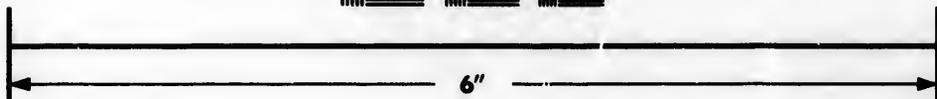
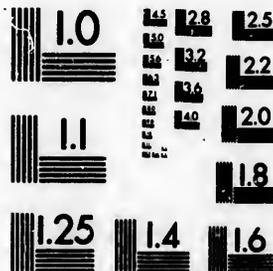


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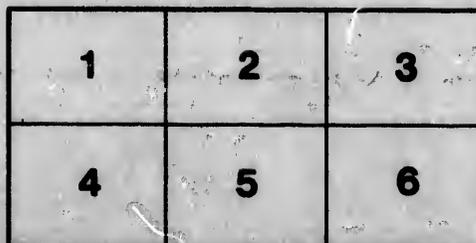
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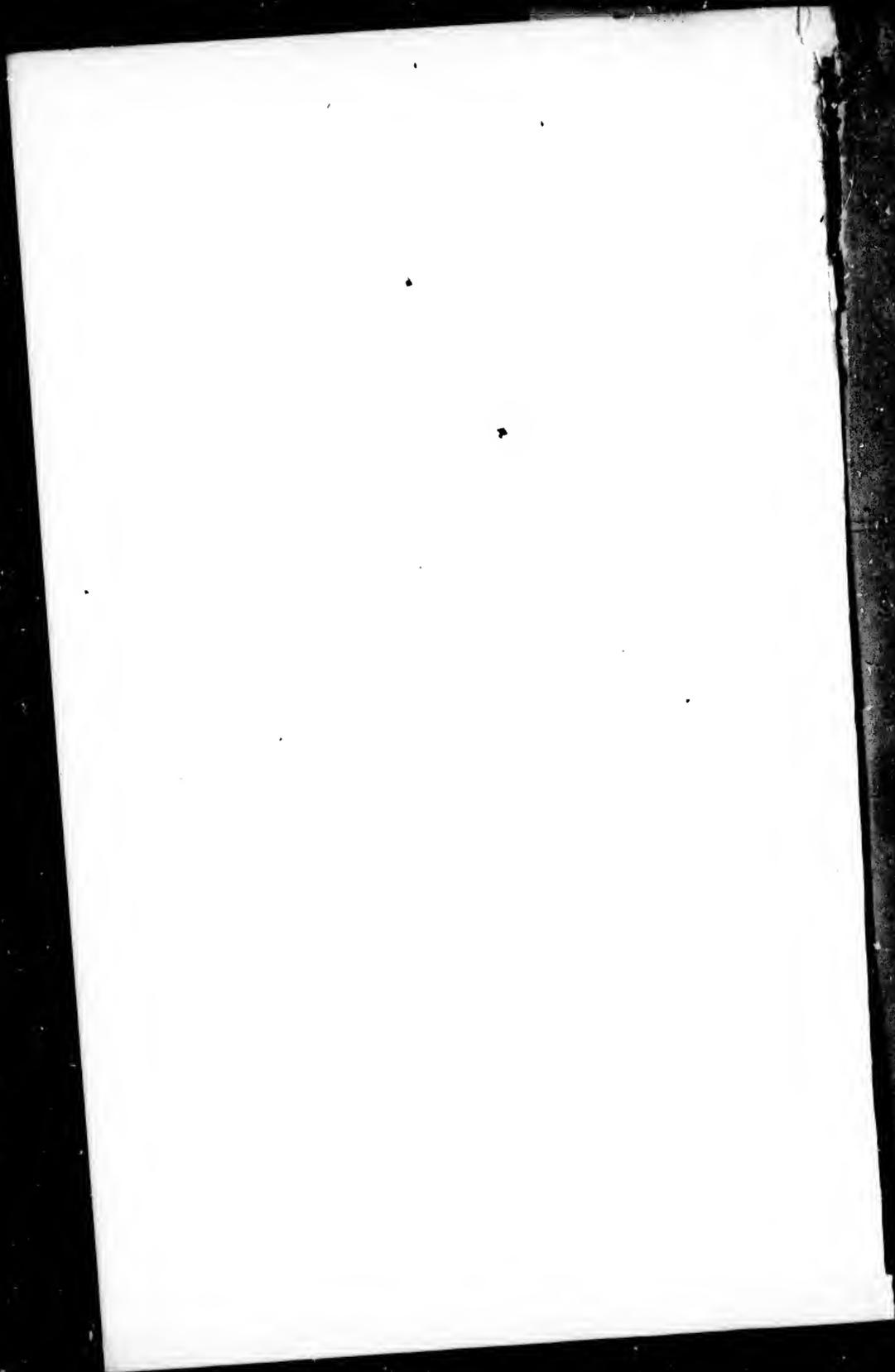
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ENGLAND IN AMERICA:

AN ESSAY,

FOR WHICH

THE DOUGLAS GOLD MEDAL

WAS PRESENTED TO

WILLIAM CARLETON LEE,

AT KING'S COLLEGE ENCÆNIA,

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK,

JULY 5, 1860.

FREDERICTON, N. B.

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1860.

NOTE.—It has not been thought necessary to specify all the authorities for the facts stated in this Essay. The readers of M. de Toqueville, Bancroft, Sabine, and other well known writers, will be satisfied with marks of quotation occasionally indicating passages in which the adoption of accredited sentiments or reflections appeared to require such an acknowledgment.

ESSAY.

“ENGLAND IN AMERICA” presents a spectacle of interesting contemplation to the statesman, the philosopher, and the philanthropist. Without entering too minutely into historical detail, it may fall within the limits of an academic essay to show the motives which induced the English to plant colonies in the New World; the auspices under which their settlements were made; the methods adopted for governing them; the principles which actuated the inhabitants of the chief colonies; and the main causes of their final separation from the mother country.

The discovery of Columbus had filled all Europe with admiration; and an enduring impression seems to have been made upon the English mind. Filled with a desire of emulating the glory of Spain, and of sharing the advantages of this new field for enterprise, our English ancestors entered upon their career, and pursued it with unmitigated zeal, overcoming every obstacle which their unskilfulness in navigation presented.

By the discoveries of Cabot the English considered themselves possessed of a valid claim to the whole coast from Labrador to Florida; but the country presented none of the allurements which had incited and rewarded the Spanish adventurers. Well-wooded, indeed, intersected by noble rivers, and enclosing safe and capacious harbours and bays, it seemed a promising region for permanent settlements and agricultural industry; but offered only a faint prospect of wealth to be obtained from gold or silver mines, or from the treasures of the native inhabitants.

During sixty one years from the discovery of America by Cabot in 1497, the English monarchs gave but little attention to this country. But the activity and success with which the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland were prosecuted; the voyages of Martin Frobisher, who in 1576 and the two following years explored the coasts of Labrador and Greenland; and,

more than all, the growing power of Spain, turned their attention to the importance of planting colonies in that country which, as yet, had been only visited.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained letters patent with full powers for the establishment of a colony in the year 1578, and before 1587 three bands of colonists were sent out, but they were few in number and ill provided with necessaries. One returned, and the other two perished, either from starvation or the hostility of the natives. Thus one hundred and six years after the discovery of America by the English under Cabot, not a single Englishman remained in it. A voyage made, however, in the last year of Elizabeth's reign by Bartholomew Esnold, who, instead of taking the unnecessary circuit by the West Indies and the Gulf of Florida, steered due west, and reached America by the more direct course, facilitated and encouraged schemes for colonization which were already in contemplation by many of the nobles.

But the extent of the American continent had now become more fully-known; and James, thinking it an act of "impolitic and profuse liberality" to grant such an extensive domain to any one body of men, divided that portion of it which stretches from the thirty fourth to the forty fifth degree of north latitude into two portions nearly equal; the one called the South Colony of Virginia, the other the North Colony. The former was placed under the control of the London; the latter, of the Plymouth Company.

The Charter granted to these Companies was nothing more than a simple charter of incorporation for trading purposes. Instead of the corporation having, as was usual, the power of framing laws for the conduct of its own affairs, and of electing its own officers, the supreme government of the colonies was vested in a council resident in England, and the subordinate jurisdiction in another council resident in America, both to be appointed by the King and to act agreeably to his instructions. The Crown thus reserved to itself complete control over the colonists, to whom, however, and their descendants, were ostensibly reserved the rights of denizens in the same manner

as if they had remained or been born in England. Thus they were allowed to hold their lands by the freest and least burdensome tenure, and whatever was necessary for the sustenance of the colonies for seven years was to be exported from England free of duty. But in this charter the item most favourable to the colonists was the unlimited permission of trade with foreigners; and it is somewhat remarkable that James, priding himself as he did upon his profound skill in the science of government, should have allowed them this privilege, the exercise of which was then likely to be regarded as involving serious injury to the interests of the mother country. And it was upon this very subject that the first dispute arose with the parent realm; for tobacco having become the staple commodity of Virginia, warehouses for it were established at Middleburgh and Flushing; and the extensive trade carried on with the Dutch excited the jealousy of James, who contended that all the produce of the colonies should first be landed in England, while the colonists in defence pleaded the terms of their charter. This was but one of many inconsistencies with regard to America which characterized the line of the Stuarts, and which were unhappily but too frequently to be seen throughout the government of the old American colonies by the English monarchs.

Under this charter each company prepared to establish its respective colonies, the London that of Virginia, and the Plymouth that of New England; "the original colonies, in imitation of which, and under whose shelter, all the rest were successively planted and reared."

The primary Plymouth company, after one or two fruitless attempts to establish settlements, was superseded by a new one, under the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," which purchased from the original company all the land extending from three miles north of the River Merrymack to three miles south of Charles River, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean.

In 1609 a new charter was granted to the London company, by which were transferred to it the powers hitherto possessed

by the King, the council in Virginia abolished, and the government vested in a council resident in London, to be elected by a majority of the members, and to establish such laws and forms of administration as they should deem fittest, and to appoint a colonial Governor. In pursuance of these privileges Sir George Yardely called an Assembly of Representatives of the people in 1619.

In this convention eleven corporations appeared by their representatives, and assumed the right of making laws for their own government. They thus beheld within themselves an image of the English constitution—a resemblance which a special ordinance from the company two years afterwards rendered more complete, and gave a legal and permanent form to the constitution of the colony. The company, however, soon after awakened the jealousy of James, who formed a pretext for depriving them of their charter, and taking the government into his own hands. In 1624 he appointed a Governor and Council of twelve, with virtually paramount legislative and executive power. The General Assembly was permitted to meet, though much restricted in its functions.

Thus was Virginia erected into a royal province and made to appear a copy of the mother country. Religion was established according to the "form and discipline of the Church of England;" each parish had its glebe and parsonage, and the English law of primogeniture and entail regulated the descent of property. Although discontent was constantly provoked by some of the Governors, the spirit of the colonists however remained eminently loyal; and their attachment to Charles, and opposition to Cromwell, excited the anger of Massachusetts, who prohibited all intercourse which Virginia until she should acknowledge the Commonwealth.

But we must not omit to notice one circumstance which, though seemingly of little importance at first, exercised a prodigious influence upon the manners, laws, and future prospects of the South. This was the introduction of Slavery soon after the foundation of the colony. Now "slavery," as it has been justly remarked, "dishonors labour; it introduces

idleness into society, and with idleness, ignorance and pride, luxury and distress. It enervates the powers of the mind and benumbs the activity of man." The influence of slavery, modifying the English character, explains the manners and social condition of the Southern states. In the South the wealthier colonists, possessing and directing the labour of numerous slaves, lived apart on their plantations, affecting something of the state of a landed aristocracy; which, though never possessing any great influence, in consequence of there being no dependent tenants upon it, still lessened in a considerable degree the tendency to democratic principles.

In the New England states the case was entirely the reverse. The first New England colony consisted of emigrants far different from the Virginian adventurers. They were Puritans of the strictest sect, Independents in their form of church government, and in consequence of their long continued opposition to both church and state at home, were fast verging to republicanism.

Persecuted in England because they would not conform to the established church, they at first fled to Holland, where they remained ten years. But receiving no increase to their church, fearing that their children would intermarry with the Dutch, and forget their English parentage, and the customs of their forefathers, and that all their high attainments in spiritual knowledge would be consigned to oblivion, they formed the project of removing to America. They received a grant of land from the London Company, but were unable to obtain from James any assurance of toleration in the free exercise of their religion.

Having arrived at a spot beyond the jurisdiction of the Company, and not being incorporated by charter, they deemed it necessary before leaving their vessel to sign an agreement; promising to submit to whatever "just and equal laws and ordinances might be thought convenient for the general good." On November 11th, 1620, they landed, and to their chosen abode gave the name of New Plymouth. Deeply imbued with the idea of natural equality, in consequence of their peculiar

ecclesiastical polity, they established their civil government upon the same principles.

“Every freeman who was a member of the church was admitted to the supreme legislative body. The laws of England were adopted as the basis of their jurisprudence; though with some diversity as to the punishments inflicted, borrowed from the Mosaic institutions;” the executive power was vested in a governor and assistants to be elected annually by the members of the Legislative Assembly. A charter from the Crown was necessary to complete their political organization, but this they never obtained. Nevertheless they acted as if they had received full powers; and their remoteness and obscurity prevented the authorities at home from questioning their right. The basis of their legislation was the agreement signed on board the *Mayflower*; and for some time all the settlers came together in general assembly to enact the necessary laws. Thus in its origin the colony of New Plymouth was a pure democracy, although the legislative power was soon after delegated to representatives from the several Towns. The emigrants erected themselves into a republic. It was a self-created, independent, and popular government; founded, if not in defiance, at least without the sanction of royal authority.

To the same causes which produced the colonization of Plymouth, Massachusetts is indebted for its origin. It was founded by Puritans under a charter dated March 4th, 1628. The Company was incorporated under the name of “The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England,” to have perpetual succession, and to choose yearly a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, and to make laws not repugnant to those of England.

Thus to the Puritans of New England are to be traced the first germs of American aversion to monarchical government. Their sole object in emigrating was to be out of reach of what they accounted spiritual tyranny; and the spirit of political as well as spiritual independence became deeply rooted in them.

“The settlers of New England,” as it has been observed,

"were at the same time ardent sectarians and daring innovators. Political principles, and all human laws and institutions, were moulded and altered at their pleasure; the barriers of the society in which they were born were broken down before them; the old principles which had governed the world for ages were no more; a path without a term, and a field without an horizon, were opened to the exploring and ardent curiosity of man."

Although, when in England, strong advocates for the free exercise of religious opinions, the New England colonists soon proved themselves more arbitrary than those, to avoid whose authority they had left their native land; and two episcopalian were sent back to London merely for reading their prayer-book, contrary to the established form of worship, which was without a liturgy. "They were banished from Salem, because they were English churchmen. Thus was episcopacy first professed to be extended to New England, and thus was it exiled."

Numbers of Puritans continually flocked to America, but, dissatisfied with the prospect of being governed by laws made without their consent, they insisted upon the charter being transferred to New England. This removal of their charter changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government, and was the origin of what are called Charter Governments in America; in which all officers from the highest to the lowest were elected, and all laws went into operation without transmission to the mother country. For other charters afterwards granted were in reality grants of independence; as, for instance, those which vested in the freemen of Connecticut and Rhode Island the right of admitting new associates; of choosing annually from among themselves a governor, magistrates, and representatives, with full power of legislative and judicial authority. No negative on laws was reserved to the Crown; the oath of allegiance was not required; and the usual clause, that the laws should not be repugnant to those of England, was modified by a reference to the "constitution of the place and the nature of the people." The charter to the colony of Providence gave to the inhabitants authority

to rule themselves as "they shall find most suitable." These same royal charters remained the basis of their polity long after they became independent states.

In Massachusetts till the year 1684, the history of the colony presents one resolute and systematic defence of its independence; a determined resolution not to admit the authority of the Crown: an indomitable courage and obstinacy in resisting, and a remarkable ingenuity in evading it. Circumstances favoured its success. The state of political agitation in England, and their distance from it, were advantages which these colonists readily perceived, and of which they did not hesitate to make the most. As a proof of their determination not to admit the authority of the Crown, we find them omitting the King's name in administering oaths (on the ground that the people and not the King was supreme;) forbidding the drinking of his Majesty's health at table; and in place of the oath of allegiance, substituting one of fidelity to the local government.

To prevent episcopals from obtaining any influence in the colony, they in 1631 enacted, that, "in order that the body of the Commons may be preserved of good and honest men, none shall hereafter be admitted freemen, or entitled to any share in the government, or even to serve as jurymen, but such as have been admitted into the church as members." But the clergy were invested with the sole power of judging of the qualification of those who applied for admission to the communion of the church, and consequently they obtained immense influence. There was but little danger of complaints being made by those who were dissatisfied; since a law was passed which rendered petitioning the Crown equivalent to "slandering the brethren;" an offence for which heavy punishments were inflicted. The settlements of the English having become more widely dispersed, the freemen in 1634, instead of coming together in general assembly, as required by charter, elected representatives, with full powers to deliberate and decide upon every matter which fell under the cognizance of the General Court. In assertion of their own rights, they enacted that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no

public officer appointed, but in the general assembly. They thus early exercised that right—the imposition of their own taxes—which the British Parliament claimed and attempted to enforce by the passage of the Stamp Act in 1775.

Religious disputes having arisen in Massachusetts, many persons withdrew to other parts of the country; thus forming new colonies. In this manner Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Haven were founded. In all these the government of Massachusetts, with respect both to civil and ecclesiastical polity, served as a model, and in this way the democratic principles of that province were disseminated throughout the country: “sectarianism and democracy going hand in hand and waiting their day.”

Connecticut and Rhode Island were afterwards incorporated by royal charters, which, as before stated, were really grants of independence. A short time indeed previous to the breaking out of the civil war in England, a *quo warranto* was issued against Massachusetts, and measures taken for new-modelling the political frame of the colony: but the difficulties between Charles and his Parliament prevented his plans from being carried into execution. In the mean time the colony was suffered to enjoy its independence undisturbed; and to lay the foundation of those institutions, which, in time to come, were to support and maintain the great American Republic. She made treaties of peace, or declared war with the surrounding tribes; and relying upon the partiality with which her proceedings were viewed by Cromwell and his party, ventured upon a measure which increased her power and security, and contributed in a great degree to foster her democratic feelings; while at the same time it proved a serious obstacle in the way of adjusting all disputes with the mother country. In 1643 the four colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. They were to be distinguished by the name of “the United Colonies of New England,” each colony to remain separate and distinct, and to have complete jurisdiction within its own territory; and in every war each of

the confederates was to furnish its quota of provisions and men. An Assembly composed of two Representatives from each Colony was to be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide upon all matters of common concern to the confederacy.

In this Union may be clearly traced the origin of the federal union of the present United States of America.

In 1652 the colonists assumed the right of coinage, which has always been considered a prerogative peculiar to royalty; but in both these as well as many other instances the colonies of New England appear to have considered themselves as independent of any superior power.

Hitherto the American provinces had grown up in comparative neglect, and had exercised self-government almost entirely. But having now attained an important position in the commercial world, the mother country attempted to obtain a monopoly of their trade; and for this purpose the Navigation Act was passed in 1660. By this act it was provided that none but English or Plantation built ships, of which the master and three fourths of the crew were Englishmen, should transport American produce across the ocean; and a list of articles, comprising some of the most valuable productions of the colonies, were to be sold only under the head of *enumerated commodities*, were to be sold only in the English markets. New articles were continually added to those enumerated, and subjected to the same restrictions. By a new law additional restraints were imposed, and the importation into the colonies of any European commodities, except those laden in English ships, manned as the act required, was prohibited. None but native born or naturalized subjects were permitted to exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English settlement; and all commodities required by the colonists were to be purchased in the markets of the parent country. In this manner the tying down of the trade of the colonies to the exclusive advantage of Great Britain was reduced to a complete system; and it is to these restraints that the first incitement to the American Revolution is to be traced. These laws were continually

evaded by the Americans, and to enforce them was the constant endeavour of the British Parliament. Severe rules were passed for this purpose, and heavy penalties imposed upon all who should disobey them, but with little or no effect. "The laws of Navigation were no where so openly disobeyed and contemned as in New England. The people of Massachusetts Bay, having a governor and magistrates of their own choice, it was difficult to enforce any regulation which came from the English Parliament adverse to their interests."

Virginia petitioned against the act; but receiving only stricter injunctions to comply with it, resorted to evasion. But in Massachusetts a declaration of rights was published, "in which are distinctly shadowed out the three great doctrines on which their sovereignty rested:—1st. A positive denial of the right of appeal. 2nd. A declaration that acts of Parliament regulating their trade were unconstitutional. 3rd. An assertion of their peculiar privilege of managing their own internal affairs. These three principles, accompanied as they were by a direct avowal of the legality of maintaining them by force of arms, comprise absolute independence. They are wholly irreconcilable with any thing like imperial control, and leave to the King nothing but an empty title. It is therefore absurd to ascribe the origin of these pretensions to the Revolution of 1783. They thus early asserted and contended for unmixed and uncontrollable Republicanism."

Duties however were now levied upon certain enumerated commodities; and the management of the revenue entrusted to local officers appointed by the Commissioners of Customs in England, and a Custom House Officer appointed for Massachusetts. But encountering obstruction and insult from the people, he returned unsuccessful; and when again sent out, was again forced to return. He, however, laid serious complaints against the colony; and as the King was already greatly irritated at their non-compliance with certain instructions received from him, (one of which was that they should admit episcopalians to the enjoyment of the same political rights as were exercised by themselves,) a *quo warranto* was issued, which put an end to their charter in 1684.

Such was the downfall of the Republic of Massachusetts, or, as she styled herself, "Respublica Perfecta," but "with it," says Minot, "fell not the habits nor the principles which the settlement of the country had engendered. These were, for a time, slightly hidden in its fall; but soon sprang up again, more deeply rooted, and renovated with permanent strength; nor have they ceased to flourish till, in their turn, they have over-run, and probably forever buried, every germ of royal authority in that republican soil."

Massachusetts was now ruled by governors appointed by the King; and, until the Revolution of 1688, was engaged in continual disputes with the sovereign and his representative. Availing themselves of the Revolution, she, by the seizure and imprisonment of her governor Andross, made a direct and forcible resistance to the authority of the Crown, and then restored the old order of things, which continued until the arrival in 1692 of Sir William Phipps, with a new charter.

We have now seen what led to the establishment of the principal colonies in America, viz:—Virginia, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and their offshoots. Moreover the English Catholics, treated with severity at home, fled to Maryland, the Quakers to Pennsylvania. Upon all these occasions, with the exception of the planting of Virginia, it was not the wisdom and policy of the English government, but the discontent of portions of the people, which peopled and cultivated America. No regularly combined and consistent method was ever adopted for governing these colonies, but different modes were used in different places.

Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire were Royal provinces. The government consisted of a Governor and Council, appointed by the King, and a House of Representatives. To the governor was reserved a negative on laws, which, though assented to by him, were still liable to be annulled by the Crown.

The removal by the Puritans of the patent to the Company of Massachusetts Bay, and the application of it to the purposes of civil government were, as before stated, the origin of the Charter governments.

Another form in use was the Proprietary. Large tracts were sometimes granted to one or more individuals, who sold the lands, governed the inhabitants by whatever laws they pleased, and in fact exercised complete civil and political power under the inspection and control of the Crown. This was the method adopted in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Carolinas.

Belkness, in speaking of the Royal governments, says, "had such a simple form of government been more generally adopted, and perseveringly adhered to, and administered only by the most delicate hands, it might have served better than any other, to perpetuate the dependance of the colonies upon the British Crown."

The result of the Charter governments was pure democracy. But here we must take into consideration the social condition of the inhabitants at the period of their emigration. They came to an uncultivated country with one common object in view—to avoid persecution. They brought with them their wives, their families, and their property. Their religious forms of worship were already established; and, at the moment of their landing on the cold and barren shore, which was to be their future home, they possessed political institutions and civil liberty. They were, either from their original conditions, or from the necessity of their common interest, nearly on an equality with respect to property, being obliged to divide and parcel out the land, which was at first held in common. To bring his share into cultivation all the exertions of the owner were necessary, and "it may fairly be said," that this act of parcelling out the land "fixed the future form and frame of the government." By the laws, estates were rendered divisible among sons and daughters, the exclusive claim of any one heir being disregarded. In this manner the tendency of property to accumulate in the hands of individuals was destroyed. As there were no lands yielding rents, and no tenants, there could be no aristocracy: since "land is the basis of an aristocracy, which clings to the soil that supports it; for it is not by privileges alone, nor by birth, but by landed property

handed down from generation to generation, that an aristocracy is constituted." Another circumstance which greatly contributed to prevent the establishment of an aristocracy, was that in England the stronghold of the Puritans was the middle classes; and it was from these classes that the majority of the emigrants came. New England, therefore, from the first "seemed destined to behold the growth, not of the aristocratic liberty of the mother country, but of that freedom of the lower and middle orders, of which the history of the world had, as yet, furnished no complete example; and while the hierarchy of rank despotically classed the inhabitants of England, the colony continued to present the novel spectacle of a community homogeneous in all its parts. A democracy, more perfect than any antiquity had dreamed of, started in full size and panoply from the midst of an ancient feudal society."

As early as the year 1650, Townships were completely and definitively established. In these little communities all concerns of local police were regulated, and all matters of common interest discussed. "The independence of the townships was the nucleus round which the local interests, passions, rights and duties collected and clung. It gave scope to the activity of a real political life, most thoroughly democratic and republican."

Universal Education also engaged the attention of the people at a very early date. Public schools were established in every township, and the inhabitants obliged by law to support them.

The magistrates were authorized to enforce upon the parent the attendance of his child, under penalty of a fine for non-compliance; and in case of continued refusal, the child was taken from its home and placed under the care of public authorities. They thus, by securing the succession of a people imbued with the same principles, "erected their republic upon the only sure basis on which it can ever exist—General Education."

In Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Providence, (afterwards included in it,) the Government naturally became a democracy, since they constituted a society of their own accord, having been founded without the assistance, and almost without the

knowledge of the mother country; and all being offsets from Massachusetts whose form of government they adopted as a model.

Although the American colonists were at all times proud of their origin, and cherished an affectionate remembrance for the mother country, still it could not but be expected that an interest and feeling far different from those of mere Englishmen would arise in this their new home. Their remains of friends and relatives were soon to render the soil of New England sacred in the eyes of the settlers; and by the succeeding generations it was revered as the land of their nativity. "As a son leaving the house of his father for his own, finds by the order of nature, and the very law of his being, nearer and dearer objects around which his affections circle, while his attachment to the parental roof becomes moderated, by degrees, to a composed regard, and affectionate remembrance; so these people leaving their native land, not without some violence to the feelings of nature and affection, yet, in time, found in their new homes a new circle of engagements, interests and affections, a feeling which more and more encroached upon the old, till an undivided sentiment that *this was their country* occupied the heart; and patriotism, shutting out from its embraces the parent realm, became local to America."

We have seen that by the end of the first century New England had laid, deep and strong, the foundations of her society; and her public Schools and Colleges were diffusing widely the elements of knowledge. An author who wrote near the close of this century, says, "New England is almost deserving that noble name, so mightily hath it increased, and from a small settlement at first, is now become a very populous and flourishing government." With the exception of Georgia and Florida, the continental colonies were now firmly established, consisting of Massachusetts, (including Plymouth and Maine,) Rhode Island, (embracing Providence,) Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas, and contained about 250,000 inhabitants.

In 1692 Sir William Phipps arrived with a new charter to

Massachusetts, and a commission appointing him Governor of the colony; and from this time till the breaking out of the rebellion, the colonists were engaged in continual disputes with the mother country. The laws affecting their trade were most commonly the subject of these disputes; and the utter disregard of them gave rise to the establishment, first, of the Boards of Trade, and then of the Courts of Admiralty. Acting upon the advice of one of their number named Cook, the colonists refused to establish any permanent salary for the governor, determined to make him sensible of his total dependence upon them, and hoping by this means to influence his decision upon all matters of importance to themselves.

But as the limits of this Essay will not permit an account of even the chief events in the colonies, I will mention but two, which, on account of their connection with the future prospects of the country, ought not to be omitted; and then pass on to the year 1763, when the immediate causes of the Revolution originated.

The first of these events was the attempt made by the Society for propagating the Gospel to establish Bishops in America. This attempt, though at first unsuccessful, was not abandoned, but perseveringly pursued and finally carried out. The benefits which have resulted from it are becoming daily more and more manifest. The Church of England, notwithstanding the opposition it has encountered, has, by the blessing of Providence, taken deep root in America; and, with numerous other Christian communities, forms one of the firmest links which should serve to hold that country and England in the bonds of friendship. What stronger argument could there be for a continuance of amicable relations between the two countries, than is to be found in the following lines of Tupper?

“ Columbia, child of Britain—noblest child!
 “ I praise the growing lustre of thy worth,
 “ And fain would see thy great heart reconciled,
 “ To love the Mother of so blest a birth;
 “ For we are one, Columbia! still the same
 “ In lineage, language, laws, and ancient fame;—
 “ The natural nobility of earth;

" Yes, we are one ; the glorious days of yore,
 " When dear Old England earned her storied name,
 " Are thine, as well as ours, for evermore ;
 " And thou hast rights in Milton, ev'n as we ;
 " Thou too canst claim—' Sweet Shakspere's wood notes wild,—
 " And chiefest, brother, we are both made free,
 " Of one religion, pure and undefiled."

The other event was the debate upon the proposed confederation of all the provinces, with a constitution resembling, as nearly as possible, that of the United States. It was proposed to petition Parliament for an Act forming one general government in America. But thinking that by it the power of the colonists was too fully demonstrated, and the control of the Crown rendered too feeble, the British Cabinet rejected the plan. " The maturing and adopting of this important scheme in North America were reserved for her separate and independent authority at a later period. Repeated renewals of their military conventions accustomed men's minds to the idea of centralization ; and when the final struggle with the parent country commenced, the machinery to be made use of for combination was so familiar to the provincials, that they had but to follow the example of their forefathers."

Hitherto one common object, the expulsion of the French from the New World, had served to unite the mother country and the colonies. After a war which lasted nine years, this object was attained ; and on February 10th 1763, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Paris, by which the whole of Canada, Nova Scotia, (including New Brunswick) Cape Breton, and all the Islands in the Gulf and River Saint Lawrence, were ceded to England.

The glorious termination of this arduous struggle was hailed at the time as an auspicious event, which would consolidate forever the union of the two countries. But the war had been an expensive one, and the national debt greatly increased by it. To lighten this debt therefore, it was determined to tax America, and compel her for the future to defray the expenses of her own government, which had hitherto been provided for by England. The Molasses or Sugar Act was accordingly

passed, by which a duty of three pence *per gallon* was imposed upon all imported into the colonies.

Although a duty of six pence had formerly been enacted, it had never been collected; and consequently this new one, instead of a boon, as represented by English statesmen, was a very heavy burden, and created immense dissatisfaction, which was soon after increased by the Stamp Act, by which all printed or written public legal papers were made subject to a duty. The opposition to this act was so violent that it was soon after repealed; but not until it had widened the breach between the two countries to such an extent, that the restoration of good understanding between them seemed almost hopeless. But still the House of Commons continued to claim the right to bind America in every way, while the colonists as firmly contended that it was unjust that they should be taxed by a Parliament in which they were not represented.

With a view to conciliate them, other bills were passed, designed to increase certain branches of their trade, or to extend their privileges;—but all to no purpose;—the Sugar and Stamp Acts had completely destroyed all the good feelings existing at the peace of 1763, and entirely alienated the affections of a majority of the inhabitants.

At last the attempt on the part of Mr. Grenville (the originator of the Stamp Act.) to raise a trans-atlantic revenue, to compel the colonists to defray the expenses of a standing army, and to establish permanent salaries for the governors, exasperated them beyond all bounds. The duty on Tea was peculiarly obnoxious; and, after numerous declarations of rights by the people, and many dissolutions of assemblies by the governors, it was determined that no Tea should be received by any of the colonies; and many vessels laden with it were sent back to England without landing their cargo, while that landed by others was immediately destroyed.

Such a spirit of coercion was however evinced by the British Parliament, that they continued to bring in bills regulating and restraining the trade of the provinces. But now "the high born heir had grown to man's estate," and determined no

longer to submit to the arbitrary exactions and oppressions of another power, whose only object appeared to the colonists to be the advancement of its own commercial interests.

The late war with France had filled the provinces with skilful officers and good soldiers, who, if not equal to the British in discipline, still could recall many instances in which they had rescued them from defeat, or extricated them from ambush. They also possessed the advantage of being able to bring their whole force into the field, while England could put but a particle of her population in motion. They were to fight upon their native soil, in defence of their rights and their liberties.

On the 19th April 1775, was fought the battle of Lexington, which was the signal for war; and on the 30th November 1783, a treaty of peace was entered into between England and America, by which the independence of the United States was fully acknowledged.

Though victory attended not the arms of England in this great struggle, the mortification of defeat is more than counterbalanced by the consolation, that, from her soil has sprung the greatest nation on the western continent; a nation gifted with her enterprise and her courage, professing the same religion, speaking the same tongue. For although the English language in America has undergone some slight modifications by the invention of new words, or the application of new meanings to old ones, still it is the supreme language of the country. The Swedish and the Dutch have almost entirely disappeared, and the French is spoken in New Orleans alone; and notwithstanding the continual emigration of foreigners to the United States, it still is and seems likely to continue to be the common language; since the adoption of the general speech of the country is the first and necessary act of those who desire to take that part in public affairs, to which their numbers, their abilities, and their education entitle them.

Among the many glories that England has to boast of, it is not, and will not be one of the least, that she, more successful in this respect than the other nations of Europe, has trans-

mitted and permanently established beyond the broad ocean, liberal institutions, evangelical religion, and a language which, whatever harshness of sound or clumsiness of inflection may disfigure it, however inferior it may be in harmony or musical capability to the more liquid dialects of the sunny south, has been the vehicle of many of the greatest productions of human reason and human genius ; the language of Milton and Shakspeare, of Macaulay and Tennyson—one and the same with the language of Irving, Bryant, and Longfellow."

It ought to be a source of no small satisfaction to Englishmen to know, "that the States of North America which have established their independence, and glory in the title of *Land of Liberty*, owe the measure of prosperity which they actually enjoy to the principles of *British Law*, which they have continued to maintain."

A few remarks upon the remaining British Provinces in North America must suffice. They comprise a highly valuable and most extensive territory, including indeed, an area greater than that of the United States. Hudson's Bay, Labrador, Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, Prince Rupert's Land, and now British Columbia, comprise a vast domain bounded by three mighty oceans. The commercial importance of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is very great. Their constitutions are eminently English ; the political department consisting of a Governor, Executive Council, Legislative Council and House of Assembly ; answering to the Sovereign, Privy Council or Cabinet, House of Lords and Commons.

The Governor appointed by the Crown, is the immediate representative of the monarch, and exercises supreme administrative power. The Executive Council are the advisers of His Excellency, and their tenure of office depends upon the wishes of the people as expressed by their representatives.

The members of the Legislative Council are appointed, generally for life, by the Crown ; and form the upper branch of the legislature, the assent of which is necessary to all Acts of the Assembly. The lower branch of the legislature is

composed of representatives of the people elected for short periods, to whom, in conjunction with the upper House, is committed full legislative power; subject, however to ratification by the Governor and confirmation by the Crown.

The perfection of civil and religious liberty is enjoyed by every inhabitant, and the benefits of the English law are attainable by all. Notwithstanding the diversity of sentiments and feelings which inevitably prevails in so free a constitution, the predominant principles of the colonists are eminently loyal; many of them glorying in their descent from the Loyalists who served in the inter-colonial wars, men who "left their foes, their all, for a home in a British land."

That their attachment to the British Crown may be not only not lessened, but that every year may serve to render it more firm and lasting, should be the ardent desire of all.

And surely the provision every where made for the education of the rising and future generations, on the most liberal and enlightened schemes of the Schools and Colleges of the British Isles; the unwearied labours of societies and individuals to propagate the religion which has rendered those favoured Isles the distinguished abode of faith and hope and charity, with all their heavenly fruits; and the mild and conciliating characteristics of the government of England in and over these her provinces in America, may be allowed to justify the assured persuasion that here, at least, that Government, so conducive to the best interests of all classes of the people, will be perpetuated to ages of continually advancing improvement.

