fanciful to suppose that the widely diffused

political education which has been given by participation in parish politics, has, for good or for evil, something to do with English national character; it has shaped the desire to be well thought of by neighbours. The aim of training children in such a way that they shall preserve the standing of the family in the community, is not unwholesome. Such ambitions are guards against anti-social tendencies of every kind; even though they may prevent a man from throwing his whole heart and soul into his personal success in his career: to be willing to serve the public gratuitously for a time is a mark of public spirit.

The effect of this personal education in political affairs is also seen in the English dislike of any divorce between theory and practice, and in particular of the suspicion with which men of theory who have no local knowledge are regarded. This has had a harmful result in the undue disparagement of science, which is so widely current in England, but it is interesting testimony as to the strength of the Englishman's determination to think for himself.

CHAPTER II

TOWN PLANNING¹

(i) *The growth of English and of American towns.*

Nothing strikes the European visitor to America as more noticeable than the broad and regular streets with which the cities are laid out and the contrast must be more remarkable to those habituated to New York or Washington who find themselves for the first time in London or York. But though the city life of America has been developed so rapidly and on such an enormous scale, it is by no means an independent creation. The older cities themselves bear witness to a close connection with England. On the one hand we can trace a parallelism between the early growth of urban life in England in the time of the Danes, and the beginnings of town life in America, and on the other we find cities on the Atlantic coast which contain relics that have their origin in ancient civilisation. There were great

¹ Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.

cities with magnificent public buildings in Greece, and city life played an important part in the Roman Empire; it is worth while to try and trace the precise links by which the town planning of the ancient world was shaped in England, and the manner in which it was transmitted from England to North America. Rural life in America bears the impress of transplantation from rural England, and urban life has features which connect it through England with the ancient world.

There are one or two English towns which show that they originated on the site which had been occupied by a Roman city and in which the main outlines have been perpetuated. The normal scheme of these cities corresponds with that of the Roman camps, such as Ardoch and Birrens, which lie north of Hadrian's Wall, in a region which was subdued by the Roman forces, but not permanently utilised by the Romans for agriculture. These camps, which had wooden buildings, are rectangular with one main street through the town from the middle of each end, crossed at right angles by another which ran from side to side. Lincoln and Chester, among other English towns, exhibit Roman remains which show that cities of this military type formerly stood on the ground they occupy. When an English town grew on such a site it conformed

to the old lines; but it may be doubted whether the civic life of the Empire survived as a living tradition at any centre in England; and there was little occasion for towns to grow up, till the revival of commerce which took place under the Danish influence, and the better organisation of home defence which was called for by their invasions. There is ample evidence of a reappearance of town life in England in Danish times, partly at centres which the Romans had found convenient, and partly round new centres of population. The physical conditions which had rendered London and York important places in Roman times, led to their resuscitation as soon as trade began to reappear; and the Benedictine monasteries, which had been founded in so many parts of the country, became considerable centres of trade. The erection of their buildings and furnishing of their churches, required organisation of industry on a considerable scale, and the importation of materials and wares from abroad. As places where hospitality could be found, they were frequented by travellers, and the monks took the opportunity of organising and directing the work of others rather than of being dependent for sustenance on their own manual labours¹.

¹ Cunningham, *Organisation of the Masons' Craft in England* in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, VI.

Glastonbury, Bury and Peterborough were all towns which consisted of an Abbey and its dependents.

There were also towns which grew round a castle held by the King, or some great Thane, and occupied by his dependents. Of this class are the Midland Boroughs, which were built by Edward the Elder and the Lady of Mercia; and many similar towns began to grow up during the Norman and Angevin Period, when so many new castles were erected. There were of course cases such as Carlisle, and Norwich, where an abbey and castle were contiguous, and where the monastic and military elements, taking advantage of the relics of Roman roads and Roman cities, co-operated in the growth of an English town.

These elements, which were so influential in connection with the beginnings of town life in England, may be said to have been entirely wanting in the New World. There were neither Roman remains nor monastic requirements to be taken into account; but yet the beginnings of town life in England before the Conquest were to some extent parallel with the origin of towns, many centuries later, in America. Neither in England (apart from the Roman sites) nor in America at first, was there any planning of towns on a recognised scheme. Each populous centre grew according to the convenience of the situation and the require-

ments of the inhabitants. Both in England and in New England, there were towns which depended chiefly on the fishing industry, and in which the inhabitants found that access to the shore was a matter of importance. Both in England and in New England, there were towns which were primarily dependent on agriculture, and where access to the common and to the fields was the first consideration. There are not a few English towns at the present day of which the very irregularity testifies to the conditions to which they owe their origin; this is most obvious in seaside towns; but in an inland town like Norwich, the curve of the main street is a constant reminder of the fact that the castle was a chief element in the growth of the city, and that the houses of dependents clustered round its base. There is doubtless similar evidence, in the older parts of New York and Boston, which testifies to their origin and the source of their prosperity.

While there are these similarities, in the beginning and growth of towns in England and in America, there is one striking and significant contrast. The principal feature in the plan of an English town was the market-place, to which supplies were regularly brought and in which the industrial population

procured food and materials, and disposed of their wares. English towns were commercial in their origin; for the castle or abbey, where population clustered, was a centre of a local demand for butter, eggs and other rural produce; and as the industrial side of town life became more developed, there was a demand for corn which could not be supplied from the town fields. But the inhabitants of New England towns were, for the most part, independent, so far as their habitual requirements were concerned, and there was no need for a weekly market at first. The trade which called American towns into being was occasional, when a ship arrived and opportunities offered of buying foreign goods or sending commodities abroad. The trade of an American town was analogous to that of a mediaeval¹ fair rather than to that of an English market town. The market-place was of increasing importance throughout the Middle Ages; and the great extensions of English towns, which took place in connection with the Crusades, are characterised by large open market-places².

¹ Cunningham, *Christianity and Economic Science*, 46.

² Many of these areas have been blocked up by subsequent encroachments. Those who had temporary stalls obtained leave to replace them with permanent wooden buildings. This has occurred very generally in regard to the shambles or butchers' shops. In some cases the wooden rows which replaced the movable stalls have given place to permanent

During the Middle Ages the market of a town was not merely a place where individuals met to drive their own bargains and have a deal; it was a public institution for regulating the trade of the town in the interests of its prosperity as a community. The market cross was in itself a symbol of authority¹ to enforce just dealing, and it was important that the use of standard weights and measures should be prescribed and enforced. There was provision for the official weighing of goods; and the custody of the public beam was sometimes associated with the levying of customs,—the weigh-house was also a toll booth. This official supervision was of advantage in guarding against fraud and facilitating transactions between man and man, but there was also much market regulation which was intended to give effect to a definite civic policy, and to lay down rules which should not only guarantee honest dealing, but should also make directly for the welfare and the prosperity of the town as a whole.

stone buildings and narrow rows of shops, which are divided by little alleys. These encroachments are particularly noticeable at Ludlow, in Shropshire, but there are many towns where the booths that have clustered round the Town Hall detract from the dignity and spaciousness of the original market-place.

¹ This is specially noticeable in Scotland. On the connection of Scottish Market Crosses with the Perron at Liège see *Scottish Historical Review*, XIII. 174.

The townsmen believed that they were better served when there were opportunities of bargaining in one definite place; and they could look round from stall to stall and compare various offers; supply and demand adjusted themselves more publicly and therefore more fairly. They were suspicious of the forestallers who bought up goods before they were exposed in the market-place, and of the regrator who made speculative purchases with the view of selling at some future time, or in some other place. They were anxious that the man who wanted to use the products of the neighbourhood, or the fish that was landed at his own door, should have a preference in purchasing as compared with those who lived in distant places. The Elizabethan regulations for markets show a special care for the wants of the poor consumer; and those who bought in small quantities, whether corn for food, or wool as a material for their industry, were enabled to enjoy the pick of the market. The care which was taken of the consumers as a body was also exercised as municipal life developed, and the English towns became centres of industry or foreign trade. The spirit of civic patriotism was strong, and every effort was made that the prosperity of the town as a whole and its reputation and success should be borne in mind, and that private convenience should

be habitually ignored where public interests were concerned. The whole trading life of every English town was dominated by constant reminders of the duty of regulating business transactions so that private gain might be subordinated to the good of the community; and a basis was thus laid, which rendered it comparatively easy to induce traders to take account of larger considerations of national policy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to introduce humanitarian legislation in the nineteenth. The prominence of the market-place in every English town is a testimony to the importance of the market as an institution; New England towns do not afford similar evidence of the market-place as a salient feature in the beginning or the growth of the town. The market-place, on which Faneuil Hall and the Quincey market stand, was not part of the original site of Boston, but was reclaimed from the shore. As late as 1734 the inhabitants disliked having to "resort to localities and preferred to be served at their houses in the old way¹". Where such habits existed there was little room for frequenting the market as an institution, and little attempt could be made to enforce a civic policy in the public interest. The freedom of the individual to carry out a deal in the

¹ S. H. Drake, *Old Landmarks of Boston*, 133.

way which suited his own convenience and without reference to other considerations obtained full scope, and the belief that this is beneficial for the community itself, has come to be regarded as axiomatic in America to a much larger extent than has ever been true in England¹. The keenness of the American business-man is the natural outcome of freedom for private dealing which has characterised American towns from their beginnings.

(ii) *Building Plots for Private Houses.*

There was no conscious influence from the ancient world in the growth of English towns before the Norman Conquest, but an entirely new era opened during the Period of the Crusades. These great expeditions brought about an immense development of commercial activity; there was much business to be done in connection with the equipment and transport of troops, and Italian cities like Venice and Genoa entered into a keen rivalry for securing the main share in this business; the movement not only gave a temporary stimulus but had permanent effects as well. The peoples of the West

¹ There was less enforcement of civic policy in Scottish than in English market towns, and freedom for individual trading had more scope to the North than to the South of the Tweed.

were brought into direct contact with the Levant and the countries round it; they had access to the wares and products which were supplied from the East, and they also came into contact with the great heritage of civilised life which survived in the Byzantine Empire. The barbarian invaders had devastated the West, but Constantinople had escaped their attacks, and the arts of life, as they had developed in Greek cities, and the organisation which characterised the Roman Empire, were preserved as a living thing to impress the minds of Norman and Frankish Crusaders and to excite them to imitation.

This imitation is very obvious in regard to military affairs; the science of fortification, as understood in the ancient world, was illustrated in the defence of Constantinople; and came to be applied in the great strongholds which were erected in Normandy and on the Borders of Wales. But a permanent mark was left on the arts of peace, no less than on those of war. The stimulus that was given to commerce, and the perception on the part of English Kings of the advantage they might derive from developing commerce, brought about the foundation of many new towns, both in Britain and on the Continent; and led to the rapid expansion of many existing towns by the addition of large

suburbs. Edward I founded *villefranches* in Gascony as well as in England; and other potentates followed his example. In these new towns and suburbs it is easy to discern a deliberate plan, and the conscious adoption of definite schemes of arrangement. The most perfect existing examples are at Montpazier and Carcassonne. But in other towns, which were founded or extended at this period, it is easy to recognise that the surveyor had a definite scheme in mind, even though he did not follow it pedantically, but adapted it to the peculiarities of site or other local conditions. It is plain that during this period there was a revival of the art of town planning, as it had been practised in the ancient world and in cities with which the Crusaders had become familiar.

Long centuries before, when Alexander the Great established Greek dominance over the Eastern Mediterranean, a great many new cities were founded; his chief adviser, in laying out roads in Antioch, Alexandria and other places, had been Hippodamus of Miletus; and the special feature which differentiated his work from that of earlier surveyors was the completeness with which his plans were thought out. Not only did he arrange for the grouping of the public buildings, but he laid down a regular

scheme for the whole town with measured spaces for all the private houses; this was also a characteristic feature of the towns which were founded in Western Europe during the Crusading Period¹. Montpazier is an excellent illustration of one type; it was rectangular but differed in many ways from the scheme which is preserved in the Roman camp, there are three main avenues running lengthwise and four cross streets which divide the city into twenty blocks. One of these blocks was left for the market-place, and one was occupied by the church, but the rest were laid out in lots on which private houses could be built². Modification of the same scheme is recognisable in St Andrews which was founded by the Bishop in the thirteenth century by inducing a colony from Berwick to settle there³. There is also evidence of a definite plan in Salisbury which was bodily removed from its ancient site by Bishop Poore in the early part of the thirteenth century; while Winchelsea was built on similar lines by Edward I.

Great expansions of existing towns occurred in the Eastern Counties, which were such a flourishing

¹ Cunningham, *The corrupt following of Hippodamus of Miletus at Cambridge*, in *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Transactions*, N.S. III.

² J. H. Parker, *Domestic Architecture*, II. 144.

³ Scott, *Berwick*, 6.

part of England at that period; and are noticeable in Bury and Norwich as well as at Peterborough and Cambridge. These town expansions have very extended market-places; but their characteristic feature is the regularity with which the lots for private houses and shops are laid out. The houses usually stood with their gables towards the street; inns and larger buildings were double houses which contained an interior court-yard; many of these remain unchanged to the present day¹. The single houses were also provided with means of access to the workshop or yard which lay behind each house. Beside the door from the street into the house itself there was an alley which communicated with the premises behind; and this type of house may be said to have become universal in English towns during the later Middle Ages, and to have held its own until the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries²; this was the ordinary arrangement of shops and dwelling places in an English town, at the time when the plantation of the Atlantic coast was being

¹ The frontage of the Angel at Grantham is striking though the house itself has been renovated. The Red Lion of Banbury is a good example of a type that is fast disappearing.

² In many cases, as in Boston in Lincolnshire, or with the rows in Yarmouth or the closes in Edinburgh, these alleys were public thoroughfares between two houses, and not private passages.

carried on rapidly. In more recent times provision has been made for access to the yard behind a house by back streets and mews lanes; and there has been no need to provide an additional entrance from the front. When the new town of Edinburgh was founded it was possible to dispense with the narrow passages which were so characteristic of the older parts of the city.

Carefully measured plots were laid out for private dwelling houses in American towns, as they became more populous, and the streets must have been very similar in appearance to those of the seventeenth century English towns. In 1795 there were in Boston, in Massachusetts, ranges of wooden buildings all situated with one end towards the street¹, and the alley at the side of the houses was a common feature; it has not even yet entirely disappeared from the older parts of New York² or Philadelphia or Boston, though it has long since ceased to be convenient for the ordinary conditions of town life. This feature may certainly be regarded as a relic of the method of laying out private houses which existed in ancient times, and which has been

¹ S. H. Drake, *Old Landmarks of Boston*, ix. 252.

² A similar method of laying out plots for private houses had been adopted in the Low Countries, and may have been transmitted from Holland to New Amsterdam.

transmitted to the New World in the form in which it was adopted and perpetuated in England.

(iii) *The Fire of London.*

During the later Middle Ages there was little occasion for the exercise of the art of town planning in England. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a time of civic decay. There are indeed not a few beautiful buildings which were erected by the members of the oligarchies who were coming to control the trade and the government of the towns¹; but there was little demand for the laying out of new quarters. Enterprising artisans were inclined to steal away from the corporate towns to villages where they had greater freedom to pursue their crafts; the migration might sometimes lead to the plantation of an industrial hamlet, like Broadway in Worcestershire; but there was no occasion to give attention to the laying out of urban areas. Even though the trade and wealth of London were growing at the expense of provincial towns, and some of the gardens and open spaces within the city were being built over, no encouragement was given for the extension of suburbs. Indeed the wealth and political power of the city were so great

¹ For example the Guild Hall at York and St Mary's Hall at Coventry.

that James I and Charles I had reason to regard this civic community as a dangerous rival and took steps to discourage its expansion. Hence there was little opportunity for applying the knowledge of ancient architecture, which had been opened up by the Renaissance, to civic purposes in England, until the clearing of a large part of the area of London by the Fire of 1666 rendered it necessary to set about the rebuilding of the capital of the country. Owing to the eagerness of the population to rebuild their houses and resume their businesses as soon as possible, the opportunity of reconstructing London on entirely new lines was lost¹. But none the less the efforts which were made by national and municipal authorities rendered the time of the Fire an important era in the history of town planning in England.

Those who regard the history of England from a purely military standpoint are inclined to contrast the greatness of Cromwell, supported by a well disciplined army and possessing an excellent fleet, with the decadence of the Monarchy under Charles II; but when account is taken of the arts of peace we see what an extraordinary development of

¹ W. Besant, *London in the Time of the Stuarts*, 269.

national life characterised the latter half of the seventeenth century. There was a revival of domestic industry and foreign commerce; and the foundations of the English Empire both in the East and the West were secured by the acquisition of Bombay and New York. There was also a remarkable movement for bringing science to bear on the development of national resources. The founders of the Royal Society were not only eager investigators but public-spirited men; a body of intelligent opinion had been organised and could be directed towards the solution of the problem of the rebuilding of London in such a fashion that the danger of the recurrence of a similar disaster should be minimised.

“Some intelligent Persons,” as the biographer of Wren records, “went farther, and thought it highly requisite, the City in the Restoration should rise with that Beauty, by the Straightness and Regularity of Buildings, and Convenience for Commerce, by the well disposing of Streets and publick Places, and the Opening of Wharfs, &c. which the excellent Situation, Wealth and Grandeur of the *Metropolis of England* did justly deserve; in respect also of the Rank she bore with all other trading Cities of the World, of which tho’ she was before one of the richest in Estate and Dowry, yet unques-

tionably the least beautiful. *Informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

“In order therefore to a proper Reformation, *Dr. Wren* (pursuant to the royal Commands) immediately after the *Fire*, took an exact Survey of the whole Area and Confines of the *Burning*, having traced over, with great Trouble and Hazard, the great Plain of Ashes and Ruins; and designed a Plan or Model of a new City, in which the Deformity and Inconveniencies of the old Town were remedied, by the enlarging the Streets and Lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding, if compatible with greater Conveniences, all acute Angles; by seating all the parochial Churches conspicuous and insular; by forming the most publick Places into large Piazza's, the Centers of eight Ways; by uniting the Halls of the twelve chief Companies, into one regular Square annexed to *Guild-hall*; by making a commodious *Key* on the whole *Bank* of the *River*, from *Blackfriars* to the *Tower*¹.”

Wren was not alone in this matter, however, and the fact that a plan survives, which is somewhat similar in general character and which was drawn by Sir John Evelyn, shows that there was a great

¹ Wren, *Parentalia*, No. III. Sect. II. pp. 267, 268.

deal of interest in town planning. The topic was so much in the air that William Penn, who returned to London in 1667, could hardly escape its influence; and when he was able to take an active part in colonial enterprise it is not surprising to find that he made a careful plan for the city which was to be founded in Pennsylvania. In 1683 he published an account of the city of Philadelphia which shows a design of rectangular streets with regular blocks, and closely resembles the scheme which was adopted when Philadelphia was eventually laid out. The founding of Philadelphia appears to be a turning point in the history of the development of towns in the United States; till that time they had grown, but from that time onwards the desirability of having a regular scheme has been fully recognised, and the personality of Penn seems to link this important advance in the development of American cities with the revived interest in town planning which had arisen in connection with the reconstruction of London after the Great Fire.

An interesting feature, both in Wren's and Evelyn's plans, had found no place in Montpazier and the other crusading towns; the inclusion of a scheme for radiating streets was a new departure. Wren had planned that there should be radiating

streets from the Piazza in which the Exchange was to stand; he intended to have another Piazza about the middle of Fleet Street, which was to be the centre of eight ways, and these were to open up convenient thoroughfares and striking vistas. This radiating plan appears to characterise the Renaissance as distinguished from the Mediaeval Period; it has a partial application in the streets which radiate from the Piazza del Popolo at Rome; it seems, however, to have been first adopted completely and carried out systematically in the fortified city of Palma Nuovo, which was founded by the Venetians in 1594 to be a bulwark against invasion either by the Austrians or other enemies¹. Dr Edward Browne² who visited Palma Nuovo in the latter part of the seventeenth century describes it thus—
“In the centre of the city is fixed a standard over a Triple Well, in the midst of a sexangular Piazza, from whence a man may see the three gates and six streets quite through the town. The Piazza is beautified with the front of the Domo church, divers statues and an obelisk much gilded....This is at present esteemed one of the noblest fortifications in Europe begun by the Venetians 1594, and is a

¹ J. Bleau, *Nouveau Théâtre d'Italie* (1724), Plan xxxviii.

² *Brief Account of some travels in divers parts of Europe* (1685), 84.

notable bulwark of their State and Italy, for this way the Huns and barbarous nations passed into Italy."

The radiating plan appears thus to have been invented with a view to the practical convenience for defence, and the same general design was adopted at Charleroi in 1666. It is rare in the Old World, and the most magnificent example of it is found in the streets which radiate from the Capitol at Washington, but it was not a wholly new creation there. Wren had recognised its suitability for the purposes of civic life and it came to be an important element in his design for rebuilding London. It seems not impossible that the radiating plan, which was adopted for Annapolis¹ and which gives a unique character to the city of Washington, may have reached America through the tradition of Wren's work rather than through any other channel.

¹ The influence of Wren on the plan of Annapolis, and on the design of the State House there, is discussed by Mr Frank B. Mayer in his *Handbook of Annapolis*, 1888 (Anne Arundel Historical Society).

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC BUILDINGS¹

(i) *Monuments of Civic Patriotism in England.*

Owing to the increase of national consciousness and imperialist sentiment, civic patriotism is comparatively unimportant in modern England, but the monuments which remain testify to the strength of this feeling in mediaeval times and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An extraordinary number of beautiful buildings were erected for municipal purposes of different kinds during the Middle Ages; and many of them still remain to help us to realise what a variety of duties were undertaken by public authority, and how as time passed and towns grew in importance there was necessarily a differentiation of function and a change in the character of public

¹ Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

edifices. There are English towns in which one building served for all the requirements of municipal and commercial life; while there are other places where special structures were reared for the purposes of trade, and these had nothing to do with the administration of justice or the maintenance of order.

The Guild Hall of Much Wenlock still suffices for public requirements of many kinds: it has a long history, as the stone work and some of the wood work probably date from the fifteenth or the latter part of the fourteenth century, though a large part of the present building was reconstructed in 1577. It comprises a market hall and a prison, the Court House and a Mayor's parlour; it provides, in one picturesque wooden building, accommodation for everything that is needed for the life of the town. On the level of the street there is an open arcade, where the market is held; and women, who bring in baskets of eggs or poultry for sale, can sit with some shelter from the weather. There is a small prison built of massive stone at one end of the arcade, and one of the wooden uprights has been used as a whipping post. The Court House is entered by a flight of steps at the opposite end of the building from the prison; it is a beautifully furnished room, with an entrance into the Mayor's

parlour which stands above the prison¹. This public building, which subserved so many purposes, seems to represent the primitive Guild Hall or Town Hall²; and when we remember how much English municipal life was affected by continental influence it is not surprising there are analogies which suggest that this type of public building was not a native creation. Colonnaded market-places had been a familiar feature throughout the Roman Empire, but there is no reason to believe that any of them had survived in Britain. The suggestion of this type of building probably came from some part of the Empire where city life had not been interrupted³. It would be natural enough that, when towns were being laid out in accordance with a recognised scheme of town planning, public buildings should also be copied on English soil.

¹ The court-room contains an instrument of punishment which has fallen into desuetude, the stocks: the set at Much Wenlock are of an unusual type as they are set on wheels so that the delinquent could be dragged round the town.

² The Town Hall built at Bridgnorth, in 1650, was apparently intended to serve both for the magistrates and for market purposes. So too the Guild Hall at Bath (1625). The open loggia was a favourite feature with Inigo Jones and other seventeenth century architects.

³ The ground-plan of the Much Wenlock Town Hall is very similar indeed to that of the Palace of the Podesta at Orvieto, a beautiful stone building which was erected in the twelfth century. Verdier et Cattois, *Architecture civile et domestique au moyen âge*, I. 57.

Before the seventeenth century, the differentiation of function had gone a considerable way and separate buildings were provided for different civic purposes. It is very common to find the Court-house, with the prison beneath, as a building by itself; while other provision was made for the holding of the market. There is an excellent example at Winchelsea in Sussex of a Court House with the prison beneath, as well as at Totnes in Devonshire and Great Yarmouth. In many cases, however, other provision was made for the safety of the prisoners and they might be confined in a gate-house, like that which formerly stood on Bedford Bridge and was associated with the name of John Bunyan: the civic institutions for enforcing law and order were generally housed apart from the market shelter with which they had been so closely associated at Much Wenlock.

The importance of civic patriotism in supervising and controlling commercial transactions within the town had been shown in the laying out of market-places, and it is still further exemplified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the elaboration of the buildings which were provided in connection with markets. The market cross was the centre round which the trade of the town was conducted, and it also was a position from which

public announcements and proclamations were read. The Carlisle cross (1682), though ornamented, retains the character of a shaft standing on steps; but in other places the cross expanded so as to provide a shelter for the butter-women and their wares. At Mildenhall in Suffolk, there is a wooden penthouse round the cross, while similar structures at Shepton Mallet and at Cheddar are built of stone. Stone shelters were occasionally elaborated into beautiful crosses of which examples may be seen at Salisbury (1365) and Chichester (1500). In some cases, it was found convenient to make a room above the shelter; to this access could be obtained by a spiral staircase, or else by a ladder¹. Wooden buildings of this type appear to have been not uncommon in former days², and one of them remains at Wymondham in Norfolk³. The old stone cross at York was raised on five steps; and a penthouse,

¹ The cross at North Walsham, which dates from the time of Edward VI, has an upper storey which is only accessible by ladder.

² These crosses have been replaced by buildings in stone or brick at Barnard Castle, and at Burwell, Lincs.

³ The cross at Dunster has dormer windows in the roof of the shelter, but there is no attic chamber. This cross was frequented by women who sold yarn to travelling merchants. The wooden building at Ledbury dates from the end of the fifteenth century; it has an open loggia below; and the upper storey, which could only be entered by means of a ladder, was used as a wool store. The present spiral staircase was added in 1860.

resting on eight wooden pillars, had been erected round it: this was removed, however, and a market house with a loggia below and a hall above was built in 1705¹. About the same time, what must apparently have been the most remarkable of all the English market crosses, was built at Wakefield. The upper storey contained a large room with a cupola, and was lighted by a lantern; it stood on eight Doric columns and was entered by a spiral staircase, while the loggia below served as a market shelter². Other market houses, however, were erected quite independently of the market cross. The spacious market house at Shrewsbury (1596) provided for a corn market in the open space below, and the cloth market was held in the hall above³.

The Pilgrim Fathers were familiar with the civic patriotism of Englishmen in the seventeenth century and with the beautiful buildings which were being erected at public expense or by the munificence of private citizens⁴ for civic institutions; but they had

¹ Drake, *Eboracum*, 324. ² Allen, *County of York*, III. 278.

³ T. Phillips, *Shrewsbury* (1779), 133, 134. The old Buttercross was removed in 1705; and a large stone arcade was built on its site. A reservoir in connection with the water supply was subsequently constructed as an upper storey.

⁴ The Town Hall at Rothwell was built by Sir T. Tresham. The inscription on the fragments of the market cross at Ipswich shows that the executors of Benjamin Osbourne who intended to leave £50 for the restoration of the cross could only pay £44.

little opportunity to transplant this habit of mind to their new homes; similar sentiment was a later development in America. There were few if any markets and there was little occasion for market crosses or market shelters or market houses¹. It was hardly to be expected that any building of the type of Shrewsbury market house should be erected in the New World, and it is remarkable that the building in Boston which was intended for quite different purposes should have a similar character. The old State House, which was built in 1748 as a Government Office for conducting the business of the Province, is curiously similar, both in its position and arrangement, to an English market house. There is, indeed, no loggia that could be used as a market shelter, but the spiral staircase and the lantern are features which recall an English market house. In erecting a building for the government of the province, the authorities fell back on a model which had been gradually developed from a market cross. As it stands it is unique, and it has an added interest when we recognise the stages in the evolution of the type it represents.

¹ It is said that there is a market house at Shepperton in Virginia. There was at one time a clerk of the market at Malden, Mass. (Corey, *History of Malden*, 353).

(ii) *Meeting Houses.*

The public buildings in New England in the early colonial days were adapted to the requirements of rural communities, rather than modelled on civic buildings in England. The principal public building in a New England town was the Meeting House, which was available for town assemblies, either for religious or secular purposes. The town church, as it appears in New England, had very little resemblance to the parish churches which remain as monuments of the devotion and art of the Middle Ages. But many steps of the transition to churches of a different character had already been taken in England itself. Perpendicular churches are very spacious, with windows which were designed for the display of magnificent stained glass, and lent themselves readily to be adapted to preaching houses. A good example of the seventeenth century conception of a dignified church is to be seen at Derry¹. The city of London was responsible for carrying out this scheme of plantation handsomely; the Cathedral which was added to the thirteenth century tower was built in 1628; the peal of bells was presented by Charles I at the request of Archbishop Laud. This noble building has neither aisles

¹ Samson, *Derry*, 199.

nor transepts, but forms a fine hall capable of containing a large congregation. Preaching had come to have a great importance as an element in public worship; and no seventeenth century church would have been generally approved unless it served conveniently as a "preaching auditory¹." This object was kept in view by Cromwell's Major General in building a church at Berwick upon Tweed as well as by Wren in replacing the churches which had been destroyed by the Fire. The builders of New England meeting houses did not make a new departure of their own, but merely followed suit. The old New England churches are for the most part Georgian, and are closely similar to those which were being erected in England during the same period. They testify to the continuous influence which the Mother Country exercised on the arts of life in the colonies.

The meeting house was a part of the heritage derived from England, not only in its structural character, but in the variety of the purposes for which it was employed. The New England towns, in using their churches for secular meetings, were perpetuating a practice which had long been established in England.

¹ J. Graunt, *Observations on Bills of Mortality*, p. 78 in Hull's *Economic Writings of Sir W. Petty*, II. 383.

“In Elizabethan England, the Church of each parish was not only its place of worship but also the seat and centre for the transaction of all business concerning the parish¹.” Public announcements were made there in regard to the perambulations of the parish, the repair of the highways and the straying of beasts², and vestries were held for the passing of accounts and the making of rates. In the attempts to enforce ecclesiastical discipline “the Church was turned for the time being into a small Police Court where all the parish scandal was carefully gone over and ventilated³.”

There was very little feeling that a church was a sacred place, and that behaviour in it should be reverent. During Elizabeth's visit to the University of Cambridge, the academic exercises were held in Great St Mary's Church, and the Queen was much interested in a disputation among members of the medical faculty, when Dr Lorkin defended the thesis “Coenandum liberalius, quam prandendum.” A desire had been long cherished to provide a separate

¹ S. L. Ware, *Elizabethan Parish*, in Johns Hopkins Historical Studies, Series xxvi. 314.

² In France and among the French in Illinois the assemblies which regulated the management of pasturage were held at the church door after Mass. See C. W. Alvord, *Introduction to Collections of Illinois Historical Library*, II. p. xxii.

³ S. L. Ware, *op. cit.* 316.

building for the meetings of the members of the Senate and for academic functions; but this was not carried into effect till 1722¹. The Baptists of Providence in Rhode Island were only reverting in 1775 to the old Cambridge tradition when they built a church for the "Public Worship of Almighty God and also for holding Commencement in." These early meeting houses help us to remember that some of the practices of colonial life, which are incongruous to modern ideas, were really derived from England.

(iii) *Renaissance Architecture.*

There was no marked difference during the Middle Ages between the architectural styles that were employed for ecclesiastical and for secular purposes; no particular style had specially sacred associations. In the same way it may be said that there was very little distinction between public buildings and private houses. The same sort of structure which served for the requirements of a large household, was regarded as appropriate for official business. The ancient manor house at Great Boothby, and the so-called Pythagoras School at Cambridge, are very similar to the Town Hall which was built for the new Winchelsea which

¹ Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, III, 46.

Edward I founded in 1288. A similar parallelism can be found in Tudor times; the mansions which were built by country gentlemen had many features in common with the official residences of the mayors, and the halls where the civic fathers exercised hospitality¹. In the eighteenth century, the features which were employed by architects to give dignity and importance to great private houses, were also available for public buildings intended for civic purposes.

The end of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries have been rendered famous in the history of English Architecture by the mansions which were erected, though these houses do not eclipse the magnificence of the Tudor Period. Inigo Jones, Wren and their imitators, have left striking monuments in every part of the country. The pages of

¹ In Scotland where the gentry continued to build fortified houses for themselves, the municipal buildings long retained something of the character of a peel-tower as in the Canongate Tolbooth (1591). Then a bell-tower, or steeple, which is an ordinary adjunct to a Scottish Town Hall, was required in a state of society where it was often necessary to summon the townsmen for the common defence (MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, v. 98). There are continental analogies not only for the Town Hall with an open arcade, but also for the fortified type. The Palazzo Vecchio at Florence is an early example. F. Bluntschli, *Gebäude für Verwaltung*, etc. (1887), p. 6 in Durm, *Handbuch der Architectur*, IV.

Vitruvius Britannicus record the best examples of domestic architecture during this period, and the work was carried on through the eighteenth century by the Adam family. This remarkable era was reflected in the contemporary building in the American colonies when life had so far developed that it was possible to erect dignified houses for private residence and for public purposes. The beautiful colonial houses recall features that were novel and attractive in Renaissance work in England, especially in the prominence that has been given to the portico. There are, however, other features of special interest, which occur on both sides of the Atlantic, to which it is worth while to call special attention.

The dome, or cupola as it used to be called, was alien to Gothic architecture and had no place in the tradition of Western Christendom; but the glory of S. Sophia compelled admiration, and that church set a type which was imitated both in the East and the West. It was accepted as a model by the architects of the Italian Renaissance, and excited great admiration when Wren introduced it in the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral. Cupolas had been already employed in domestic architecture, as they form the crowning ornaments of Longleat

(1568), and were also used in the Palace at Greenwich which was begun for Charles II, and was subsequently completed under William and Mary¹ as a hospital for seamen. A large single dome was the principal feature in the front of Castle Howard which was designed by Vanbrugh for the third Earl of Carlisle in 1702. So much intercourse was carried on between the southern plantations and the Mother Country in regard to building operations², that there is every probability in the tradition that the Ridgely House (1784) at Hampton in Maryland, with its striking dome, was copied from Castle Howard³; though this may have been suggested by the dome in the design of the State House at Annapolis (1777). After that time the dome came to be commonly accepted as a prominent feature in public buildings; it was adopted by Jefferson in the University of Virginia; and since it has been used with such excellent effect at Boston and in the Capitol at Washington, it has come to be

¹ Wren, *Parentalia*, 329.

² English bricks were imported for several colonial houses; the Court House at Williamsburg was designed by Wren, and Claremont in Surrey was copied at Claremont in Virginia.

³ Captain Charles Ridgely who built the house at Hampton was connected with the Howards through his mother, Rachel Howard, and greatly admired Castle Howard which he visited about 1760.

regarded as specially appropriate to a State House.

Castle Howard is of interest not only because of the cupola, but owing to its ground plan: there were two wings flanking the front and connected with the main building by colonnades. This scheme for the arrangement of a country house was found to be highly convenient, and was adopted in many mansions which did not make pretensions to magnificence. It was recommended by Ware¹ for any gentleman who desired to build for "convenience more than magnificence," and to have the house "handsome though not pompous." The plan seems to have met the requirements of many of the Scottish gentry; it had been already employed by Sir William Bruce at Kinross House (1685), and in quite a number of the designs which he made for houses in all parts of Scotland, William Adam, the father of the four more celebrated brothers, arranged the house and offices on these lines². This plan for a country residence was widely known, and it is

¹ Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), 406.

² W. Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, Plates D, 32, 39, 63, 86, 88, 95, 112, 114, 116, 125, 139, 143, 159. This list is not by any means exhaustive of the examples of this model of country house in Scotland. Airds House in Appin, according to a monument in Lismore graveyard, was built by Robert Ker, mason, who died in 1738. Unfortunately the front has recently been rebuilt.

represented in Virginia by the house which Washington built at Mount Vernon; where, as is commonly said, the wings formed convenient domestic offices for the slaves.

(iv) *The Stars and Stripes.*

So much of the argument as to historical connections in the preceding paragraph rests on the resemblances, that it is worth while to add a warning that such evidence, however suggestive it may be, can never be conclusive; and that there is constant need to guard against placing too much reliance upon a likeness as proving an actual connection. The name of Washington supplies a case in point. It is commonly said that the United States flag was derived from the shield of the Washington family, which certainly contains stars and stripes. This is shown in a monument in Little St Mary's Church at Cambridge¹; the field is argent; there are three mullets gules, or five-pointed stars, in chief, and three bars azure; and there is a superficial resemblance to the

¹ This was erected to the memory of Godfrey Washington, a fellow of Peterhouse who died in 1729. Mr Hulme (*Flags of the World*, 91) blazons the arms of Washington's great-great-grandfather, on a brass in Sulgrave Church, Northampton, as a white shield having two horizontal red bars and above these a row of three red stars. Washington's book plate has been reproduced by Mr P. L. Ford, *The True George Washington*, 204.

American flag though there are also differences in the tinctures and position of the bars which should not be ignored. There is besides evidence of a direct connection which seems to set at rest any doubts that might be raised. We have an account of the occasion when the first order was given for the making of the Stars and Stripes; and this seems to show that Washington took a personal part in designing the flag. "A committee of congress accompanied by General Washington in June 1776 called upon Mrs Ross who was an upholsterer, and engaged her to make the flag from a rough drawing, which at her suggestion was redrawn by General Washington in her back parlour¹." Apparently, in his first sketch, Washington had drawn six-pointed stars, but he accepted Mrs Ross' suggestion that a five-pointed star would be better². It is of course possible that Mrs Ross was acquainted with the General's shield³, or wished to make the stars on the flag five-pointed out of compliment

¹ Preble, *History of the Flag of the United States of America*, 266.

² Preble, *op. cit.* 265.

³ Though Washington used his shield in his book plate, it may be doubted whether his coat of arms was familiar to his friends. The water mark of the writing paper, manufactured for him, sheets of which are preserved in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, R.I., gives his name and his crest; but the shield is a fancy design and not that of the Washington family.

to him. But, even though it may be possible that the selection of stars¹ in the canton of the United States flag was connected with the Washington mullets, there is no reason for maintaining that the three bars were reproduced in the thirteen stripes. The United States flag differs from the Washington shield both in the arrangement of colour² and in the number of the stripes; and the thirteen red and white stripes had been already adopted for the United Colonies, in what was known as the Revolutionary flag, which was first hoisted at Boston on January 2, 1776; all that was done six months later was to displace the Union Jack which was the canton in the Revolutionary flag and to substitute the stars instead. The conjunction of mullets with bars in Washington's shield seems to have nothing to do with the association of stars with stripes on the American flag.

There is no difficulty in identifying the source from which the stripes were really derived. A

¹ The emblem which was most favoured by the colonists seems to have been the rattle-snake, which was commended for its vigilance, for its character in never beginning an attack and never surrendering, and for generosity in giving notice with her rattle and warning her enemies against treading on her. *Pennsylvania Journal*, 27 Dec. 1775. Quoted by Preble, *op. cit.* 214.

² Hulme, *op. cit.* 90.

committee, consisting of Dr Franklin, Mr Lynch and Mr Harrison, had been appointed at Boston to confer with General Washington, in the camp at Cambridge, as to the best means of continuing and supporting a continental army¹, and they appear to have also decided upon a flag for the cruisers which were being fitted out for the defence and protection of the United Colonies². Curiously enough they determined to adopt, as their own, the flag which was already well known as the flag of the East India Company—a red ensign with six white stripes³. This device would not seem inappropriate, as the militant colonists were still prepared to maintain that they were loyal to the King—though called upon to protest against his agents and ministers. None of these agents had been more offensive than the East India Company, by whom the chests of tea had been imported into Boston harbour⁴. Lord North⁵ had had an ingenious scheme for at once enabling the East India Company to maintain their monopoly against illicit importation and at the same time to avoid the necessity of passing the tea through the Customs at Boston. As Franklin

¹ Franklin, *Works*. Ed. J. Spark, I. 400.

² Preble, *op. cit.* 211.

³ *Ibid.* *op. cit.* 221. Hulme, *op. cit.* Plate VII. fig. 57.

⁴ R. Frothingham, *Rise of Republic of United States*, 298.

⁵ *Parl. Hist.* xvii. 841 (27 April 1773).

wrote from London¹, "It was thought at the beginning of the session that the duty on tea would be taken off. But now the wise scheme is to take off so much duty here (London) as to make tea cheaper in America than foreigners can supply us, and to confine the duty there to keep up the exercise of the right." As Lord Chatham complained, the ministry renewed their intention to tax the colonies "under the pretence of serving the East India Company" and so dressed up "taxation, that father of American sedition, in the robes of an East India Director²." The "Mohawks" by raiding the East India Company's ships in Boston harbour had not only escaped "the trivial but tyrannous tax of three pence on the pound" but had flouted the great trading company, and they might be proud to flaunt the company's flag as a memento of that successful exploit³.

Events moved apace, however, and before Jan. 2, 1776, when the revolutionary flag was first displayed over the Continental Camp in Cambridge, the colonists found themselves engaged in undoubted rebellion against the King. The arrival of the news

¹ June 4, 1773. *Works*, ed. Spark, viii. 48.

² *Parl. Hist.* xvii. 1355 (27 May 1774).

³ According to tradition the Black Prince adopted the badge of the King of Bohemia after Crécy.

as to the King's Speech on October 26, 1775, settled the matter; and the new flag was hoisted as a sign of defiance. Not unnaturally this display of the well known East India Company's flag was misinterpreted by the Royalists at Boston, and taken as "a token of the deep impression the speech had made and a sign of submission¹." No immediate action was taken to prevent the repetition of such mistakes, but six months later it was felt desirable to have a flag which should be really distinctive; this was effected by the simple expedient of displacing the Union Jack in the canton and substituting the Stars. The tradition as to the connection of the design with Washington personally seems to have a solid foundation in fact, but his coat of arms does not suffice to explain the conjunction of the different elements in the United States flag.

¹ Washington writing to J. Reed, 4 January 1776. Preble, *op. cit.* 218.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLLEGE COURSE¹

(i) *Emmanuel and Harvard.*

The similarity of institutions and habits in the Mother Country and in the Colonies renders it highly probable that an English influence was at work, but in any instances which can be specified as showing conscious imitation we may have complete confidence that we have come upon a real link of connection. The Honourable Artillery Company furnishes a case in point; it had already existed in London for a century, when some members, who had emigrated to Massachusetts, decided to organise a branch in the New World. The Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston was founded in 1638; and the tie of kinship, which combines the two Companies together, is recognised on both sides of the Atlantic. Conscious imitation was found, not only with regard to the military

¹ Sesquicentennial Anniversary of Brown University, Providence, R.I.

training of citizens, but in higher education for civil life as well; it is illustrated in the history of the Universities of America. Till the War of Independence, there were many men in the colonies who were conscious of their own debt to English or Scottish colleges and who were anxious to reproduce them, with suitable modifications, in the land of their adoption. John Harvard, in making provision for the College which bears his name, might have used the words of Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel, who claimed that "he had set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof¹." John Harvard was anxious that the young men of the Bay State should have the opportunity of coming under influences similar to those which he had prized in his Cambridge days. Emmanuel College was a centre of Puritan teaching; and in Harvard's time it had been one of the foremost academic institutions of the day; no less than eleven of the seventeen Heads of Colleges during the Commonwealth Period came from its walls; to Fuller it seemed to overshadow all the University². Emmanuel had been founded with the special object of providing men for the ministry; and pains had

¹ Mullinger, *History of the University of Cambridge*, II. 312.

² Mullinger, *ibid.* II. 314.

been taken in framing the Statutes to secure that graduates who had qualified as Doctors of Divinity should not be content to lead an academic life, but should go out into the world as learned ministers. John Harvard was in complete sympathy with the spirit of his own College, and he endeavoured to transplant the methods of instruction by which his mind had been disciplined. The tutorial system of the colleges dominated English Academic life in the seventeenth century; the public exercises in the University had fallen into discredit, especially in the Divinity Faculty, where the discussion of burning questions was formal and pedantic. King Henry VIII had attempted to revive professorial teaching; but the public lectures of the Regius Professors had not proved to be an effective substitute for intimate personal intercourse with a tutor, who was devoting himself to the intellectual and religious training of the boys entrusted to his charge. Strict discipline over all the habits of life, with facilities for reading and daily association with men of earnest piety and scholarly mind, had been the characteristic training at Emmanuel; and this was the system which Harvard desired to transplant when he founded a college in a new Cambridge¹.

¹ The account which Pierce has preserved of the schedules of subjects for the various years at Harvard College in 1734

In the eighteenth century however, this Puritan College in Massachusetts was no longer adequate for the requirements of the community in which it was established. No provision had been made for the faculties of Law and Medicine; and the literary course did not seem to be well adapted for those who desired to pursue such studies. Various changes, which relaxed the old discipline, and interfered with the old routine, were introduced at Harvard, in spite of the protests of those who were attached to the old system of training through strict discipline and personal influence. In 1701 Mather and his friends were enabled, by Eli Yale's munificence, to establish a new college, in which the old academic tradition could be more carefully preserved, at New Haven in Connecticut. This new foundation was not the outcome of any desire to make a fresh departure in academic life; it was due to a conservative reaction, and shows the unwillingness of the men of New England to break away from the methods of teaching and organisation which had prevailed at Emmanuel in the seventeenth century. The old tradition was an important element in academic life in the New World, and has left its

shows that the Emmanuel tradition was being kept up. Pierce, *History of Harvard*, Appendix 1. pp. 4 and 6 and Appendix xx. pp. 2 and 6.

mark in the functions discharged by disciplinary officers, and in the time devoted to recitations. Though the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge with their tutorial system have long ceased to be regarded in America as models to be consciously imitated, there seems to be a movement in favour of strengthening this element in college life both at Harvard and Princeton.

(ii) *The Scottish Universities.*

There were fresh attempts about the middle of the eighteenth century in different States to make better provision for academic education, but those who were trying to devise a suitable course of study no longer looked for guidance to England. They had out-lived the English college as transplanted to American soil; and the English Universities had entered on a period of stagnation; they were making no new developments, and were in many ways unsuited to the conditions of colonial life. On the other hand the Scottish Universities were beginning to take a lead in many departments. David Gregory was a pioneer in reforming the study of Mathematics¹.

¹ "He had already caused several of his scholars to keep Acts as we call them, upon several branches of the Newtonian philosophy; while we at Cambridge, poor wretches, were ignominiously studying the fictitious hypotheses of the Cartesians." Whiston quoted by Grant, *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, II. 297.

The lectures which Hugh Blair delivered as Professor of Rhetoric in Edinburgh long held their place as a textbook. Thomas Reid's *System of Philosophy* continued to be the bulwark of orthodoxy; and Adam Smith, as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, gave us the first scientific exposition of Political Economy. That such men studied and worked in Scottish Universities is a sufficient testimony to the vigorous intellectual life of these institutions.

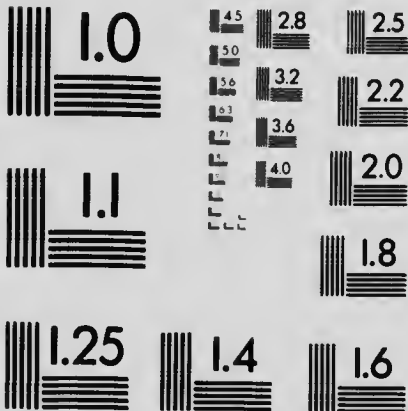
There was, moreover, another feature which would more especially commend them to colonists who were endeavouring to organise facilities for academic study. The Scottish Universities were organised with careful consideration for the requirements of the community as a whole, and the ecclesiastical element, though important, was subordinate. This was especially true of Edinburgh University, which had been from the first closely interconnected with the civil life of the town. The Lord Provost and Town Council appear to have taken the initiative in the establishment and endowment of this seat of learning¹, and they obtained complete responsibility for its management in the Charter given by King James VI in 1582. They had not only the

¹ Grant, *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, 1. 99.



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management of the funds, but of the staff; they had to make appointments of Regents and Professors, and they intervened again and again to decide purely academical matters, such as the course of studies which should be pursued. The constitution of the pre-Reformation Scottish Colleges was also modified so as to give greater prominence to civil authorities.

Academic life in Edinburgh had little of the distinctive feature of a college. The students had no common dining hall¹; and, from the first, there was a large proportion of out-college students, who resided under parental authority at home, or, in the case of students from the country, with householders whom their parents trusted. College discipline was supplementary to that of home and not a substitute for it. The close supervision and frequent intercourse, which were the main features of the tutorial system, never took root in Edinburgh. The work of the Regents was that of instructors, who conducted their pupils through all the different subjects of their course and who acted as lecturers rather than personal guides, philosophers and friends.

There was another feature which characterised the Scottish Universities; the formal and systematic study of English was regarded as important. After

¹ Grant, *op. cit.* 1. 140.

the Union, the Scots looked to England, and the colonies which England had planted, as a field for the exercise of their talents; they recognised that they would be handicapped, if they spoke and wrote in a northern dialect, and it was important that they should have command of the best models of English. A great deal of attention was given to the cultivation of English style by Scotsmen in the early part of the eighteenth century¹; and, under the influence of Lord Kames, systematic instruction in taste and composition by Adam Smith was provided at Edinburgh in 1748². A regular professorship was founded in 1762. The study of the English language, together with the cultivation of oratory based on English models, in Scotland was in marked contrast with the neglect in English Universities, but the attention given to this subject is in accordance with the practice which has been maintained in the colleges in the American colonies.

A great step in academic progress had been taken by the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1708,

¹ Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, I. 4.

² Grant, *op. cit.* I. 276. It is noticeable however that as late as 1704 the Town Council, in laying down principles of College discipline, had insisted that all students were obliged to speak in Latin, and those who spoke English in the College were liable to be fined. Bower, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, II. 37.

when they approved of the scheme of reform which was advocated by William Carstares. Appointments were henceforth to be made to professorships of one particular subject, so that the students had the opportunity of attending the instruction of men, who had each specialised in his own subject, instead of receiving their instruction in all subjects from the same Regent. The change was carried out by relieving each of the Regents of all responsibility for certain subjects, and allowing him to concentrate on a branch of study in which he was personally interested. This important improvement had already been adopted in Holland, and it gave facilities for the constant enlargement of the scope of academic studies. This change of system almost necessarily involved the laying down of a definite curriculum of study, as it seemed desirable to decide the order in which students should attend the lectures of the different professors. The principles on which this scheme was founded are explained in a *Minute of the Town Council* of 16th Jan.¹ The first year was

¹ Bower, II. 70-72. "The council taking to their consideration what may be the most proper methods for advancing of learning in their own college of Edinburgh, have agreed upon the following articles as a rule of teaching in the said college:—*Primo*, That all the parts of philosophy be taught in two years, as they are in the most famous universities abroad. *Secundo*, That, as a consequence of this article, there be but two philosophy classes in the college, to

mainly occupied with Latin, the second with Greek, the third with Logic and the last with Natural Philosophy; but there were also professorships of Mathematics and Moral Philosophy in connection with the Arts Course; while provision had also been made for the Faculties of Divinity, Medicine and Law.

Sir Robert Sibbald, who had succeeded in securing the royal approval for the organisation

be taught by two of the four present professors of philosophy. *Tertio*, That, in the first of these classes, the students be taught logic and metaphysics; and in the last, a compend of ethics and natural philosophy. *Quarto*, Because there are many useful things belonging to the pneumatics and moral philosophy, which the two professors, in the present method of teaching classes, cannot overtake, therefore it is proposed that one of the two remaining professors shall be appointed to teach those two parts of philosophy more fully, at such times as the students are not obliged to be in their classes; and because he has not the charge of a class, he may have public lessons of philosophy in the common hall, where all the students may be present, at such times as shall be most convenient. *Quinto*, That there shall be a fixed professor of Greek; but so that neither he nor his successors shall, upon any pretence whatsoever, endeavour to hinder the admission of students into the philosophy classes in the usual manner, although they have not been taught Greek by him. *Sexto*. And, in regard the present professors have given proof of their qualifications in all the parts both of philosophy and Greek, therefore, when any of these four professors places become vacant, the remaining professors of these now in places, alternately shall have the offer of the vacancy according to their standing; and, when one chooses it, the rest shall, in the like manner, be allowed to succeed him...."

of a college of physicians in Edinburgh (1681) was appointed in 1685 by the Town Council to be the first professor of Physic; and he secured a status for those practitioners who had studied medicine, and were not mere quacks. The lack of opportunity for prosecuting the study of law at home had been severely felt by Scotsmen, and they had been forced to go for instruction in the Civil Law to Leyden or Utrecht. To remedy this defect, Alexander Cunningham was appointed professor of the Civil Law in Scotland by Parliament in 1698; but he mainly devoted himself to research and publication, and the Town Council established a teaching professorship of Civil Law at Edinburgh in 1710. Edinburgh University, as reformed by the Town Council on the advice of William Carstares, set an example which the other Scottish Universities adopted in turn—Glasgow in 1727, St Andrews in 1747 and Aberdeen in 1754. This reformed and vigorous academic life, north of the Tweed, could not fail to attract the attention of those who were desirous of promoting higher education in the American colonies.

(iii) *Princeton and Edinburgh.*

The main lines of academic instruction remained unaltered in Scottish Universities from 1708 till 1893, though some additional subjects had been introduced. The curriculum had become very rigid at that time, and it was in many ways similar in type to the college course which had been found suitable for American requirements. But too much stress must not be laid on mere likeness; the question arises whether this resemblance is merely accidental, or whether there are real links of connection between the academic life of Scotland and that of America. It is of course possible that the family likeness is due to a common ancestry, and that the American like the Scottish College Course was derived directly from Holland. We may remember, however, that the academic intercourse between Scotland and Holland was chiefly due to the necessity of studying the Civil Law which was administered in both countries, and that there was no similar reason for English colonists to resort to Leyden. There is no evidence of much academic intercourse between the colonies and Holland in the middle of the eighteenth century; and Princeton, the third great American College, was founded in a region where there was no direct connection with Holland; while the ties

with Scotland were close and intimate. A large number of Scottish Presbyterians had settled in New Jersey, and they took an active part in inducing the State to found the College at Princeton in 1746. This was primarily a Presbyterian institution, though its doors were open to the young men of other denominations, who desired to be trained for the ministry, and Princeton has exercised a very wide influence on academic life in the United States. The first off-shoot from the New Jersey College was due to the desire of the Baptists to obtain a better status than they had been able to secure at Princeton. When the State of Rhode Island established the college, which is now known as Brown University, the conditions under which the Scottish Universities had prospered appear to have been borne in mind, and the importance of civil, as compared with ecclesiastical authority, is symbolised by the prominent place which the Sheriff still takes in academic ceremonial of every kind.

Numbers of Scottish graduates migrated to America at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, and it seems highly probable that the experience and methods of the Scottish Universities should have been consciously taken into account. In the decade from 1670 to 1680

there was a large influx of Scottish Presbyterians from Ulster¹; and another body of religious refugees escaped from Scotland after the defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge (1679). This particular expedition was organised by William Dunlop², who continued to minister to the settlers after they reached Carolina, and who subsequently returned to Scotland and was appointed Principal of Glasgow University³. Not all the ministers who migrated with the Presbyterian refugees or followed them afterwards were men of such academic distinction, but, if they were as loyal to their native institutions as Scotsmen usually are, they may be credited with a wish to reproduce in the New World the system of training with which they were familiar at home. Two at least of those who took an active part in the establishment of the New College at Princeton were familiar with the Scottish system. Dr Tennant⁴, who was one of the prime movers in the establishment of Princeton, as well as Dr Witherspoon, who took an active part in its development, were graduates of Edinburgh, and thus we can point to a channel through which the Scottish methods of teaching may have found their way to American Colleges.

¹ Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, 115. ² *Ibid.* 127.

³ William Carstares who initiated the College Course at Edinburgh was his brother-in-law and cousin.

⁴ *Princeton Sesquicentennial volume*, 325.

The influence which Scotsmen have exercised on American institutions cannot be easily gauged. The Scots in the eighteenth century failed to found any colony which was a reproduction of the Scottish polity¹. The Darien colony was a disastrous failure; and Scotland was more concerned in the eighteenth century with consolidating her own national life, than with attempting national expansion.

There are many areas, like the Huron tract in Canada, and Dunedin in New Zealand, where Scottish settlers are numerous; but they have not established separate polities, with distinctive institutions, in the nineteenth century; and they had no opportunity of doing so before. The framework of society had been transplanted from England to America and the Scots fitted themselves into it as best they could. The pride of ancestry in New England has taken the form of tracing descent from the Pilgrim Fathers and from families in Devonshire and the Eastern Counties. The various colonies derived their religious character from different bodies of English Nonconformists, the Independents established themselves at Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Baptist imposed his principles on Rhode Island,

¹ The most successful attempts were in New Jersey and Carolina. Keith, *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland*, 131.

the Quaker presided over the development of Pennsylvania, while Roman Catholics found Maryland a congenial soil. It seems as if the Scot had had no footing in the New World, and that there was no basis from which he could play a part in moulding American civilisation. But though there was no local centre which was officially organised on Scottish lines the influence which has been exercised by Scotsmen, individually and personally, has been very real; especially as regards the religious history of the United States. It was from Scotland that Presbyterianism was transplanted, and it was through the energy of a Scotsman that Episcopalians were enabled to organise Episcopal government and to introduce a Prayer Book. It is at least interesting to speculate as to the extent of Scottish influence on the Colleges, where the ministers of all denominations were trained, and in which the intellectual life of the United States has been so deeply moulded.

If the founding of polities of their own were the only method by which an influence could be brought to bear on new countries and little developed lands, the smaller nations might fear that they were excluded from having any share in moulding the civilisation that is spreading through the world; but much of the progress of mankind may go on through personal action and not by the planting

of institutions. Science and Art are cosmopolitan; they may be encouraged and developed in one country rather than another, but the published results of progress in experimental knowledge become available for all. Officialism cannot monopolise them, and has not proved itself the most effective agent for their transmission. The people of a country which fails to found distant colonies are not thereby debarred from making important contributions to the moral, intellectual and material progress of every part of the world.

(iv) *Public Libraries.*

Scottish influence seems to have done much in moulding academic institutions in America; but the endeavour to organise public libraries, which are such a prominent feature in American civilisation, must be traced to a different source; they are a mark of the far reaching influence of the ecclesiastical revival which occurred at the close of the seventeenth century in England. Facilities for the educated reader are not so wholly modern as we are apt to suppose; the fifteenth century was a remarkable period in the history of libraries. Before the invention of printing, when books were few and precious, monasteries, cathedrals and secular institutions vied with one another in erecting libraries,

in stocking them with books, and in framing liberal regulations for making them useful to the public¹. These ancient collections were ruthlessly broken up and destroyed at the Reformation, but some attempt was made to diffuse the new teaching in England by encouraging people to read for themselves: the public had the opportunity of frequenting church in order to read the printed Bible; and other books, such as Foxe's *Martyrs*, Jewel's *Apology*, were occasionally available for the use of parishioners. Here and there benefactions were left to found parochial libraries, partly for the benefit of the incumbent, who might be too poor to buy books, and partly for the "edification of the common people²." These libraries were sufficiently important in the early eighteenth century to be made the subject of legislation and an act of parliament was passed for their better regulation and preservation³.

This system spread to the colonies. Dr Thomas Bray, who had been appointed commissary in Maryland by Bishop Compton of London, regarded parochial libraries as essential to his undertaking; he devoted much time to the collecting of books,

¹ J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, 245.

² H. Cheetham's Will, quoted by R. C. Christie, *Old Church Libraries of Lancashire*, 20.

³ 7 Anne, c. 14.

and took with him works worth £2400 when he sailed to the New World. He aimed at instituting lending libraries for the public at large, and he issued one or two publications in which he explained his project, and put forward a system of classifying the books. A network of libraries was established in Maryland, with Annapolis as the centre; and the system was extended to South Carolina¹, New York and other States; one of the libraries was planted in connection with King's Chapel at Boston. The movement continued to grow during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century; but as an adjunct to the Protestant Episcopal Church, it never attained a wide popularity; the arrangements for maintaining the libraries and purchasing additional books were inadequate; the scheme languished and became moribund before the Revolution. The pioneers of public libraries in the States were eager to diffuse religious knowledge, and progress became more rapid when the library movement was strong enough to stand upon its own feet. Its original connection with the English parochial system is all the more interesting, because that system had such a slight hold on the New World.

¹ The State Legislature passed in 1700 a law for the custody of the books at Charlestown. Steiner, *Dr T. Bray and his American Libraries in Am. Hist. Rev.* II. 70.

CHAPTER V

MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS¹

(i) *Patriarchal and Progressive Societies.*

The character of social duties, and the methods of discharging social responsibilities, differ greatly in a progressive as compared with a stationary state of society. This is the fundamental difference between the East and the West to-day, and it is also a contrast between Christendom, as it was in the Middle Ages, and Western Europe as we know it in modern times. Under a natural economy, such as obtained very generally in the Early Middle Ages, personal qualities were the main factor in the management of affairs of every kind. The firmness and kindliness, which are the abiding influence within the domestic circle, were brought into play on a large scale to maintain good order in monastic and manorial establishments; public and private affairs could not be distinguished or treated apart. Wise regulation and conscious dependence were the

¹ Massachusetts Technological Institute, Boston, Mass.

conditions of prosperity. A traditional system of common cultivation of the soil, and of providing maintenance for the labourers, was carried on for centuries, and it served its purpose in what was practically a stationary state of society. Mediaeval authorities endeavoured to secure that every man should have the necessities of life; but there was no attempt to distinguish the services of individuals and to give them comforts or luxuries according to their personal worth to the community. Roger Bacon, the greatest inventor and most advanced scientific man of the thirteenth century, had the necessities of life assigned him, and no more. The serf who ploughed the lord's domain had the means of securing the necessities of life and no more. The chief political problem of the day was that of maintaining such law and order that it should be possible for all to enjoy the means of subsistence assigned them; and the chief economic problem was that of organising administrative machinery to ensure that each individual should put in his fair share of work, and thus should prove himself to be worth his keep¹. The organisation of the monastery or of the manor was devoted to attempts to procure from all those who were labouring in the community enough work and sufficiently good work to enable

¹ Cunningham, *Christianity and Economic Science*, 27.

them to justify their position as members of the community. Similarly the whole of the gild organisation in mediaeval towns was devoted to insuring to each qualified craftsman his share in the industry of the town, and to seeing that he was so qualified that his work should be a credit to the town. It necessarily followed, from this system of organisation, that each centre of regulation should be self-centred, if not isolated, and that the threads which connected the different communities into one realm should be of the slightest.

The mediaeval system broke down after the national catastrophe known as the Black Death; so far as the management of land was concerned, it could no longer be maintained. The tyranny of custom in the cultivation of common fields and pasturage on common waste was proving extravagant, and the fertility of the soil was being exhausted. There were, besides, various causes at work which tended to disintegrate society, and which caused the labourers to revolt against conscious dependence on the manorial lords. The rural labourers demanded, in a time of great national distress, that the rates of wages should be substantially raised in accordance with the law of demand and supply, and refused to conform to the old system of regulation. They

eagerly asserted the claims of the individual to the personal reward which he himself earned, and unconsciously they introduced the conditions which were favourable to the growth of a progressive society.

It is not easy to gauge the precise gain and loss of this change, which marks the beginning of competition rates of wages for labour and of all the social problems which are still unsolved. It is difficult to say how far the pecuniary gain to the labourers was discounted at once by a rise of prices, and was lost in the following century, owing to the diminution and irregularity of employment. It seems doubtful whether there was any gain to the masses of the population, in the way of material comfort; but there was an increased sense of independence, and a consciousness of being more fairly treated. Moreover, the economic gain to society was enormous, as the change opened up all sorts of possibilities of improvement, through the scope that was now allowed to individual enterprise. But it is not obvious whether the new conditions were really beneficial to the masses of the peasantry, who were set free from customary obligations, but their customary privileges were endangered. They were set free from dependence on authority, of which they were conscious and which was irritating

and galling; but they came to be directly exposed to the play of economic forces of which they were for the most part unconscious, and to suffering which appeared inexplicable. To the energetic man it was an immense advantage to enjoy more freedom and to have his claims to be paid, according to the worth of his own work, recognised. Since that time, a new method of applying the principle of justice has dominated social arrangements, and society encourages a man to expect to receive the worth of that which he himself contributes to the wealth of society, instead of endeavouring to force him to produce a sufficient equivalent for his maintenance.

Among men of the English race it would be generally agreed that the transition from a stationary to a progressive society has been beneficial, not only to the community as a whole, but to a very large proportion of the men and women who compose society. It may be doubted if there is any class whose standard of material comfort has gone down since the Middle Ages, and multitudes now enjoy comforts and luxuries which were unattainable, even by the rich, in former times. But we need not forget that there has always been incidental suffering in connection with material progress; and it is quite likely that some tribes and peoples are as

happy in a condition of dependence, and in a stationary state, as they would be if opportunities of progress were open to them; indeed some of them may be at their best economically in such conditions. It is not quite clear that all the races of mankind are fitted for free institutions or ready to adapt themselves to a progressive society. The question whether economic independence for individuals should be established throughout the whole area of the United States was the underlying issue in the Civil War; history repeated itself but with a difference. In England the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was a deliberate rising to secure economic independence; in America the North regarded economic independence as a boon which the South ought to be compelled to accept. Serfdom had not been entirely extinguished in England at the time when Virginia was planted, and the Englishman who settled there found it convenient to transplant manorial institutions. In a southern soil, with facilities for procuring imported labour, there was a reversion to an old type of social organisation, and it was reproduced in a very stringent form. The patriarchal system of responsibility for the maintenance of individuals and of compulsion to make them earn the worth of their keep, was regarded by southern gentlemen as the only possible method on which the material

prosperity of the Southern States could be maintained, and as the system in which the negro showed himself at his best. In England and America alike, there was an appeal to force in order to break down the old system; but, as we look back, we may realise how little force can do in the way of reconstruction, and how much time is required to enable a new order to establish itself.

The two centuries which succeeded the Black Death were a period of transition when the old order was breaking up in England, and modern society was beginning to take shape; it was only gradually that modern problems emerged into clear light; but from the time of Elizabeth onwards there have been successive efforts to deal with them. An attempt even to state them shows how complex modern life has become. There is on the one hand the conflict between the interests of localities and the welfare of the realm as a whole; in mediaeval times, it seemed natural and right that the interests of the locality should be the primary consideration, for there was difficulty in grasping the conception of the realm as a whole and in treating it as a worthy object to which local interests ought to be subordinated. There was need not only for the growth of common sentiment throughout the whole

community, but also for recognising the solidarity of interests throughout the realm, and the fact that localities would benefit indirectly and in the long run, by co-operating for the common weal.

Similarly in the large territorial areas of a modern country there is a conflict between the interest of the individuals and the interest of the State: the national life is longer than the life of the individual, and the present generation will not enjoy the benefit of any sacrifices that are made now, for the sake of the future: when we review a long period of time, individual welfare and national prosperity are seen not to be opposed to one another; but from moment to moment they fall apart. Individual loss of some kind is almost an inevitable incident in national economic progress. The introduction of new machinery is at first an injury to certain classes of labourers, even though it be a gain to the community as a whole. With the constant change in the organisation of production, the worth of each individual's contribution to the work of the world varies from time to time; we need not expect to find a benefit to society reflected immediately and directly in improvements in the lot of individuals; but time affords opportunities for readjustment, and in the long run national and individual interests are reconciled. The improvements which open up

new opportunities and powers to the nation as a whole, also benefit the individuals who will form the community in time to come, even though each step in progress is fraught with mischief for those who are unable to adapt themselves to the change.

There is a constant difficulty in taking proper account of the various elements which make up the prosperity of society. It is comparatively easy to reckon the material progress of the community, and to estimate in terms of money the resources of the realm, and the opportunities which wealth opens up both to the community as a whole and to individuals. But, the character and the health of the citizens are national possessions which evade the economic calculus¹. The most important elements in national welfare cannot be included in pecuniary estimates, and we need to take account of broader considerations, which may be termed political, in trying to gauge the prosperity of a community.

(ii) *The Elizabethan Realm.*

The Elizabethan age was a time of many great achievements; but nothing is more remarkable, as a piece of constructive legislation, than the elaborate scheme which was started for controlling the whole industrial life of the country both in the towns and

¹ Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, I. 81.

in rural districts. The separatism of different manors and municipalities was superseded by the organisation of the realm as a whole, and a serious effort was made to draw the various parts of the country out of their isolation so that they might co-operate for the realm. A series of measures was enacted to secure the training of workmen, to ensure fair rates of wages, and to provide for the unemployed; but no attempt was made to set up a rigid system with hard and fast rules; the legislature established a very flexible administrative system; and the magistrates, whether they were landed gentry or substantial townsmen, were the agents who administered it in detail, under constant supervision by the Council.

The precise measures which were appropriate to England in the sixteenth century have long since passed away and the administrative machinery has been superseded; but one lasting result was secured. William Cecil gave a lead in attempting to deal with modern problems systematically, and he induced the wealthy classes of the community to take a deeper interest in the prosperity of the realm as a whole.

The sentiment of loyalty to the Crown was more powerful during the Elizabethan age than ever before, since the Norman Conquest. The union of

the two houses had left the Tudor Kings without a rival, and focused the national sentiment on a particular line of succession. Elizabeth was personally careful to foster the element of romance which attached to a Virgin Queen, and the various plots against her life were skilfully used to make the public feel that the national independence of England was bound up in the security of the Crown. This loyalty was displayed in the personal devotion of courtiers, and in the homilies of churchmen on the duties of citizens. The landed men were specially responsive to this feeling, and were proud of being entrusted with the Queen's commission and of the social responsibilities laid upon them as Justices of the Peace.

It was at this era too that the solidarity of the interests of the realm became more apparent. In the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth, the pecuniary interest of the landlords had not coincided either with that of the villagers or of the realm as a whole. As the result of changes in the position of labour, the landlords had found it to their interest to discontinue bailiff farming, and to utilise the area which they were able to control for the feeding of sheep, and the sale of wool. Expenses were cut down and the increase of money rentals appears to have been considerable, but the depopulating of

one village after another was a loss to the population and to the food supply of the realm. The development of corn markets during the Elizabethan period made an extraordinary change. With better opportunities for the sale of corn it ceased to be to the interest of landlords to use the land for pasture farming; with the introduction of convertible husbandry the landlords found it most profitable for themselves and for their heirs to use the land for the increase of the food supply, and the employment of the rural population; and thus their personal interests came to coincide with those of the realm. There was a protracted conflict in rural districts between the old view of taking account primarily of local welfare, and the new view of developing each locality so that it might contribute as much as possible to the prosperity of the realm. The maintenance of the township, as an economic unit, and of its customary cultivation, was inconsistent with employing the soil of England to the best purpose as regards the nation as a whole. The landlords became, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the willing agents of the change by which the management of the land was controlled more and more with the view of increasing the food supply and meeting the requirements of the realm as a whole.

The merchants and manufacturers, who had had the tradition of subordinating personal interests to the welfare of a civic community, also began to realise that, in the larger circle which was opening up to them, political action was the basis on which their pecuniary success rested. They were no longer content to cater for the town market, or buy and sell to merchants who visited this country; they were anxious to push their trade and have access to distant markets. The opportunities for trading abroad, and for engaging in profitable commerce, depended on the concessions that the Crown secured for them from foreign powers, or the privileges accorded to such associations as the East India Company, or the Hudson Bay Company. The interests of the manufacturers who catered for distant markets, and of the richer merchants, were bound up with those of the realm, and trade and industry were directly dependent on the success of the Crown in securing and enforcing the privileges of subjects.

There can be no more striking testimony to the strength of the sentiment of loyalty to the Crown, in England in the seventeenth century, than the fact that in spite of so many discouragements the tradition was so deeply rooted among the American

colonists. One might have supposed that in New England it would have been extinguished altogether. The Pilgrim Fathers came of a stock which was thoroughly dissatisfied with the action of King Charles I and his ministers, and neither the Restoration monarchy, nor the Hanoverians, would commend the institution of royalty to them. They were conscious of many disabilities in the restrictions imposed on their trade and development; they seemed to profit little by the protection which Britain afforded against France, and their distant sovereign did not show an intelligent sympathy in regard to them or their affairs. And yet the tie with the Crown was one which many of them were by no means ready to break; their loyalty entailed an immense amount of suffering at the time of the War of 11. lependence on the loyalists of Massachusetts¹.

(iii) *The Nation and its Dependencies.*

The political sentiment which was dominant in the country in the eighteenth century was very different from that which had prevailed in the time of Elizabeth. The sentiment of loyalty to the Crown had waned during the distractions of the Civil War, and the disappointments of the Restoration;

¹ Spark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*.

but on the other hand new ambitions were being opened up. England from being an unimportant kingdom had grown to be the victor over Spain, and a rival to France in a struggle for world power. She was no longer called on to defend her own shores, but she was eager to preserve the possibilities of expansion which then lay within her reach. Such defensive warfare is closely akin to aggression; Englishmen, and especially the monied men, were keenly alive to the political importance of maintaining and developing the oversea dependencies of England. Parliament threw itself heartily into this aim and passed measure after measure which was intended to establish a solidarity of interests by inducing private men to direct their energies into fields which were of importance for the nation and its dependencies considered as a whole.

The landed interest was encouraged by the Corn Bounty Act to devote more attention to the raising of corn; and during the eighteenth century agricultural improvement was being steadily pushed on, sometimes by sinking capital and reclaiming waste land, and sometimes by introducing new crops. The most important improvement, however, consisted in doing away with customary cultivation, and common pasturing on the waste, in favour of separate holdings, so that the soil could be well

worked, while the danger of its becoming exhausted was diminished. The outward and visible sign of this change being carried through was the enclosure of common fields and the common waste; and this again afforded conditions which were favourable to improved husbandry of every kind. Farming became a fashionable hobby, and the pioneers of improvement made rapid progress, though there was frequent complaint of easy going men who lagged behind.

There was an immense increase in agricultural production and an addition to the food supply of the nation; but this result was not secured without incidental loss; the more enterprising and intelligent elements in the rural districts prospered, but there were many who could not adapt themselves to the new system. The most serious change was due to the fact that production on a large scale was specially remunerative in the eighteenth century, and that the small holders, like the small masters at a later date, were unable to hold their own. In this way the stepping stones by which thrifty and diligent men had been able to improve their positions were removed, and the agricultural labourer ceased to have the prospect he had formerly enjoyed of improving his position. In the actual process of enclosing, as well as in the improvements which it facilitated, there were often cases of hardship. But

on the other hand, there would have been serious loss to the country, if the course of agricultural improvement had been stayed, and no advance had been made in the methods of common cultivation. The landlords, as a class, allied themselves with the forces which made for the progress of the nation, and they shared personally in the increased prosperity of the nation they have not, however, habitually made their private gain their sole object, but have kept before them the importance of ordering their affairs and using their influence so as to promote the political power of the realm.

The position of the monied men was very different; their national importance consisted, not so much in developing the resources of Great Britain itself,—though they greatly increased the production of mineral wealth,—as in increasing the influence of the country in distant lands, by pushing trade and investing capital in the plantations. They felt that they were engaging in work, which was of great national importance, at their own personal risk; and they were jealous, under the circumstances, of landed men, who were themselves gainers by their promotion of a public interest. The landowners had a representation in parliament which seemed to them to be quite out of proportion to the sacrifices

they made for the good of the country, especially when the funding system came into operation, and the monied man had lent so largely to the State for its necessities. They were anxious to obtain more power in the State, and were sometimes prepared, like the East India Company, to procure it by bribery and corruption, if they could not secure a fair representation of their interests in parliament. They insisted that their interests would be better attended to if they had increased political power, while they came to recognise that the measures, which statesmen devised with a view to promote a national interest, were not always well adapted to the purpose; they thus paved the way alike for the appeal for increased political power, and for freedom from State interference. The monied men in the eighteenth century started the agitation for parliamentary reform and also used their influence in the direction of *laissez faire*.

Meanwhile another influence was at work; there were signs, before the close of the eighteenth century, of care on the part of parliament for the unrepresented. The tradition of the duty of members of the House of Commons,—to bring forward grievances for redress and to call attention to local interests,—was supplemented by a sense of duty towards

those who were unable to speak for themselves and for whose benefit government could interfere, at least by putting down abuses. There were new efforts on the part of parliament to do something for the welfare of the people, and not merely for the material resources of the realm. A revived desire to provide, at public expense, for those who were incapacitated by sickness was shown in the new era of the foundation of hospitals which marked the reign of George II, and the duty of caring for human life was exemplified by the founders of the Royal Humane Society. Parliament was becoming something of a benevolent despot within the realm, when it legislated in regard to the treatment of apprentices, and put down the slavery of colliers in Scotland. Nor was this sense of responsibility confined to unrepresented classes within the realm; the agitation against the slave trade, and the changes in the administration of the Indian Empire, showed a new determination to exercise British influence with a view to the good of subject peoples.

The Declaration of Independence and the formal severance of the American Colonies from the Mother Country was an event of great political importance and it marked the parting of the ways between two

branches of the Anglo-Saxon race; the special influence which England exercised on the States of the Union came to an end, henceforth French and subsequently German influence became as strong, if not stronger, than that of England. Americans have not shared in the extraordinary change in political ideas, which has occurred in Great Britain during the last century and a half. Americans have indeed retained much of the tradition of what was current in England in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, though they shook off ideas and sentiments which continued to be accepted and developed in Great Britain; they came to rely on their own experience instead. The American Colonies could no longer be satisfied to be treated as the mere dependencies of a distant nation; they did not trust their interests to the benevolent despotism of a parliament in which they had no representation, and they desired to be free to work out their own destiny in the country which they had won back from forest and wilderness. To sacrifice the share they might have in the power and influence of Great Britain seemed a small price to pay for independence. The British parliament has continued, however, to keep before the people of this country the importance of considering the realm, and its power and influence, as a whole; the

lessons as to solidarity of interests which had been impressed on the landed and on the monied men have been diffused more generally among the people. By the lowering of the franchise a larger and larger proportion of the population has come to share in the power of forcing parliament to attend to their interests instead of being left to benevolent despotism of any kind. The responsibilities of power over subject peoples are more generally recognised than ever before, while the colonies are no longer treated as dependencies to be coerced, but as self-governing communities which may co-operate for the common good of the Empire as a whole.

(iv) *The Industrial Revolution and its effects in England.*

It remains for us to indicate some differences of experience within the country which have tended to increase the cleavage between Englishmen and Americans and to affect their attitude of mind towards modern problems. An extraordinary change was wrought in England by the age of invention, and the manner in which long established industrial life was broken up by the introduction of machinery. In a new country, like America, where manufacturing industry was little developed, there was no organised system to be broken up, and the age of invention

did not cause a revolution, or make any great impression on the public mind.

The difficulties of the organisation of economic activity, which arise sooner or later in a progressive society, had made themselves felt in England for generations, so far as agriculture was concerned; but there had been no similar difficulty in regard to manufacture, because there had been so little progress in the industrial arts. New industries had been planted, and old manufactures were conducted on a larger scale with more division of labour; but there was little change in the processes themselves, until the age of invention when both the iron and the textile trades were revolutionised. The effect on the wealth of the country was extraordinary, in the enormous increase of material prosperity; but the effect of the revolution on the people engaged in manufacture was so disastrous that the public conscience was awakened. The public mind was gradually forced to recognise that the monied man must not be content to pursue his business with a view to his own private gain, but that the manner in which he conducted it was a matter of concern to the public. The public interest came to be seen in a new light, and not to be viewed merely in its bearing on the political power and influence of the realm, but also with regard to the condition of human lives

within the country. The increase of material goods and the attainment of industrial supremacy were not the greatest gain which has come to England from the age of invention; it was the occasion when she learned the lesson that the mere pursuit of private interest in matters of business gives rise to terrible inhumanities, and that it is necessary, not only for landed but for monied men, to keep public considerations in view, as well as pecuniary gain, in the conduct of business.

Modern inventions, as they are introduced throughout the world, cannot fail to make a change in the position of workmen trained in old methods. The relative importance of the individual workman, as compared with the machinery and the organising power which are supplied by the capitalist, has diminished considerably. The product is far greater, but the labourer's proportionate share in the process of production is not so large as it was formerly. This problem has to be faced in all the countries which have been or are being affected by the introduction of modern mechanism and modern methods of organisation. But in no land has the effect of these inventions on the position of the workmen been more severely felt than in Britain. This was the first country in which the old industrial organisation was undermined, and no one could foresee or

attempt to guard against the results; and owing to the special circumstances of the time the suffering caused by the Industrial Revolution was widespread and intense.

The staple industry in England, the manufacture of drapery, had been, for the most part, carried on as a by-occupation, or subsidiary industry, by those who were also engaged in farming on a small scale. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the manufacturing activities of the country were being concentrated in factory towns where water power was available, the opportunity of making a good living, by this combination of employments, was withdrawn from the men who resided with their families in rural districts. So long as they could combine farming with manufacturing they had been comfortably off; but as soon as the opportunities of employment at home in manufacturing were withdrawn, they were unable to make a living on farm employment alone. And this deficit occurred in their family budgets at the very time when English agriculture itself was being conducted in difficult conditions. Up to 1770, England had been a wheat exporting country. The demand from abroad for wheat rendered it possible for the grower to depend on getting a remunerative price for his crop whether

it was large or small. Twenty years later, after 1790, England ceased to be able to support her increased population with the products of her own soil, and became a corn importing country; there were, in consequence, great fluctuations in the price of corn. From the consumer's point of view, the result was serious, and attempts were made for several successive years to stimulate the import of corn, until it was urged that the wiser policy would be to endeavour to stimulate the home production of corn so that we might once more rely for sustenance on our internal resources. Under both these schemes the fluctuations of price continued. In a plentiful year the crop might be unremunerative if prices fell, while the effects in a bad year would also be a strain on the resources of a farmer. It was not practical, in the conditions of existing agriculture, to give a substantial increase of wages which should make up in the family budget for the loss of earnings in spinning and weaving; and the disastrous experiment was tried of tiding over the period of strain by making allowances to supplement the wages of rural labourers. Without attempting to carry out the matter in further detail, we can see that at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, it was impossible for the small farmer or labourer

who was employed on the land to make a good living.

The introduction of machinery caused a serious depression among those engaged in agriculture; and this reacted most disastrously on those who were employed in manufacturing. If they had had a prospect of making a living on a farm, the weavers, who were dissatisfied with the conditions of employment in manufacturing, could have turned their attention to the prospects of improving their position by settling on the land. In England at the beginning of the nineteenth century the artisan had no such alternative. He has had to stick to his trade or to be wholly idle. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the competition of capitalists and the fluctuations of trade drove down the wages of factory labour to a very low level, and there was no standard set, by the possibilities of earning a living from the soil, which served as a barrier to prevent wages from falling to starvation rates. The starvation rates of wages were not only an evil in themselves, but they were an obstacle to the introduction of improved conditions of work. The manufacturers held that the low money wages were the cause of all the suffering of the hands, and protested that the shortening of hours would

probably do more harm than good. But the eyes of the public had been opened, and they insisted that in the general interest of the country humanitarian considerations should be directly taken into account in the organisation of industry.

Elizabeth had brought home their responsibilities to the landed interest, by creating administrative machinery for economic purposes; and the nineteenth century saw the creation of new machinery for humanitarian objects. This could hardly have been attempted but for the fact that there had been an extraordinary improvement in administration of every kind. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, officialism was so tedious and so ineffective that no one would willingly see any duty taken over by an incompetent government department. But experience of the greatly increased departmental activities, which came into being during the nineteenth century, has shown that the fear of officialism may be exaggerated. There is now diligent supervision by the State over every department of industry, and this gives the opportunity for devising better measures to correct abuses, while the most careless employer is kept awake to a sense of his responsibilities. In the present day, competition is very keen, and the margin of profit on which an employer can count is very small. Business is organised on

a large scale, and the master or managing director has less personal knowledge of his employees and less freedom for personal action, than he had in the days of domestic industry. In the past monied men have often been very public spirited in the way they spent their money, but public considerations have not seemed to affect their methods of making it. But the employer is far more conscious now of the necessity of trying to rise to his responsibilities. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were some employers, like Sir Robert Peel, who were thoroughly sympathetic with those they employed and eager to promote their welfare. But the general standard was different, for the public did not expect the employer to take much account of the social condition or welfare of factory hands. It was held that the capitalist had done his duty to the community by undertaking the risks of enterprise so as to increase national wealth. But no one expected him to recognise more than the cash nexus in his dealings with his workmen. During the last hundred years public expectations have entirely changed, and no capitalist can ignore them even if he desired to do so. The provision which is made, when new coalfields are opened up, for the comfort of miners by the directors of public companies, who are responsible to the shareholders,

compares very favourably with the best that was done by generous men at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before the middle of the nineteenth century the public conscience was thoroughly roused as to the evils of the factory system, and the mischief that was being done to national life by the over-working of women and children; and the capitalists could no longer disclaim responsibility for their dependents. The gathering of crowds of employees in factories brought to light evils that had probably been going on unheeded in the domestic system, and so rendered it possible to introduce effective supervision. The immense development of the administrative work of the State, in taking account of the conditions of labourers and constantly trying to improve them, has been a great achievement.

Organised labour in Britain is no longer compelled to accept what the beneficence of other classes affords, but is powerful enough to engage for itself in a struggle to maintain and improve the standard of life. When the natural standard, which is given by the conditions of employment in the land, was broken down, the Trade Unionists set themselves to establish and maintain an artificial standard by means of combination among themselves. The methods they have adopted have sometimes brought unfair pressure on independent labourers; and it

is possible to attach exaggerated importance to the object they have in view. There are grounds for saying that the landed interest and the monied interest have in turn fallen into the error of regarding the interest of their class as typical of that of the community and attending to it exclusively; and Trade Unionists are in danger of forgetting that the prosperity of the community, in the long run and on the whole, must be kept in view as well as the interests of labour in the present.

(v) *The awakening of the British conscience.*

Englishmen of all classes and of all political parties, at the opening of the twentieth century, seem to have awakened to the defects in modern society. They do not share the optimism of the Early Victorian times, when it seemed that if a few simple changes were effected, we should enter on a sort of millennium. We look back on the age of invention and are impressed by the enormous changes which have been brought about in the command of man over nature, while we cannot but acknowledge that comparatively little has been achieved in improving the conditions of individual human lives. But yet there is a new hope of effecting a remedy. Much has been accomplished by State intervention in regard to factories and

workshops and mines, and the hygienic conditions of town and country life, and there is a widely diffused feeling that the community has the power, if it would only take the trouble, to put down the most obvious evils in modern society, and that there is a duty to make the attempt. So far there is a general agreement, even among those who differ most widely as to the remedies which it is worth while to try. The public conscience has been aroused, and there is a widespread sense of duty to do more by State action for the welfare of the people.

This awakening of the public conscience in regard to duty has involved the discarding of opinions which were generally accepted during the nineteenth century. It no longer seems sufficient to measure national welfare in pecuniary terms which serve if we are only thinking of material wealth; and it is no longer possible to hold that the State fulfils its function if it maintains law and order, and leaves private individuals free to pursue their own interests as actively as possible. No one now relies on the regenerative effect of crude self-interest; the doctrine of *laissez faire* has been abandoned in one department after another; and those who still cling to it assume, on the part of individual citizens, a high development of the altruistic habit of

regarding the future welfare of this country as a personal interest of their own.

The doctrine of *laissez faire* was so plausible and there was so much to be said in its favour a century ago that it secured a very firm hold upon the public mind. It seemed that it was unnecessary for the government to cultivate the virtues of a benevolent despot, and that it ought to stand aside while private men pursued their own interests. Reformers, political and economic, felt how much material progress had been hampered in the past by the unwise interference of authority or by the power of vested interests; and they believed that the greatest good of the community can be best attained by giving the greatest freedom to individuals and by reducing the activities of the State within the narrowest possible limits. This view was elaborated later by Herbert Spencer; and it seems almost a truism to say that as, at any given moment, the State consists of certain individuals, the aggregate of individual interests must be identical with the interests of the State as a whole. It has been urged that the State, apart from the individuals which compose it, is a mere nonentity, that each individual is the best judge of his own interest, and that by giving free play for the pursuit of individual interests, the interest of the whole will be best secured. The

State has thus been regarded as a mere policeman whose business it is to safeguard the pursuit of private interests, and the conception of duty to the State, or of any obligation to serve the State, seems to fall into the background. On this view social salvation may be hoped for as emerging from the free play of interests; and the success of many experiments in the associating of individuals for the pursuit of common interests, such as co-operation and co-partnership, seems to show how far this principle will carry us in a right direction and how much we may hope from it.

The police theory of the State is not only plausible but it has had powerful support from outside. It is approved by economists who have found it convenient, for the purpose of examining the production and distribution of wealth, to regard society as a mechanism; and this is undoubtedly convenient as a means of stating economic problems at any given time, and examining the play of economic forces in detail. The conception of a mechanism is appropriate to progressive societies, for short periods and for particular places, but it is not to be relied upon for long periods or as supplying principles from which practical guidance can be derived. It is an inadequate conception, for a progressive society is not a mere

mechanism¹, it lives and grows; its advance cannot be gauged by merely mechanical tests. A civilised society, like any other living organism, is continually absorbing and assimilating fresh elements and discarding what is worn out. There are many symptoms by which we can note the existence of disease or judge of healthy vitality in a community, but there is no definite standard by which we can measure its progress accurately in the past, nor can we lay down cut and dried formulae to secure that progress in the future shall be made on the best possible lines. Economists who are content to consider society as a mechanism and to be satisfied with a police state, which gives free play for individual interests, neglect the element of time. In a progressive society the interests, of which the aggregate of individuals at the present time are conscious, are not the same as the aggregate interests of the persons who will form the community in the future. There must be the sacrifice of the interests of those who are concerned in maintaining the conditions of the present, if there is to be a change for the better

¹ The unscientific character of much of the current treatment of economic problems has been frequently exposed. Compare my British Association paper in *Credit Industry and the War*, edited by Prof. Kirkaldy, p. 256; see also my article in the *Economic Review*, II. 25, and my letter in reply to Prof. Marshall, *Academy*, 1 Oct. 1892.

in the future. Where private interests have free play there is a danger of the ruthless sacrifice of individuals to the exigencies of the progress of society and it is only by the cultivation of a sense of duty, towards the less energetic and progressive members of society, that the incidental evils can be reduced to a minimum and the welfare of society in the future attained with the minimum of incidental loss in the present. The view of the State as merely concerned in matters of police is not adequate even as regards the economic welfare of the community.

This theory of the State has also found supporters from the religious side, in those who have concentrated attention on private and personal duty and have minimised the duties of citizenship. The Quakers have taken this point of view exclusively, they have felt it right to abstain from public office and to take no part in the banishment of crime by methods which are not open to the private individual; nor do they acknowledge a duty to the State of taking up arms in the defence of the realm. This disparagement of the State¹ as an earthly

¹ The claim of the Quakers that the cultivation of private duty has proved sufficient to secure public benefits is hardly borne out in the cases which are most commonly alleged.

The progress of the Anti-Slavery Movement within the Quaker body was exceedingly slow, whereas rapid progress was effected when Clarkson and Wilberforce made it a matter

authority is inconsistent with any sense of religious duty in public affairs. If the function of religion is confined to that of personal life there can be no religious inspiration or guidance in the doing of public duties and secular affairs are inevitably left to the play of selfish interests.

In spite of its plausibility and of the support which it appears to receive from economic experts and men who are deeply in earnest about religion, the political theory, which reduces the State to the exercise of police functions, and would give free play to private interests, gives an inadequate standpoint for dealing with the problems of modern society. It is essential that there should not only be the play of interests, but the cultivation of duty, and it is here that a new field opens up for political education. Democracy can only flourish if the citizens are led to think of the welfare of the community as a whole in all their public duties and in all the activities in which they engage. The man who is content to use his power and influence for the prosecution of his own interests, and for endeavouring to get as much as he can out of the of Parliamentary agitation. The peace with the Indians which Pennsylvania enjoyed was not to be wholly ascribed to the pacifist attitude of Penn. Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1. 80, 85.

State is not dignified by the possession of the powers of citizenship. To be worthy of his position as a free citizen he must cultivate the effort to do what he can to serve the public, and cultivate a sense of duty to the community as a whole.

The opinion that the function of the State is rightly limited to the maintenance of law and order so that private interests can have free play, appears to have even a firmer hold on American minds than it has among Englishmen, though of course an occasional protest is heard. Mr J. J. Chapman argues that though "It is thought that the peculiar merit of democracy lies in this; that it gives every man a chance to pursue his own ends. The reverse is true. The merit lies in the assumption imposed upon every man that he shall serve his fellow men. ...The concentration of every man on his own interest has been the danger and not the safety of democracy; for democracy contemplates that every man shall think first of the State and next of himself. This is its only justification. In so far as it is operated by men who are thinking first of their own interests and then of the State, its operation is distorted¹." But Mr Chapman is exceptional and can hardly be regarded as a typical American. Journalists who

¹ *Causes and Consequences*, 121.

cater for the ordinary newspaper reader seem to be satisfied with the view that democratic institutions are themselves a boon, without realising the importance of using them so that they shall be educative in the duties of citizenship.

The dominance in America of the view that the State is only concerned in giving free play to individuals is easily accounted for, when we remember how sparsely the old tradition of loyalty was transplanted, and how difficult it was to form anew a conception of a nation for which sacrifices should be made. The elements of English society which were by position and trading most habituated to public spirit did not as a rule emigrate in large numbers to the plantations. The landed gentry were conscious of the responsibility to the Crown for the order which they maintained in their own locality; they looked to the Crown as the source of the honours to which they aspired, and thus their conduct was inspired by a sense of duty to the whole in the management of their private affairs; but though there were many cadets of county families who found their way to Virginia¹, this influence was not

¹ Mr Ingle observes of county government in Virginia. "The dominant idea was gradation of power from the Governor downward, not upward from the people," *Local Institutions in Virginia*, Johns Hopkins Political Studies, Series III. 97.

prominent in other parts of the country. The tradition that office was an honour was maintained in the Old Dominion, and Washington had a high ideal of the position of those who were called to public office. But throughout the country generally, where private and local interests were dominant, office was too often regarded as a burden, and a man with important affairs of his own was inclined to shirk it if he could; nor did the English townsmen, who were accustomed to subordinate their personal successes to the good of the community and were examples of civic or national patriotism, contribute largely to the population of the colonies. They were inclined to look on the colonies as a field for the investment of their capital; and though they were prepared to send factors to do their business, they had little sense of developing civilised life in a new world; indeed their public spirit, such as it was, was repellant to the Americans. The merchants of the East India Company, and others, regarded their commercial undertakings as subordinate to the prosperity of Great Britain, but the colonist was irritated by efforts to treat the territory in which he lived as merely a subordinate part of an Empire in ruling which he had no share, and it was long before any other conception of the State as a whole grew to be so definite as to exercise

a conscious influence in the management of affairs. It was difficult for the citizen of a vast country to realise its solidarity or to feel that the nation had a claim to make and guidance to give in regard to his own personal conduct of affairs. It was not until the conclusion of the Great Civil War that the various States were welded together so closely that Americans became fully conscious not only of their tie to their own State, but of their citizenship in one great nation.

American civilisation has grown up from the federation of small units; it has, as a matter of fact, illustrated the ideas of civil government which formed part of the doctrine of Locke; though there was no original contract, the members of each township were associated together for the preservation of their own interests. It was the recognition of the larger and larger interests which they had in common that led to the formation of other organs of government. The supremacy of private interest as that for the promotion of which government exists, has dominated the whole development, and is deeply ingrained in the political life of the country. The colonists failed to carry with them the English sense of public spirit; and circumstances during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave little

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opportunity for the development of a public spirit of their own.

Nor did the experience of Americans make them realise the necessity of supplementing the action of private interests by greater care for the public; partly owing to the wide extent of country, partly to the independence of each settler, there was neither opportunity nor occasion to provide the hospitals and other public institutions which were being founded during the eighteenth century in England for the preservation and protection of human life. In particular, America was late in developing her industrial activities; there were citizens like Jefferson, who thought that democratic ideals could be best maintained by a rural population. Those who introduced manufactures preferred modern methods of organisation, and there was no call for any of the American States to interfere in favour of apprentices; the Americans had no experience, such as that which called forth the agitation of Lord Shaftesbury and other philanthropists, and led to the restriction of industrial capitalists.

But times have changed. America has long since developed a great industrial life, and some of its characteristic evils have appeared. Vigorous efforts have been made in many quarters by philanthropic associations, to promote the welfare of

particular classes in one part or another of the United States. During the last decade there has been some successful agitation for legislation in particular cases; but after all America is a young country, great areas of her territory are imperfectly developed, and she may have to go through experience which is similar to that of England during the Industrial Revolution. The day seems not to be very far distant when there will no longer be land available for the labourer, with a minimum of capital, to settle and produce what is requisite for his own subsistence. When the land is so fully occupied that America becomes partly dependent for food from abroad, a crisis may arise similar to that which occurred in England at the beginning of last century, and the pressure on the industrial population is likely to become more severe. It seems not improbable, however, that before that day arrives the public conscience may be aroused in America as it has been in England, to the necessity of bringing public considerations habitually to bear on the play of private interests, and of training monied men to take more account of their social responsibilities, not only in the way in which they spend their money, but in the methods by which they make it.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF NATIONAL POWER AND INFLUENCE¹

(i) *The tradition of Insular Policy.*

It is very interesting to notice persistence of type, and to see how Americans maintain habits of thought that betray their English ancestry. American speech has preserved many phrases and idioms that have dropped out of use in Great Britain; and something similar has occurred in the political sphere, where Americans have retained a point of view which Britons generally speaking have come to discard. America takes her stand firmly on the wisdom of the views she has inherited, as to the desirability of keeping clear from entanglement with other peoples and their affairs, in the hope of being able to pursue a path of peaceful prosperity uninterruptedly.

This had been the generally accepted policy of

¹ Empire Club, Columbia University, New York.

England for centuries; it dates as far back as the union of the two Houses under Henry VII, who laid the foundations for the peaceful union of England and Scotland under one Crown. Henry VII kept aloof from quarrels abroad, and raised the Crown to a position of unexampled power within the realm; and he hoped that, by developing the resources and power of the country, he might be free to exercise a determining influence in the struggles between rival European powers. Wolsey endeavoured to carry on the same policy; to Elizabeth it was a matter of vital importance that the realm should not be absorbed either by France or Spain. She has become a popular heroine chiefly because of her success in playing off the catholic powers against one another; and this negative attitude, while not calculated to rouse enthusiasm, has won the approval of all parties in turn. The English public disliked the project of a Spanish marriage, and King James's efforts to influence continental affairs by means of this alliance; Whigs resented Charles II's close connection with France, as much as the Tories distrusted the Hanoverian connection and the manner in which England came to be concerned in continental questions; while Walpole was eager to maintain the peace policy at all costs. Generations of Englishmen had been

bred and born with the view that it was the best policy for an island realm to develop her own resources and to leave other peoples alone; and the American colonists were naturally inclined to apply this doctrine to their own case, especially after the removal of the danger of attack from the French in Canada and the Ohio Valley. Many of the colonists felt that they had no longer any direct interest in the struggle between Great Britain and France; they saw no reason why they should be dragged into a conflict of European nations in which they had no immediate concern, and they refused to allow the development of their own country to be controlled in the interests of the political necessities of Great Britain.

Although they were engaged time after time, during the Middle Ages, in supporting the claims of kings to an extension of their territories, there was a deep feeling among Englishmen that they should only engage in conflicts in self-defence, but this implied that England should make the most of her insular position and obtain the command of the sea. The Danish invasions had called forth maritime activity under King Alfred; and the command of the seas became a cardinal point in the Plantagenet policy of building up a commercial

Empire in which Gascony, Flanders and England should co-operate to promote the prosperity of the territories which were ruled by English Kings. The *Libel of English Policy* is the earliest commercial tract written in English, and it insists on the importance of keeping the narrow seas: an effective maritime force was necessary, not only to protect commerce, but to defend the coasts from the raids of enemies. Piracy was practised as a by-occupation by many shipmen when trade was dull, and the whole line of the coast in the fifteenth century was exposed to frequent depredations. The necessity for policing the seas and defending the coasts continued to be felt in the seventeenth century, when Baltimore, in Ireland, was devastated by Algerian pirates; and Charles I endeavoured by means of ship-money to raise a fleet which should give effective protection to the coast and to English commerce in the Mediterranean.

At the time of the discovery of the New World and the Reformation, the English determination to secure naval superiority took a new form; when she was threatened with attack, counter attacks and aggression became necessary as a means of self-defence. England found that her independence and her institutions were menaced by Spain, while the whole world appeared to be given over to a type

of civilisation which she detested. England, by her success in destroying the Spanish Armada, not only secured her own independence, but succeeded in obtaining a footing as a world-power. Englishmen in the Elizabethan time seem to have gone far beyond Elizabeth personally in their aims and ambitions; they awakened to a sense of mission to protect a portion of the newly discovered countries from being exploited by Spain and absorbed in the Spanish system. They began to aim at the sovereignty of the sea, not merely for the sake of defence or dynastic ambition, but as the means of fulfilling the destiny of the English people.

The success of France, in becoming the dominant influence in Europe and establishing far-reaching connections both in India and in America, gave English policy a new direction, but did not alter its fundamental character. The main object was that of maintaining a successful rivalry with a great antagonist. All through the eighteenth century a succession of wars was waged for this purpose, and it affected all national activities in time of peace as well. Other considerations were subordinated to that of building up national power in the hope of establishing effective superiority over France, as a nation with large colonial possessions and great prestige. Many regulations were made with this

object in regard to the resources of Great Britain, and the schemes which were laid down for colonial development were all devised with the view of making the resources of the colonies subservient to the political power of the mother country. It was by the command of the sea that Britain was able to foil her French antagonists both in India and in Canada; naval superiority continued to be an essential condition for attaining political power, till it was firmly established at Trafalgar.

The conquest of Canada gave the English colonies on the Atlantic coast a new sense of security. They were free from any possibility of maritime attack, and the traditional English policy of maintaining command at sea ceased to appeal to them. Their eyes were turned to expansion by land and to controlling the hinterland; their maritime interests were merely commercial, and did not involve such political questions as that of national security. Since the Declaration of Independence Americans have carried on the great work of planting the interior and the frontier has gradually been rolled farther and farther back¹. The waves of settlement from the East and from the West have

¹ F. J. Turner, *Report of American Historical Association*, 1893, III. 199.

at last met; but America has been so much concerned with internal development that there has been comparatively little occasion to modify her views about foreign relationships; she could continue, with some brief exceptions, to be habitually indifferent in regard to sea power. There is an extraordinary unanimity throughout the States as to the desirability of holding aloof from foreign entanglements of any kind; this rests on an inherited tradition and is an accepted maxim with all parties. The policy of aloofness or isolation which was developed in an island realm has proved appropriate to a people who inhabit a country so widely separated from the Old World.

(ii) *The claim to arbitrate.*

This sense of detachment has led Americans to cherish the national ambition of being recognised as a dispassionate mediator in the disputes of other nations. As England in Tudor times seemed to be cut out for the position of the tongue of the balance, when opposing claims are being weighed, so America now hopes to exercise a preponderating influence in maintaining peace and deciding disputes throughout the world. The attempt to maintain a negative policy and avoid entanglements seems to be consistent with the far-reaching ambition, which is

cherished by Dr Wilson. "Look abroad," he says¹, "upon the troubled world. Only America is at peace among all the great powers of the world. Only America is saving her power for her own people. Only America is using her great character, her great strength and her great interest for peace and prosperity. Do you not think it likely that the world will at some time turn to America and say, 'You were right and we were wrong; you kept your heads, we lost ours, now in your self-possession, coolness and strength may we not turn to you for counsel and assistance?' May we not look forward to the time when we shall be called blessed among the nations and the servants of mankind?" But even though America is a great land of plenty it is doubtful if she is fitted to be a successful arbiter; an arbiter is certainly at an advantage if he possesses the power of enforcing his decision, as the Pope could do by means of spiritual censures, and as the English monarchy could attempt by throwing the weight of its influence on one or other of two sides.

It is even more important that an arbiter should be able to appreciate the rival claims which are brought before him and to understand the issues at stake. Many Englishmen would be unwilling to

¹ Speech at Indianapolis, 8 Jan. 1915.

accept the arbitration of the United States, because the experience of Americans has been so exceptional that there is a danger that they would not fully comprehend a delicate situation. (1) Americans have been able to live in practical security from attack, and to dispense with armaments, as they are understood in the modern world: there may be a strike of trolley-men in Cleveland, or of miners in Idaho, that the ordinary police are unable to cope with, and where it is necessary to bring in the military to secure law and order; but on the whole the maintenance of an army and navy seems unnecessary; and if a nation indulges in it, that nation seems to Americans to be under the suspicion of contemplating aggression on its neighbours. But other peoples may find it necessary to secure themselves against attack by land or sea, and the maintenance of armaments is not in itself a proof of hostile intentions. (2) Americans have been satisfied so far with the conception of the State as merely responsible for maintaining law and order, and have attached supreme importance to the activities of private individuals; they are inclined to identify the aggregate of private interests with the interest of the state. Private persons can be compensated pecuniarily for any wrong done them, and hence it seems that arbitration could always be

resorted to, so as to settle the compensation due to private persons. The very conception of political claims and ambitions, such as the security of the realm, which cannot be compromised, and in regard to which no compensation is possible, lies beyond the ordinary American range of thought. But an arbiter ought to take account of communities as a whole, not merely of the persons of which they are composed; and questions may arise which are intimately associated with national life where the analogy of disputes that are brought into civil courts fails us altogether.

But apart from these general considerations, Americans are inclined to assume that the British Empire now is identical in its aims and objects with the British rule to which their forefathers submitted before the War of Independence. They have forgotten nothing of their grievances, and they fail to realise how much Englishmen have learned in the time that has intervened.

(iii) *The British Empire in the
Twentieth Century.*

As the fall of Quebec set the American colonists free from any fear of external attack by land or sea, so the victory of Trafalgar set Englishmen free from any fear of the rivalry of France as a

maritime power. It was the death blow of the old colonial system which had prized the colonies because of the political strength which could be derived from them. The mother country regarded these distant territories as areas from which additional resources might be drawn for the maintenance of the maritime power of the realm. The most complete proof of the abandonment of this view lies in the fact that the mother country no longer attempts to control the economic life of the oversea dominions, but leaves them free to develop along the lines which they find most appropriate for themselves. At the present time the colonists seem to have reason to fear that if the hegemony of the world passed to Germany, the economic conditions of distant lands would be forced to become subservient to the supremacy of German industry.

When the political object of securing economic control of the colonies was allowed to drop out of sight, the voices of those, who argued that the possession of oversea dominions was a mere vanity and a useless extravagance, began to be exerted more vigorously. From the eighteenth century onwards there were some Englishmen who looked on the colonies with jealousy; it was a matter of common remark that Spain had been weakened by

the effort to develop a colonial empire, and fears were expressed lest, in planting America, England should be drained of money, and of men who could be usefully employed at home. In the eighteenth century Dr Tucker, the Dean of Gloucester, set the fashion of treating the retention of the colonies as a mere question of profit and loss; and demonstrated that the political responsibilities they entailed were so costly that it was absurd to engage in colonisation at all. Sir John Sinclair gave vehement expression to this view¹: "The whole expenses we have been put to, in consequence of our possessing colonies on the Continent of North America, may be estimated at forty millions, in addition to the charges of at least two wars, which cost us above 240 millions more, and which were entered into principally on their account.

"It is the more necessary to bring forward enquiries into this branch of our expenditure, as the rage for colonisation has not as yet been driven from the councils of this country. We have lost New England; but a New Wales has since started up. How many millions it may cost may be the subject of the calculations of succeeding financiers a century hence, unless by the exertions of some

¹ *History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire*, 3rd edition, II. 101.

able statesman that source of future waste and extravagance is prevented." Distant territories came to be looked upon in relation to commerce, and so far as commerce was concerned the question of allegiance seemed to make very little difference. Trade with the United States had flourished and increased since the Declaration of Independence, and commercial men in Great Britain were opposed to territorial expansion as inconsistent with the interests of the country. They believed that, along whatever lines the colonists found it most convenient to develop the territory, their prosperity was sure to react favourably on the mother country, without any effort on her part.

From the point of view of the trader, any attempt at fresh territorial aggrandisement was regarded as a costly blunder. There had always been men who felt that oversea possessions involved us in heavy charges for their defence, and who were anxious not to add to that burden. Cromwell would apparently have been ready to cede the interests of England in North America to the Dutch, though he desired to strengthen the English connection with the West Indies; time after time English statesmen have shown themselves reluctant to add to our possessions. This was particularly noticeable at the close of the Seven Years' War, when England

accepted terms of peace which were most disappointing to those who carried through the great achievements of the war. Tangier, Mexico, Cuba, Manilla, Corsica, Buenos Ayres, Cape of Good Hope, Java and the Ionian Islands are places which Great Britain has abandoned of her own accord¹; and after the Napoleonic War it came to be generally recognised that territorial aggrandisement had ceased to be to the interest of a maritime empire, though it continues to be an important aim for an empire, such as Great Britain once was and Germany still is, whose resources are based on the possession of lands and not on trade².

Since the middle of the nineteenth century there has been a reaction in Britain, and a feeling has arisen

¹ W. F. Lord, *Lost Possessions of England*.

² Herr Ortel, the well known Agrarian deputy, writes, "We must as soon as possible win and utilize as much new land as will enable German agriculture to cover without difficulty the whole requirements of the home population. If the land within the frontiers of the Empire does not suffice, one must look to the acquisition, at the conclusion of peace, of fresh land beyond the frontier. We consider it not only premature but unwise to go into details about eventual acquisitions of territory. But it is not too soon to insist that in any such acquisitions of territory we must keep steadily in view the aim of acquiring new land for agriculture as well as for other purposes. This is in the interest not only of agriculture but of the whole population and of Germany's security for the future." *Times*, 14 January, 1915.

that the policy of a country cannot be dictated by merely pecuniary interests. New political reasons have arisen for maintaining superiority at sea; Great Britain's prosperity is no longer based on the "solid basis of land" when territorial expansion was reasonable, but on "the fluctuating basis, trade¹." She is no longer able to raise a corn supply that suffices for her population and it is important for the country as a whole to protect the routes along which food is brought to the people of Great Britain, and communications are maintained with all parts of the Empire. Naval superiority is of vital importance to the very existence of a maritime empire, to guard against the interruption of commerce by any hostile powers. Britain has come to be, not so much the workshop of the world, as a great departmental store to which many work-rooms are attached. Her chief interests lie in securing supplies of raw materials and food in plenty, and in extending the markets for her goods. The chief expedient on which Britain has relied to attract new customers and to retain old ones has been her ability to offer good bargains, and it has been her aim to avoid giving any such offence as might lead to the interruption of commercial

¹ Massie quoted by Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II. 578.

relations; fear of loss of customers has become the cardinal principle of British diplomacy.

The charge has been brought against the mother country again and again, that she has shown lamentable weakness in waiving claims which were of supreme importance to some colony, in order to propitiate a foreign power. Certainly there is always a strong temptation for a commercial nation to purchase peace at any price; and the weakness with which her statesmen consented to arbitrate about the Alabama claims, without at the same time insisting on compensation for the Fenian raid in Canada¹, shows how far Britain has been prepared to go rather than run the risk of giving offence. Her own commercial interests lead Britain to be so careful not to press her claims in regard to any disputed point unduly, that Britain's naval superiority is the best possible guarantee for the maintenance of those conditions which are favourable to the prosperity of the world as a whole. And though they may be often irritated at having their political interests disregarded in favour of pecuniary considerations, the oversea dominions find advantage in being parts of a maritime empire.

They are keenly alive to the interests of trade and the British protection of their commerce; they

¹ Pope, *Sir J. A. Macdonald*, II. 85-140.

have a pecuniary interest in retaining their connection with the mother country. The consciousness of the similarity of the interest of the various parts of the Empire in co-operating as a whole, gives a basis for political connection; while the sentiment as to the possibilities of freedom for self-government which can be enjoyed by the parts of the British Empire is a closer bond of union. The colonies and the mother country form a maritime empire which has a greater pecuniary interest than that of any other peoples in preserving the safety of the seas, while there is also a political interest in preserving the lines of internal communication.

(iv) *Imperial Co-operation.*

The American colonists in the eighteenth century had no experience of British rule as a Benevolent Despotism, and their descendants have difficulty in realising that there has been any great change in the attitude of the English towards their dependencies. The impression of the aims of British policy which was stamped on the American mind in 1776, was defective even then, and has long since been out of date. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century Great Britain has abandoned any attempt to assimilate other populations to British habits. Every effort is indeed made to insist on the

sanctity of human life but apart from this the British rule endeavours to leave subject peoples free to carry out their own self-development and to fit themselves for life under the conditions which the progressive forces of modern commerce and industry are introducing. In some other polities assimilation is regarded as essential in order that there may be similar conditions in one national army; Germany has endeavoured to assimilate the population of the Polish provinces. The North regarded it as a good reason for going to war that they desired to assimilate the population of the Southern States to their habits and practice, and to stamp out the traditions and institutions of Virginia and her confederates. But attempts of the sort have been deliberately abandoned in the British Empire generally, since the time of the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland. The troubles of the seventeenth century, in Great Britain, arose in connection with different attempts to treat the whole island as one nation, and to assimilate the entire population so that they could accept one type of institutions. Charles I and Laud were unsuccessful in their attempt to assimilate the Scots to the English model; and the Scots failed, in the time of the Westminster Assembly, to induce the English to assimilate themselves to the Scottish system. It was with much hesitation that, at the time of the

English revolution, the hope of welding the whole of Great Britain into one nation was finally abandoned; but, by the terms of the Union, England agreed to recognise the independent institutions of Scotland, as regards law and religion, while accepting her as a partner in the work of self-government. From that time onwards the attempt to impose a uniformity of habits and practice has been abandoned, and a new ideal has come to be adopted. Great Britain consciously and deliberately aims at doing for all people within the sphere of her influence what she did, unintentionally and grudgingly, for the American colonists, and giving them such protection by sea and land that they can preserve ancestral traditions and develop political life. It is the aim of British rulers to maintain such law and order that it shall be possible for all the varieties of races, which live within the bounds of the British Empire, to have fair play, so as to maintain their own traditions and to work out their own destiny. Mr Bryan regards the British rule in India as utterly condemned because it has done so little to assimilate Indian women, and model them on European standards, but British rulers try to refrain from outraging native habits. The care which is exercised in this behalf is the best proof that Britain no longer attempts to exploit subject races in her

own interests, but that her aim is to secure the welfare of the people who are subject to her power¹.

The beginnings of this awakening of the parliament of Great Britain to a sense of these responsibilities can be traced back to the close of the eighteenth century; it was partly humanitarian in character, but it was not an accident that the movement should have been closely associated with the Evangelical Revival; for the sense of national responsibility and national duty can be most effectively roused when national life is viewed from a religious standpoint, as Englishmen are taught to do by the use of the Book of Common Prayer, which helps to inculcate political duty. The responsibility of the supreme human authority in the realm to God, is not only declared ceremonially at the coronation of the King, but is borne in upon the minds of the subjects by the prayers in which they are constantly invited to join. God is addressed as the Ruler of Princes, and the Governor of all things whose power no creature is able to resist; and the blessing asked for the King is that he may incline to God's will and walk in God's way: there is a similar sense of the duty of magistrates, as in their

¹ Roosevelt, *African and European Addresses*, 166.

various capacities ministers of God; and the glory of God is held up as the object at which Parliament should aim, while attention is called to the need for divine guidance in their deliberations. The constant acknowledgment of God in connection with the government of the realm is the best basis for cultivating a sense of duty and responsibility in all departments of government.

Though the first signs of this new attitude of mind are to be seen in the religious sphere, the change is also apparent in regard to civil administration. Public feeling was roused by the eloquence of Burke in his impeachment of Warren Hastings. It has been a grave injustice that, owing to petty spite, this honourable and patriotic man should have been pilloried during his trial, and in Lord Macaulay's *Essays*; but his trial was the occasion which exposed the possibilities of exploitation under a corrupt administration. A new sense of responsibility was awakened; it allied itself with the old enthusiasm for national mission and national destiny, and infused a new spirit into the administration of Indian affairs. With the opening of the nineteenth century, and the reorganisation of the administrative system under Lord Cornwallis, the old evils came to an end; the Indian Civil Service has come to be an acknowledged model of self-sacrificing

effort on the part of officials for the benefit of the people whom they govern. No pains have been spared in the work of administering even-handed justice to all alike, rich and poor; every effort has been made to respect the institutions and ideals of subject peoples; and the ultimate object of training them to take a real part in governing themselves has been steadily kept in view. Whatever failures and blunders there may have been, the administration has been infused with an earnest desire to learn by experience, and has been firm in the purpose of governing the great dependency so as to secure the prosperity of the country, and the welfare of native races.

The problems which confront the administrator are complex and innumerable. The endeavour to maintain a peaceful people in security from powerful neighbours may sometimes necessitate an extension of boundaries, and the annexation of the territory of unruly tribes. The effort to protect human life from plague may often bring the authorities into conflict with native tradition; and most difficult of all are the social problems which arise between the settlers and traders who represent progressive forces, and natives who are contented to subsist in a stationary state. In such conditions

an authority of some sort is necessary; it is impossible, either with regard to the resources of the country or to the welfare of the population, to leave private interests uncontrolled in the expectation that they will work out mechanically for the public good. The greatest difficulty of a benevolent despotism is due to the fact that we are living in an age of rapid progress, and that the facilities of communication have brought the most advanced and the most backward peoples into occasional contact. Distant countries have been drawn within the circle of the world's commerce, and are in danger of being exploited to furnish materials for modern industry. The defence of settlers, who have the means of turning the soil of a country to better account, has often led to the expropriation and subsequently to the ruthless destruction of native tribes; and British ideas of what is right in regard to property are so inconsistent with those of many native tribes that it is difficult to avoid the disintegration of native society. The accounts of the cruelties perpetrated in connection with the rubber industry show that it is necessary for political authorities to check the mischief that may be wrought on the people of a country, under the pretext of developing its economic resources. It is only gradually and by experience that British

administrators have learned the difficulty of reconciling the claims of the pioneers of progress with those of primitive races, and the government is sometimes bitterly criticised for showing undue favour to natives. It might be easy enough to organise society on the basis of developing material resources in the interests of commerce, and allowing the native races to be crushed out, or left in a condition of permanent inferiority. But the British sense of responsibility would not be satisfied if the government adopted that course. The British public recognise that they are, as rulers of India, concerned not only with making the most of a country, but with making the most of the people of each country whatever that people may be.

The British sense of responsibility is restricted by the British sense of the limits within which government can wisely and effectively interfere. It is the aim of British rule to leave subject peoples free to carry out their own self-development, and to fit themselves for life under the conditions of progressive society. Those who are best aware of the success which has attended British administration, in fighting the horrors of famine, are also ready to recognise how far there has been failure. It is the glory of British administration that no absurd pretence is maintained of having any

immunity from mistake; there is a constant effort to learn from experience, to retrieve blunders, and to prevent the recurrence of mistakes. The British Empire is not a mere machine organised so as to attain high efficiency in one department after another, such as can be recorded by statistical tests, but it is a living growth in which all the various elements are given opportunities to cooperate for the development of resources and the progress of mankind. Its life does not consist merely in the play of present-day sordid interests, for it has a heritage of experience and achievement in the past and a conscious responsibility for the future.

Those who participate in the life of the British Empire are able to realise in a greater or less degree how full and varied that life is. Great Britain has not only secured to men of the Anglo-Saxon race scope for independent development, but has exercised a constant and steady influence on the progress of other races as well. The sense of mission, which has come down from Elizabethan times, has braced Great Britain to oppose one military despotism after another, and thus to leave to all the nations of mankind greater freedom for self-development. There is an inspiration in the memory of success,

not merely against Philip II but against Napoleon as well, in which all parts of the British Empire share. There can be no nobler mission for a man of energy and ability than to take his part in discharging a public responsibility, and doing his best as an administrator to solve the innumerable problems which arise in all parts of the world; and the highest testimony is furnished to the success of the British Empire in the respect in which Great Britain is held, even by those who have suffered at times from the blunders of administrators on the spot and the superciliousness of officials at home. Great Britain has not been content to pursue her own self-development apart from her neighbours, but has cherished a sense of mission and developed a sense of responsibility which have won a response. Subject races have recognised the character of her rule, but the possibility of her continuing to exercise this influence depends on the maintenance of her prestige; and her prestige¹ must suffer if she shows herself unable to defend her frontiers by land or to maintain her superiority

¹ National glory and national prestige are not to be deprecated as mere gratifications of national vanity; they may be merely this, but they may also be used as effective instruments for rousing a sense of personal duty at home and for enabling the work of government to go on more smoothly in over-sea dominions and dependencies.

at sea. Admiral Mahan has taught us to realise the importance of sea power in history, and naval superiority is not only necessary to the very existence of the mother country, but essential to the exercise of the British mission and the British responsibility for the countries under her control.

(v) *The Ties of Kinship.*

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to trace the threads of English ancestry in different aspects of American life, and to show the links of connection with the Old World as precisely and definitely as possible. However much we may feel the historical interest of such affinities we must be on our guard against laying too much stress upon them as factors in national life in the present day. There are large areas on the American continent where there is little consciousness of English ancestry; and, even in those areas where it is highly prized, the sentiment of kinship does not give any immunity against misunderstandings. Quarrels are not unknown in family circles; and the ties of blood relationship between nations are not likely to be of much avail when interests are imperilled or passions roused.

Indeed in some ways the sentiment of kinship may be a positive danger, if it raises expectations

which are not fulfilled. The traditional friendship between England and Prussia was of long standing; they had fought side by side at Waterloo, and England had looked sympathetically at the victory of Prussia over Austria in 1866 and admired her development and organisation. In the troublous days of July, 1914, Germans were everywhere confident that the ties of kinship and friendship with England were sufficiently strong to prevent Great Britain from siding against them in their efforts to repel the Slav. There were, indeed, many literary and scientific men in England who felt the ties of moral and intellectual kinship with Germany so strongly that they sympathised with the German expectations, and were prepared to sacrifice our honourable understanding with France, perhaps even our plighted word to Belgium, rather than fail Germany at this critical time¹. But the nation as a whole felt that Germany expected too much of Great Britain altogether, and that it was necessary to maintain the national honour even at the sacrifice of entering on a costly struggle, for which we were inadequately prepared. The failure on the part of Britain to stand by the ties of kinship has caused bitter disappointment in Germany, and

¹ See the manifesto in the *London Daily Chronicle*, 3 Aug. 1914.

given rise to intense indignation and in some quarters to virulent hate.

The English are not very responsive in regard to claims of kindred: there was a general expectation in the North that the British, who had taken such a leading part in the Abolitionist cause, might be counted upon to sympathise with their kinsmen in New England in the struggle with the South. Many sections of the British population did so sympathise; and Lancashire, in spite of her economic dependence on the South, suffered bitterly and uncomplainingly during the anti-slavery struggle. But British opinion as to the necessity of the war and the merits of the case was so far divided, that the North was bitterly disappointed at the failure of her expectation of moral support. The attitude of Great Britain was perfectly correct, and she paid without demur for the damage done by the Alabama. But many Americans continued to cherish a grievance against Great Britain for her failure to show the expected amount of sympathy, and have not been easily conciliated. The fact of kinship does not necessarily bring about common habits of thought or mutual understanding. The English and American peoples spring from the same stock, but the stems have developed under different conditions of exposure; and the differences are none the less real, because

each branch is hardly conscious of them. Much has been said in the present war about the German misunderstanding of the solidarity of the British Empire and the loyalty of the native races; there is no region¹ where the Germans were regarded as deliverers who were breaking the bands of the British yoke and enabling the oppressed to go free. But it may be remembered that similar miscalculations were made a century ago, and that the Americans entirely underrated the strength of the sentiment of loyalty when they invaded Canada in 1812².

Racial affinities are of comparatively little importance in determining the policy of a country in modern times; far more depends on the actual experience which a people have in common. Since 1776 the experience of America, and of Great Britain, has been very different, and they have drifted farther apart; but there are some signs that America may enter on new political experiences as she develops, and that she may be prepared to interpret the policy of Great Britain more favourably. It is becoming less and less possible for the United States to maintain an attitude of isolation, and to hold

¹ The rebellion at the Cape was so short lived that it need hardly be noted as an exception.

² A. G. Bradley, *The Hundred Years' Peace Celebrations*, in the *Nat. Rev.* Aug. 1914 (No. 378), p. 934.

aloof from other countries, and live her own life for herself alone. Her commerce brings her into contact with the most distant peoples: it is necessary to enter into definite arrangements with them and especially to lay down lines beyond which she is unwilling that they should encroach; and she has been forced to enter into closer relations with certain districts which are not contiguous with her territory, both in the Philippines, Cuba, and Panama; she has been forced to organise government of a type which is not in accordance with her cherished institutions, and more recently to assume a sort of patronage over the Republic of Hayti. The expansion of the sphere of influence beyond the American continent gives her a new claim for the recognition of her greatness by other nations. But the greatness of a country does not depend so much on the extent of her territory and the development of her resources as on national character, and other people judge of the character of a nation by her conduct. The really great nation is one that loses no opportunity of using her power within and her influence on other nations for the good of mankind.

It is the temptation of a democracy to refuse to recognise any responsibility for the manner in which power and influence are used, but private interests

have no right to run riot in "God's own country." Mr Roosevelt and his supporters have thrown themselves heartily into the task of exercising authority over half civilised and backward peoples, instead of leaving them to work out their own salvation for themselves, and have thus shown that they believe it is the duty of America to use her power for the good of the people subjected to her rule. No nation can justify a claim to leadership in promoting the cause of humanity which is content to look on at the troubles of a neighbour as if they did not concern her. Time will show whether Dr Wilson has correctly gauged the temper of the American people, or whether they are ready to rise to the responsibility of using effectively the power they possess as a nation.

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