



THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

III.—*Thomas Hutchinson, the last Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.*

By the REVEREND W. H. WITHROW, D. D.

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The story of the brave men who continued loyal to Great Britain during the revolt of the American colonies is one of grandest heroism. In the severe testing of character caused by the war these Abdiels of the Revolution, "faithful found among the faithless," were severely tried and were not found wanting. They were exposed to suspicion and insult and often to wanton outrage and spoliation. They were denounced by the local assemblies as traitors. Their property was confiscated, their families were ostracized, and not unfrequently their lives were menaced.

The close of the war was followed by the exodus of many thousands of these true-hearted men and their households, who for conscience' sake abandoned their homes, often large estates, to return to the old land which they so ardently loved either as their own birth land or as the land of their fathers, or to encounter the discomforts of new settlements or the perils of an unknown wilderness. The number of those who so accepted exile rather than forswear their allegiance to their King it has been said was relatively as large as the number of Huguenots expropriated from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

"We may fairly estimate," says Sir John Bourinot, the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada, "that between eighty and one hundred thousand men, women and children were forced to leave and scatter throughout the world." Of this number between thirty and forty thousand people came to the provinces of the present Dominion. More than two-thirds of the exiles settled in the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The British Parliament voted them an allowance of nearly sixteen million dollars, besides considerable annuities, land grants and the like.

Sir John Bourinot, in his recent volume, "Canada under British Rule," has paid in eloquent words a due meed of praise to the heroic men and women who for their fidelity to their noble ideal of the unity of the empire, a conception which is only now being grasped in all its significance, received the ever to be honoured name of United Empire Loyalists.

Of the U. E. Loyalists, Lecky remarks: "They comprised some of the best and ablest men America has ever produced, and they were

contending for an idea which was at least as worthy as that for which Washington fought. The maintenance of one free, industrial, and pacific empire, comprising the whole English-speaking race, may have been a dream, but it was at least a noble one."

One of the most conspicuous of these Loyalists was Thomas Hutchinson, a last royal governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay. One of Hutchinson's successors in the governorship of Massachusetts, speaking of him as chief justice, said: "Few who sat upon the Bench in the last century were more deserving of commendation. His character in this capacity was irreproachable, his learning, even in the science of law, was highly respectable, and when we consider his early education, was indeed remarkable." "His historical writings," says his biographer, "give him a respectable place in the literature of his age." For a quarter of a century, from before the fall of Louisbourg to his exile from America, "there was," he adds, "no more eminent personage in the western hemisphere than he."

Of his ability as a financier, John Adams, his vehement antagonist during his life, thirty years after his death wrote: "If I was the witch of Endor, I would wake the ghost of Hutchinson, and give him absolute power over the currency of the United States and every part of it, provided always that he should meddle with nothing but the currency. As little as I revere his memory, I will acknowledge that he understood the subject of coin and commerce better than any man I ever knew in this country."

The materials for the life of Hutchinson are ample. He prepared while in exile in England in his old age, an autobiography from his youth to the Revolution, published in two volumes. The third volume of his History of Massachusetts Bay, not printed till nearly fifty years after his death, gives also much personal information. The Hutchinson Correspondence, comprising fifteen hundred letters in three thick folio volumes, preserved in the Massachusetts archives, presents a vivid picture of the stormy period through which he lived. This manuscript was left behind him on his exile from the country in 1774, and many pages are still stained with mud and rain from exposure in the street, to which they were flung by the mob when his house was pillaged in 1765. There are copious references to the Hutchinson papers in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society and in Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America. The best compendious Life of the sturdy Loyalist is that by James K. Hosmer, an octavo volume of 481 pages with reprints of many illustrative documents.<sup>1</sup> To this we are largely indebted for the material for this brief memoir.

<sup>1</sup> Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Thomas Hutchinson was a descendent of an old colonial family, one of the first members of which to become known to fame was that eccentric enthusiast, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the distinguished Antinomian leader who won to her party such men of influence as John Cotton, John Wheelright, the younger Henry Vane and most of the members of the Boston Church. Elisha Hutchinson, her grandson, was the first Chief Justice of Common Pleas of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. His son Thomas Hutchinson, was a member of the Council, a prominent merchant having many vessels engaged in colonial trade, and father of the subject of this sketch. He was a well-to-do citizen of Boston and erected the handsomest mansion in the town, in which his son Thomas was born October 11, 1711. The boy was trained at the Grammar School and proceeded, after the precocious Boston fashion, at the age of twelve to Harvard College. In due time he took his degree of Master of Arts. After graduation he entered his father's counting house, but carried on trading ventures of his own by which, by the time he came of age, he had amassed some four or five hundred pounds. He was seriously inclined and became on reaching manhood a member of the church. In his twenty-sixth year he was chosen Selectman of Boston and was also elected representative to the General Court.

For nearly forty years he was one of the most conspicuous figures in colonial affairs. He first comes into notice in the journals of the House of Representatives as a member of the committee to congratulate King George III. on his safe return through a storm from Germany—a note of his steadfast loyalty throughout his life. It was a mark of public confidence that he was appointed when in his twenty-ninth year to visit England to represent the contention of Massachusetts Bay in a dispute as to the boundary line between that colony and New Hampshire.

Hutchinson was in the forefront of public life during the long conflict between the French and English for the possession of the continent. The Bay Colony, as it was called, took an active part in this conflict. The enterprises which it involved enormously increased the public debt. The financial foresight of Hutchinson led him to strongly urge the establishment of a stable gold and silver currency; but popular feeling was in favour of the more elastic paper money, which even Franklin in Pennsylvania strongly advocated. As a result of his stand in this controversy Hutchinson for a time was the most unpopular man in the colony. When the Home Government granted £183,649 to reimburse the expenses of the province for the siege of Louisbourg, the House at first rejected, but on second thought adopted, his scheme of a "hard money" currency. When the treasure came—two hundred and seven-

teen chests of Spanish dollars and a hundred casks of coined copper—the advantage of honest money was so manifest that instead of being insulted on every street corner Hutchinson became the most popular man in the province. Twelve years later he wrote: “I think I may be allowed to call myself the father of the present fixed medium.”

In his forty-first year he was advanced to the dignity of Judge of Probate and Justice of the Common Pleas. The duties of his office were discharged with industry, integrity and intelligence. Six years later he resigned his position to become for a time Lieutenant-Governor. He was a man of humane instincts and took an active part in the succour of the Acadian exiles, about one thousand of whom were brought to Boston. The fall of Quebec and generous reimbursement of the colonists by the mother country for their sacrifices created a commercial buoyancy previously unknown. In 1760, on the death of Chief Justice Sewall, Hutchinson was appointed as his successor in the highest legal office in the province. As he entered upon its duties George III. was proclaimed king; and soon began that conflict between the Crown and the colony which ended in what has been called the “Schism of the Angle-Saxon race.”

The Council chamber in the old State House, Boston, was the theatre of much of that controversy. Much dignity was affected by the court. The Chief Justice and other judges wore immense judicial wigs, scarlet robes, and cambric bands. The barristers of Boston also wore gowns, bands, and tie wigs, which were supposed to be essential to the administration of justice and exhibition of loyalty to the Crown.

As a man whose fortune was made by merchant adventures, the Chief Justice was personally in favour of free trade. A good deal of smuggling had in the past been winked at, but as supreme officer of the Crown, it was his duty to see to the enforcement of the laws. The search of premises for smuggled goods was strenuously resisted. “The taxes were evaded,” says Hosmer, “the whole country being given over to unlawful trade in a way most demoralizing. The warehouses were few indeed in which there were no smuggled goods.”

From this date Hutchinson’s popularity began to wane. He was at this time “Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Council, Chief Justice, and Judge of Probate.” This combination of functions was not the result of rapacity of office, for the emolument for the whole was very meagre and was sometimes abridged in the annual grants of the House, or indeed entirely cut off. But as Hutchinson possessed wealth, leisure, ability, and high character, the office sought the man, not the man the office.

We may not here enter into the details of the Stamp Act controversy. In order to meet the colonial military expenditure, a stamp

duty was imposed on all legal documents. The colonists denied the right of the Imperial Parliament to impose taxes without their consent. The Stamp Act was repealed in a year, but the obnoxious principle of taxation without representation was maintained by a light duty on tea, and some other articles.

The colonists "were only asked," says Hosmer, "to bear their share in the burden of the empire, by contributing to the sum required for maintaining ten thousand men, intended primarily for their own defense against Indians and French. But here came in the grievance: the tax was demanded by a body in which there was no representation of the people taxed, and 'that taxation and representation are inseparably connected, lay at the root of the English conception of political liberty.'

"Before the war, the American civil and military establishments had cost only £70,000 a year. In 1764 they cost £350,000: this additional expense was incurred on American account, and Lord Grenville (the English Premier) thought America should contribute toward it. He claimed that the stamp tax was the easiest to manage; also the most equitable that could be devised, since it would spare the poor and fall upon property.

"'I am not, however, set upon this tax,' said Greville. 'If the Americans dislike it, and prefer any other method, I shall be content. Write therefore to your several Colonies, and if they choose any other mode, I shall be satisfied, provided the money be but raised.'

Hutchinson himself declared: "It cannot be good policy to tax the Americans: it will prove prejudicial to their natural interests. You will lose more than you will gain. Britain reaps the profit of all their trade and of the increase of their substance."

"The position of Hutchinson," says Hosmer, "was a most trying one. The whole course of government he disapproved; he had been ready to cross the ocean to remonstrate for the Colony against the impolitic treatment. On the other hand, the disloyal tone which daily grew more rife about him was utterly against his mind. . . . But the Province to which he had been like a father was growing away from him, and before the summer ended, he was to receive a blow as ruthless and ungrateful as it was possible to administer."

The popular hostility to the loyal Lieutenant-Governor culminated in this wise:

On the 26th of August, 1765, while at supper in his town house at Boston, a mob approached. Hutchinson directed his family to fly, but his motherless daughters refused to go without him. He thereupon withdrew with them to a place of safety, and in a few minutes the house—the best house in the province, a stately and well-built colonial

mansion—was sacked. Nothing was left but the bare walls and floors, even the roof was partly demolished and the trees in the garden broken down. The mob carried off £900 sterling in money, beside family plate, pictures and furniture, leaving not a single book or paper. Manuscripts that Hutchinson had been collecting for thirty years were scattered or destroyed. The total loss was over £3,000 sterling. The instigators of the mob never intended that matters should go to this length, and the people in general expressed their utmost detestation of the outrage.

A considerable indemnity for this loss was paid, but the rioters were never punished.

"You cannot conceive," Hutchinson wrote to a friend, "the wretched state we are in . . . . On the one hand, it will be said, if concessions are made, the Parliament endanger the loss of their authority over the Colony; on the other hand, if external force should be used, there seems to be danger of a total lasting alienation of affection. Is there no alternative? May the infinitely wise God direct you."

"Hutchinson," says his biographer, "dearly loved the Province, believing to the last that the hearts of the people were sound, if only 'incendiaries' would let them alone. Nine-tenths of the Province he felt sure now detested violence, but over the whole continent the impression was coming to prevail that the Colonies were deprived of English liberties. The better sort desired to use lawful means alone in defence of those vaguely defined liberties,—the most abandoned only would do it *per fas aut nefas*. Being advised to go to England with his children, when they were in semi-concealment at Milton, (his country mansion eight miles from Boston,) in reasonable fear of further violence, he could not bear the thought of leaving his country while he could do it service."<sup>1</sup>

Hutchinson was now a widower after six and twenty years of wedded happiness. His two sons were graduates of Harvard University and had become enterprising merchants. His daughter Sarah became the wife of the son of the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, who succeeded Hutchinson in that high office. His daughter "Peggy," the

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<sup>1</sup> Another famous Royalist of the times was Timothy Ruggles, one of the best lawyers of the province, who possessed a keen sense of humour, an instance of which in his college days is recorded. He was one of a number of students who had stolen a sign, probably on Hallowe'en night, and carried it to his room. The proctors were in hot pursuit, but coming to his door found that a prayer-meeting was in progress, which, by college rules, must not be disturbed. The culprits had placed the sign upon the fire to burn, and "the unctuous voice" of Ruggles was heard through the door saying, "A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given them."

beauty of the family, was destined to die early, and her loss was to be a heavier blow to the sorrowing father than even the loss of his office and estate. "Billy," the youngest boy was sent to England in 1766 to seek a career.

Meanwhile the breach between the mother country and the colonies grew wider. The enforcement of the Stamp Act and the Tea Tax caused much friction and smuggling. "We have been so long habituated," wrote Hutchinson, "to illicit trade, that people in general see no evil in it. Justices and grand juries, whose business it is to suppress riots and tumultuous assemblies, have suffered mobs against informers and to rescue seized goods, to pass unnoticed. Breach of law in one instance leads to others, and a breach of oaths at the custom-house is one cause of so frequent perjuries in judicial proceedings. That temper which for many years has been too prevalent, of dislike to all government, is very much encouraged, as well as a disregard to the rules of morality in general."

Hutchinson wished to remain in the chief justiceship, where he was sure he could do most good even though the stipend was meagre, but by the home administration he was appointed Governor.

To maintain order and strengthen the administration a small body of troops, not exceeding 600 effective men, was brought from Halifax. They were, in part, encamped on Boston Common and in part quartered in Faneuil Hall. The presence of the troops was very unwelcome in Boston. Their relations with the people soon became exceedingly strained. An unfortunate collision took place in front of the State House. A little group of soldiers, attacked with clubs and missiles, were ordered to fire on the mob. Several lives were lost. Hutchinson proceeded at once to the scene of strife, though in imminent danger of violence. He promptly arrested Major Preston, the officer in command, and the squad which had fired. The town meeting demanded the removal of the troops. This Hutchinson refused to order as transcending his powers. Preston and his men had a fair trial, being defended by two sturdy patriots, Adams and Quincy. The troops were removed from the city to the castle on an island in the bay, and tranquillity, or at least a truce, was for a time restored.

"Judgment of death against these soldiers," wrote John Adams in his diary three years later, "would have been as foul a stain upon this country as the execution of the Quakers or witches anciently."

The position of the Royalist Governor was one of great difficulty. Of the Stamp Duties and Tea Tax, as we have seen, he was not in favour, but being enacted he felt that they should be enforced. Thus he became more and more alienated from popular sympathy. As late



as 1772 he received, however, a striking mark of confidence from the General Court, namely, the appointment to adjust the long standing boundary dispute between the Massachusetts and New York. "After all the illiberal treatment," he writes, "I have received for so many years together, this is a greater mark of real confidence than I have known any Assembly to place in a Governor. I have made no concessions to occasion it."

The famous Boston Tea Party brought to a crisis the estranged relations of Hutchinson and the colony. The story has been often told, and need not be here repeated in detail. The ministry of Lord North had withdrawn the export duty paid in England of 12d. per pound on tea, but retained an import duty of 3d. per pound in America. But that differentiation in favour of the colonies did not mollify the antipathy to a violation of their cherished principle, "No taxation without representation."

In November, 1773, the ship Dartmouth sailed into Boston Harbour with a hundred and fourteen chests of tea. She was soon followed by two other tea ships. Among the consignees were the two sons of Governor Hutchinson; Richard Clarke, the grandfather of Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor of England; and Benjamin Faneuil, the Huguenot who bore one of the most honoured names in Boston. The Boston patriots demanded that the tea should be returned to England. The consignees declared this to be beyond their power, but offered to store it till they had received further instructions from their constituents.

The patriotic colonial women pledged themselves to use instead of tea steeped cat-nip and raspberry leaves. "While," says Hosmer, "in the main, the posterity of those men and women must admire, the incidents of the transaction are not by any means always pleasant. There was a mob in revolutionary Boston scarcely less foul-mouthed, pitiless, unscrupulous, than that which roared for the blood of the Bourbons in revolutionary Paris, or was on the verge of destroying London in the Gordon riots."

On December 15th a body of forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, with war whoops and shouting proceeded to the wharf where the ships lay, and broke open and flung into the harbour the entire consignment of tea chests, numbering three hundred and forty.

On December 23rd Hutchinson writes thus to a correspondent at Hatfield: "There never was greater tyranny in Constantinople than has been lately in Boston. Because a number of gentlemen who without their knowledge, the East India Company made the consignees of 400 chests of tea, would not send it back again, which was absolutely out of their power, they have forced them to fly to the castle for refuge

and then have destroyed the property committed to their care. Such barbarity none of the Aborigines were ever guilty of. The Admiral asked some of them next morning who was to pay the fiddler. . . . The value of what is lost is 12 or £14,000 sterling."

"I have taken a solemn oath," he writes to Samuel Swift, on the 4th of January, 1774, "as Governor, to do everything in my power that the Acts of Trade may be carried into execution. Now to have granted a pass (for return to England) to a vessel which I knew had not cleared at the custom-house, would have been such a direct countenancing and encouraging the violation of the Acts of Trade, that I believe you would have altered your opinion of me, and seen me ever after in an unfavourable light. I am sure if I could have preserved the property that is destroyed, or could have complied with the general desire of the people, consistent with the duty which my station requires, I would most readily have done it."

The answer to the Tea Party was the bill closing the port of Boston, thus threatening ruin to its trade. Thus the mother country and the colonies drifted more and more widely asunder and soon came the armed collision which precipitated the Anglo-Saxon schism. With his supersession by General Gage as military commandant the Governor's work was done. He had for some months contemplated, and indeed announced to the legislature, his intention of proceeding to Great Britain. On the first day of June, 1774, one of the first and the most conspicuous of the United Empire Loyalists, sailed away forever from his native land, to which his best services had for nearly forty years been rendered.

His faithful services were not unappreciated by the better class of the citizens. "One hundred and twenty merchants and gentlemen of Boston," says Hosmer, "the members of the Bar, the Episcopal clergy, the magistrates of Middlesex, a number of citizens of Salem and Marblehead, sent him respectful addresses." The following is the account given by his biographer of his departure from Boston: "There must have been gloom in the Governor's soul as his eyes turned for what was destined to be his last glance toward the spot of his birth and his life-long striving. In the foreground lay the stubborn town that had so thwarted and contemned him, and yet which he so much loved,—Copp's Hill to the right where lay the dust of his fathers and his much-cherished wife; the Beacon on the height in the centre ready to flame its invitation to sedition inland. In the background rose the high lands of the beautiful Province in which the old man had lived from the days of his youth. He had written its history, tracing every detail. That its boundaries swept wide and were well ascertained was due to his watchfulness. No less was it due to him that its laws everywhere were well administered, chief among its judges as he had been through many

years. That in all public ways the people were honestly and diligently served, his care had brought about; to him, too, the credit belonged that, as each man bought and sold, the coin rang upon the counter solid and undebased. Through him it was, in fact, that the Province was in every way well-to-do, buoyant, enterprising before its sister Provinces. With such a foundation, leadership came of necessity. A sad thing was it in the eyes of the father-statesman that the strong child he had nourished gave its energy and initiative in wilful ways, heading its thirteen sisters in courses of disloyal folly."

Of the Loyalist refugees as a class Hosmer remarks: "There were, in fact, no better men or women in Massachusetts, as regards intelligence, substantial good purpose, and piety. The Tories were generally people of substance, their stake in the country was greater, even, than that of their opponents; their patriotism, no doubt, was to the full as fervent. There is much that is melancholy, of which the world knows but little, connected with their expulsion from the land they sincerely loved. The estates of the Tories were among the fairest; their stately mansions stood on the sightliest hill-brows; the richest and best-tilled meadows were their farms; the long avenue, the broad lawn, the trim hedge about the garden; servants, plate, pictures,—the varied circumstances, external and internal, of dignified and generous house-keeping,—for the most part these things were at the homes of Tories. It seemed to belong to such forms of life to be generously loyal to King and Parliament without questioning too narrowly as to rights and taxes. . . . .

"The graceful, the chivalrous, the poetic, the spirits over whom these feelings had power, were sure to be Tories. Democracy was something rude and coarse; independence,—what was it but a severance of those connections of which a colonist ought to be proudest? Hence, when the country rose, many a high-bred, honourable gentleman turned the key in his door, drove down his line of trees with his refined dame and carefully guarded children at his side, turned his back on his handsome estate, and put himself under the shelter of the proud banner of St. George. . . . .

"The day went against them; they crowded into ships with the gates of their country barred forever behind them. They found themselves penniless upon shores often bleak and barren, always showing scant hospitality to outcasts who came empty-handed, and there they were forced to begin life anew. . . . .

"It should not be overlooked that in their despoilment and expatriation the lot of the Tories was not without compensations. Vast grants were made to them by the English government of lands in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and western Canada."

The last Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay was the special object for contumely and reproach. "As he was by far the ablest and most eminent of his party," continues Hosmer, "so his suffering was especially sharp. His name was held to be a stigma. The honourable note he had reached through forty years of self-denying, wisely directed public service was blotted out; for generations he was a mark for obloquy. His possessions, even to the tomb where lay his wife and ancestors, were snatched from him and his children. He became in England a royal pensioner. But for this charity, the man who for some years had been the most illustrious personage in America might have died in want in the streets of London."

The fate of those heroic, patriotic men who became exiles for conscience' sake called forth the sympathy of the mother country. The leaders of both political parties spoke warmly on their behalf. The British Government made generous provision for their domiciliation in the sea-board provinces and in Upper and Lower Canada. Liberal land grants were given and every possible provision for their temporary sustenance was made. Yet many reached their place of exile in wretched plight and had to be clothed and fed by public or private charity. A grateful posterity recognizes their fidelity and valour and places the wreath of honour on their graves. They bear forever the honoured name of United Empire Loyalists. If it be true, as an American poet has said, that the wheat of the earth was sifted for the planting of the New England colonies, it is also true that the finest of the wheat was twice sifted for the planting of our Canadian commonweal.

Hutchinson met kindly consideration at the British court. He was received by the King with honour and sympathy. He writes somewhat bitterly: "It is a remark more ancient than any British Colony that '*Gubernatorum vituperatio populo placet*;' and every Governor of Massachusetts Bay, for near a century past, has by experience found the truth of it."

A baronetcy was offered him, but he declined the honour because, his fortune having been confiscated, he had not means to support the title. He received, however, a generous pension. The University of Oxford,—by a strange coincidence on the very day when his countrymen formally cut the bond that knit them to the fatherland, July 4, 1776,—conferred upon him the degree of *Doctor Civilis Juris*.

His six years of exile were full of pathos. "New England is wrote upon my heart," he said, "in as strong characters as 'Calais' was upon Queen Mary's." "May God Almighty," he adds, "put an end to this contest." With his children and dependents upon him, his family numbered twenty-five. He was "glad," he said, "he had a home for them when so many exiles are in want." His beloved daughter Peggy

passed away, his youngest son, too, was sinking to the grave. "I prefer the *natale solum* to all other," he said; but as the Anglo-Saxon schism widened, he wrote, "most of us expect to leave our bones here."

He was loyal to the last. "After all," he records as his deliberate conviction, "I shall never see that there were just grounds for this revolt." He adds with much point: "I should be impertinent if I attempted to shew . . . in what sense all men are created equal; or how far life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may be said to be unalienable; only I could wish to ask the delegates of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas how their constituents justify the depriving more than an hundred thousand Africans of their rights to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and in some degree to their lives, if these rights are so absolutely unalienable."

He wrote to his son Thomas, who did not leave Boston till the British evacuation in March, 1776, instructing him to remove the remains of the wife of his youth who had lain in the old Copp's Hill burying ground, to the family tomb on his country estate; and he charged the son to see that room was left for his father by her side. But even this hope had to be given up, and he writes: "The prospect of returning to America and laying my bones in the land of my forefathers for four preceding generations is less than it has ever been. God grant me a composed mind submissive to his will."

In his seventieth year the end came. The courtly old Loyalist, feeling the approach of death, bade his servant bring him a fresh shirt, saying that he "must die clean," and shortly after his heroic soul passed away. His last conscious moment he spent in repeating texts of scripture and prayers.

"At the moment of his death," says Hosmer, "London was at the mercy of the mob in the Gordon riots. The city was on fire in many places; a drunken multitude murdered right and left, laying hands even upon the noblest of the land. The exile's funeral passed on its way through smoke and uproar that might easily have been regarded as the final crash of the social structure."

Out of seeming evil Divine Providence wrought lasting good.

Before the close of the following century the Empire had expanded to many times its extent and influence at the time of the American Revolution. In Canada and Australia great commonwealths had grown up. The revolted colonies also had become a great nation offering a vast area for the extension of the English language and English literature and the principles of British law and liberty. The bitterness and estrangement of war had largely passed away; the Anglo-Saxon schism was well nigh, or altogether, healed.