

A History of  
EDUCATION

in American Culture

# P R E F A C E

THIS BOOK is addressed to all who are interested in the improvement of education in the United States. In recent years more and more people have become vitally concerned about the future of American education. Individual parents and citizens and organized groups of all kinds are taking a renewed interest in the conduct of schools and colleges. Inevitably, differences of attitude and opinion have arisen; sometimes these differences have led to vigorous controversy charged with emotional overtones. In a word, education has become a paramount matter of public interest that ranges in scope from the private discussions between parent and teacher in a local school to the widely publicized debates in the legislative halls and public forums of the state and nation.

In this setting of public interest in education it is vitally important that judgments be based upon the best evidence available and the most intelligent processes of thought and discussion. In education, as in all matters of important public policy, the hope of the democratic way of life rests upon reasoned intelligence, sober regard for the truth, and free and open discussion of the merits of opposing points of view. Emotional appeals to prejudice, reliance upon half-truths or invalid generalizations, or simple lack of knowledge are dangerous bases upon which to form public or private judgments.

This book is designed to provide a sound historical foundation upon which to base judgments about American education. It is addressed not only to prospective teachers but also to the members of the educational profession and to the American public, who share the responsibility for the conduct of educational institutions in the United States. It assumes that all present practices and all proposals for the future rest upon some interpretation of the past. Educational policies and decisions look both forward and backward. Whenever judgments are made, they rest upon some assumption or presupposition about the past as well as upon some hope or preference about the future. A careful study of history is therefore an indispensable element in evaluating the present and in making plans for the future. The study of history will not solve our present problems nor will it dictate the roads to the future, but intelligent decisions cannot be reached without it. We believe, therefore, that the study of the history of education is one of the ways in which the profession

--

and the public together should prepare themselves for making better judgments about American education.

We hope this book will be especially useful in the professional preparation of teachers and administrators. It is designed specifically for use in courses in the history of education in teachers colleges, liberal arts colleges, and universities. It is also designed for study in connection with other professional courses that deal with the principles of education, philosophy of education, educational psychology, administration, and curriculum and teaching. It is our hope that it will be useful for the college student who is entering upon his professional preparation and needs an orientation to the whole scope of the educational enterprise. It is also our hope that it will be of service to the advanced student who may need an opportunity to achieve integration and synthesis after his study of the specialized aspects of his professional task. It is, finally, our hope that the profession at large and the general public will find opportunity herein to enlarge their understanding of the great achievements already made and the problems and difficulties that still face American education.

The history of education is one of the oldest and most persistent elements in the professional preparation of teachers and administrators. In its earlier forms it had two dominant characteristics. It was concerned primarily with presenting factual information about the development of schools, their organization, administration, curriculum, and methods, but it gave relatively little attention to the role of education in the surrounding society and culture. Furthermore, it was often taught in a systematic chronological way that failed to relate the past to the present and gave little help in bringing historical interpretations to bear upon the making of valid decisions about the present problems that face education.

We have sought to preserve the merit of these earlier forms while avoiding their shortcomings. We have attempted to include basic factual information about the actual development of school practices, and we have maintained a basically chronological organization which remains one of the distinctive values of the historical approach. We have, however, tried to remedy the failures by attempting to take account of the newer outlooks that have come to characterize more recent writing and teaching in the fields of history and the history of education.

One of these characteristics is the cultural approach to the study of history and of education. Recent developments in the social sciences have stressed the importance of the concept of culture. The distinctive way of life of a society, developed in the traditions of the past and living on in the institutions, ideas, beliefs, and customs of the people, is summed up in the term culture. If educators and citizens alike are to understand and be able to deal with the problems of education, they need to understand the culture in which education operates and to which it contributes. Our cultural traditions are not things dead and gone; they live on in us and act as guides to our thought and action.

If we are to know ourselves, our problems, and our society, we need to know our culture. If educators are genuinely to face the problems of the role of education in culture, they need to study the role of education as an institution among other social institutions in society, and they need to study the underlying ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes that motivate human behavior in and out of school. Thus, if the educational profession is to analyze carefully the present problems that face education, professional workers need to know how and why people act as they do. People act as they do, at least in part, as a result of the inherited values and ideals that live on in them as traditions.

The history of education, therefore, should be designed to help educators understand what their present problems are, how the problems have arisen, what the advantages and dangers of the past have been, what forces from the past are still at work in the present, and what we have to reckon with as we move into the future. The teaching and writing of history must be selective. Since we cannot bring to bear all recorded history upon present-day problems, we should bring to bear upon the present that experience of the past which is pertinent and relevant to the resolution of present problems. Thus, the history of education should no longer be confined to the factual recital of school data of the past but should see education in vital relationship to the culture of its times. *It should no longer be a simple chronological recital of happenings from year to year or century to century, but it should take off from present problems and issues and return to the present as an aid in deciding what should be done in the future.*

In this view the historical approach to educational foundations becomes a reassessing of our cultural and educational traditions. It should help educators make judgments concerning what of our past culture is good for the future and thus needs to be strengthened, and what is destructive of democratic ends and thus needs to be changed. All of this can and must be done with no abatement or relaxing of the rigorous requirements of historical scholarship. Much has been achieved in the university disciplines of history and the social sciences. The history of education should put some of the resources of these disciplines at the disposal of the professional educator.

Since the chronological approach in historical foundations remains one of the distinctive values of the historical method, we have tried to combine it with the cultural approach. There is great value in gaining perspective on our own present times by seeing how education has been related to its culture in past eras. We have tried to show how education was viewed in colonial culture and in nineteenth-century culture and how its methods and content have been shaped by prescientific and earlier philosophical and religious orientations. This attempt is essential to an understanding of the way these inherited outlooks and practices continue to operate at the present time. Such an understanding of the past is indispensable to a sound analysis of the conflicting points of view that exist at the present time. Present judgment of present practice

cannot escape making judgments of those past practices which so largely continue to operate in the present.

A second characteristic of recent scholarship in history and in education is increased attention to the persistent problems that face education in our culture. The "problems approach" is a significant development in teaching and learning at all levels of the educative process. We have tried to incorporate much of this problems approach along with the cultural-chronological approach. In this way we have hoped to make the book useful in courses dealing with the social and philosophical foundations of education where attention is centered upon certain critical problems or conflict areas as related to education in our culture. These courses often include such topics as the struggles over the meaning of our democratic traditions, ideals, and practices; economic theories and institutions; political outlooks and various conceptions of the state; the impact of science and technology; church-state controversies; inter-group relations; conflicting theories of human nature, intelligence, and learning; moral and religious experience; esthetic and vocational experience, and the like. Much perspective on these current problems can be gained by acquiring an historical orientation to each problem along with its social and philosophical bearings.

In order to preserve the values of the factual and chronological treatment of history and also to incorporate the values of the cultural and problems approach to the study of education, the book is organized in the following way:

Four rather well-accepted and familiar chronological periods in American history are presented in the four parts of the book. Part I deals with the colonial period; Part II with the period from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War; Part III with the period from the Civil War to World War I; and Part IV with the period from World War I to the middle of the twentieth century. Within each part education is treated as a phase of the distinctive cultural developments of the particular chronological period under consideration. An effort is made not only to describe the major cultural developments and trends that affected education but also to identify the persistent problems that appeared in each period.

The first chapter in each part (Chapters 1, 5, 9, and 13) deals principally with the political, economic, social, and religious institutions that most vitally influenced education. We have not tried to present a digest or summary of all of American history in each period, but we have tried to select those phases of our history which are indispensable for an understanding of the role played by education in each period. There is value in gaining perspective on the present by seeing what happened to education in times that are removed from our own—times which created traditions, outlooks, and practices that still affect our own thinking and methods. The emphasis in these chapters is upon

the social institutions, the social forces, and the social trends that shaped education. These are the social foundations of education viewed historically.

The second chapter in each part (Chapters 2, 6, 10, and 14) deals with the intellectual, philosophical, psychological, religious, and scientific outlooks that influenced education in the period under consideration. Conceptions of man's relation to nature, human growth and development, methods of thinking and intelligence, and the developing bodies of organized knowledge all played their part in shaping educational goals, content, and methods. As philosophical, religious, and scientific orientations changed or came into conflict with one another, they produced conflicting views of the desirable role of education in their times. Many such views continue to affect us in modified forms. These are the philosophical, psychological, and intellectual foundations of education viewed historically.

The third chapter in each part (Chapters 3, 7, 11, and 15) treats the educational points of view that marked each period. Some of these points of view represent the more or less settled agreements and consensus among educators and the majority groups in the public, but others represent proposals for change that rested upon dissatisfaction with existing educational patterns. Here are thus described the conflicting demands made upon schools by those who held differing educational outlooks with respect to the persistent problems of education. These are the controversial questions upon which the public was making up its mind with respect to the social role of education, educational control and support, the educational program, and the role of the educational profession.

Finally, the fourth chapter in each Part (Chapters 4, 8, 12, and 16) describes the actual practices in education that came to prevail as a result of the interplay of social forces, intellectual orientations, and educational points of view. As new conditions and new outlooks press for change, they are often reflected in educational innovations, experiments, and new trends. Some of these educational changes took place more rapidly than others, leaving a residue of many unresolved problems for ensuing periods. These chapters will describe what actually happened in practice, the dominant patterns of administration, control, and support, of curriculum and methods, the unresolved issues of policy, and the meaning for the present.

Throughout all of the chapters we have been at pains to stress factual and scholarly information based upon the best available primary and secondary sources. In addition to the resources of general history, we have tried to use the results of recent scholarship in social history, intellectual history, philosophy, psychology, and other social sciences. Footnoting has been kept to a minimum except in the four chapters that deal with various educational outlooks and conflicting proposals for education (Chapters 3, 7, 11, and 15). In these chapters there is considerable quotation and frequent reference to pri-

mary source material. Therefore footnotes have been more liberally used as a guide to the serious reader who may wish to probe more deeply into the historical roots of persistent educational issues.

At the end of each chapter a few suggestions for further reading are listed. The more readily available publications have been selected in order to enable the reader to widen or deepen his understanding of those phases of history that cannot be enlarged upon in a general volume of this kind. Also at the end of each chapter several issues are defined to elicit discussion and further study. These depart from the usual "Questions for Discussion" which are so often purely factual in nature and so often stress relatively unimportant historical details. These issues have been designed to bring to the surface the kind of historical assumption or generalization that is commonly used as an argument to support present-day points of view. They are deliberately intended to stimulate critical re-examination of prevailing attitudes and to promote further inquiry into the historical materials in a way that will increase historical understanding and bring the history to bear upon present problems and issues. They are also designed to be useful as guides for public study and discussion wherever groups of citizens and educators are attempting to face seriously and to solve thoughtfully the critical problems of education.

Our hope is thus that this book will be useful in preserving the long-established values of the history of education as well as promoting the revitalization of the history of education as an essential and prominent part of the preparation of professional educators. The authors have had several years experience in teaching courses in the history of education at Teachers College, Columbia University. They have also had the opportunity of working in courses in the foundational problems of education in close cooperation with their colleagues in the Department of Social and Philosophical Foundations at Teachers College. They have profited much from the leadership exerted in recent years by the History of Education Section of the National Society of College Teachers of Education. This organization has promoted renewed interest in the history of education by publication of the *History of Education Journal* and by undertaking a nation-wide study of the role of the history of education in the preparation of the educational profession.

If there is merit in this book, much of it is undoubtedly a result of these several influences, but its shortcomings will easily be identified exclusively as the authors' own. Particular thanks should be extended to Miss Priscilla Aiken for her special services in helping to prepare the manuscript for the publisher.

New York, N. Y.  
December 1952

R. F. B.  
L. A. C.

# CONTENTS

## PART 1

### Colonial Foundations of American Education (1600-1779)

Chapter 1	<i>Old World Culture in a New Setting</i>	3
Chapter 2	<i>The Colonial Mind</i>	43
Chapter 3	<i>Crosscurrents in Educational Thought</i>	65
Chapter 4	<i>Prevailing Patterns of Education</i>	97

## PART 2

### The Development of a Distinctive American Education (1779-1865)

Chapter 5	<i>The Growth of the American Republic</i>	141
Chapter 6	<i>Intellectual Outlooks in the New Nation</i>	164
Chapter 7	<i>Conflicting Conceptions of Education</i>	189
Chapter 8	<i>Characteristic Educational Practices</i>	236

## PART 3

### The Expansion of American Education (1865-1918)

Chapter 9	<i>The Emergence of Industrial America</i>	293
Chapter 10	<i>Reshaping the American Mind</i>	323
Chapter 11	<i>Conflicting Currents of Educational Thought</i>	356
Chapter 12	<i>Typical Patterns of Education</i>	404

## PART 4

### American Education in the Contemporary World (1918-Mid-Century)

Chapter 13	<i>The Increasing Tempo of Social Change</i>	461
Chapter 14	<i>Intellectual Stresses and Strains</i>	487
Chapter 15	<i>The Clash of Educational Ideas</i>	515
Chapter 16	<i>The Balance Sheet of American Education</i>	563
Index		612

A decorative border with a repeating geometric pattern, consisting of a horizontal line at the top, a vertical line on the right, and a horizontal line at the bottom, all connected by a corner piece.

# EDUCATION

## *American Culture*

R. FREEMAN BUTTS

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN

*Teachers College, Columbia University*

HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON · New York

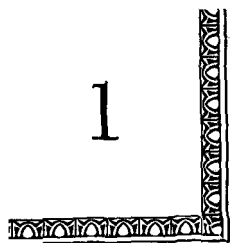
COPYRIGHT 1953, BY HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON, INC.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER 52-13892

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

21190-0113

*June, 1963*



## OLD WORLD CULTURE IN A NEW SETTING

TO MANY Americans the term “colonial period” calls to mind a hodge-podge vision of Captain John Smith being saved by Pocahontas, of Pilgrims landing on Plymouth Rock and catching turkeys for Thanksgiving, of Peter Stuyvesant stomping angrily about New Amsterdam, of Indian wars and scalpings along the Mohawk Valley, of the tea party in Boston harbor, of Paul Revere riding through the night, of Washington at Valley Forge, and of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The “colonial period” in this view is a romantic and picturesque subject appropriate primarily for story, fable, and song. To many other Americans the “colonial period” is associated mainly with the first chapter of tedious textbooks in American history and a long series of now vaguely remembered dates, names, and events: Queen Anne’s War, King George’s War, the French and Indian War, the Quebec Act, the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Tea Act, and the Declaration of Independence.

Let it be said at once that the intention here is neither to try to glamorize our remote past nor to repeat the usual formulas of chronological history. It is important, however, for anyone who would face realistically the problems of American education to look again at the roots of our American traditions. They are important for understanding and dealing with the present. And the roots of some of our most controversial and urgent problems of the present are firmly imbedded in the colonial period. We cannot deal exhaustively with all or even a large part of the colonial history that would be considered important by general historians. What we can do is to select those basic patterns which help to explain the education of the past and which help to throw light upon the present. When we combine these interests and attempt to select

those educational problems that were of greatest importance to the colonists in their own day and that remain of most importance to our day, we have a promising principle by which to select and organize our re-examination of American culture and education.

Of all the present problems that have their roots in the colonial period, three stand out as most essential for study. First, American educators are arguing about the proper role of education in relation to the state; in the colonial period the distinctive American patterns of political and state authority were being hammered out. Secondly, the problem of the proper role of religion and education is being vigorously debated; in the colonial period the seeds of our present controversies were being planted. Thirdly, the merits of equality of educational opportunity as a present goal for American education are being hotly disputed; in the colonial period the basic patterns of economic, class, and sectional distinctions were being laid. This chapter, then, will attempt to highlight these three problems as they appeared in the colonial period, and a study of them may help to deal with their present versions.

This effort may require looking again at some more or less familiar historical material, but we believe that even old material looks new when looked at with the purpose of facing the important tasks of today. We hope that many readers will look at our history again with renewed interest, spurred by the desire to untangle present confusions. We believe that many will find here new material they have not seen before in histories whose concern has not been focused upon education. Our aim is to combine the values of historical scholarship with an emphasis upon the persistent problems of education. No one can face the deeper issues of American education without a concern for understanding the basic theory and practice of political authority in American life. To this problem we turn first.

#### **POLITICAL AUTHORITY MOVES TOWARD REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT**

The foundations of American culture and education took their character in the colonial period largely from North European sources and particularly from the British Isles. This fact does not discount the contributions of other European peoples; it simply means that English institutions and ideas became, after a long struggle, the dominant pattern of life and thought along the eastern seaboard of America from Maine to Georgia. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the Western Hemisphere was the scene of military and commercial rivalries of the great European empires. By 1600, after 100 years of conquest, Spain held most of South America and laid claim to much of North America. Spain's supremacy, however, was soon challenged in the seventeenth century by England and France, who began

a long duel for control of the eastern half of North America. England emerged as victor in the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century Spain had been confined to the territory west of the Mississippi River and to Florida; France had been largely pushed off the continent; and French Canada had become politically tied to Britain even though not entirely British in culture or loyalty. As a result, the colonial history of the United States, from founding to independence, was to be dominated by the relationship of England to its several American colonies. The thirteen colonies inherited and made significant adaptations in the institutions and ideas carried from Britain to American shores. A thorough understanding of American colonial history would require an understanding of British political, economic, and religious history, but only a very few generalizations can be made as a background for developments in the colonies.

Politically, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England were marked by a continuing struggle for power between the royal authority of the crown and the authority of Parliament. Becoming increasingly representative of the middle class and commercial interests of the nation, Parliament grew restive under the Stuart kings, James I and Charles I. Civil War finally broke out in 1642 and led to the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the establishment of the Puritan Commonwealth. After some ten years of Puritan rule with Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector for part of the time, the Stuarts came back with a vengeance in 1660, only to be cast out again by Parliament in favor of William and Mary in 1688. So it went, with the executive functions of government gradually moving into the hands of the Parliamentary cabinet until George III's willful desire to run his own foreign affairs helped to precipitate the American War of Independence. The real point is that the political struggles between Parliament and crown played a large part in the changing attitude of Englishmen toward the colonies and gave scope to the interplay of forces and interests in England which had their counterparts in the colonies. Whenever possible the colonists tried to take advantage of these struggles for their own benefit.

Of great and enduring importance was the gradual growth of institutional forms of government that tended to reduce arbitrary royal power and tended to achieve a tradition of representative forms of government and civil liberties for Englishmen. Once transferred to American soil this tradition of liberty was developed by Americans and turned back against Parliament as well as the crown in the Revolutionary period. It was permanently important for the history of America that its political foundations reflected these representative forms of government based upon a growing tradition of liberty rather than upon the feudal or military aristocracy that marked so many of the nations of the Old World in the seventeenth century. Whatever else may be said about colonial culture, this fact was of superlative importance for the development of education and made it possible for a new conception

of the role of education in society to be developed when the time was ripe.

A glance at Table 1 on page 7 will show that there were two major periods in the founding of the principal English colonies. The first took place in about thirty years of the reigns of James I and Charles I, the second in about twenty years in the reign of Charles II after the Stuart Restoration in 1660. Political authority was exerted in three typical ways among the colonies of the first period, all of which had significance for the pattern of relationship with England and the development of representative government in America. Virginia and Massachusetts were founded under the authority of charters granted by the crown to commercial stock companies; Maryland was founded as a proprietary grant of land to an individual; and Connecticut and Rhode Island were founded as disaffection arose in Massachusetts and groups of settlers in the new "plantations" drew up constitutional agreements under which they exercised almost independent political authority.

England as well as other nations promoted foreign trade around the world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the organization of joint-stock corporations. This invention of mercantile capitalism made it possible for many individuals to combine their resources, sell stock to a large number of persons, receive the monopoly of trade in certain sections of the world, choose directors to manage affairs, and pay dividends from the profits to the stockholders. The London Company was thus organized to develop trade in Virginia, which at first vaguely included most of the English claims in America. The company in London sent out a small colonizing group to establish the Jamestown settlement in 1606. Government was in the hands of a resident governor and council under directions from the company in London, which operated under a grant of powers in a charter from the king. After many difficulties and hardships the company ordered the governor to establish a local representative assembly with power to make laws subject to the approval of the company in London. In 1619 the first representative assembly in America was chosen by vote of the freeholders, and a new pattern of government was initiated. Because of misfortune in Virginia and controversy in the company in England, the London Company was dissolved, and Virginia became a royal province in 1624. The governor and council were thereupon appointed directly by the king rather than by the stock company, but the representative assembly was retained along with courts of justice and a fair measure of English common law. The Virginia Assembly proceeded to establish the Church of England, organize a parish system, and pass laws that affected education throughout the colonial period. The important thing is that direct legislative authority gradually passed into the hands of representatives of the colonists themselves.

Similarly, Massachusetts received its political authority as a stock company by royal charter from the king in 1629. However, a significant difference arose. Control of the stock company was captured by a group of Puritans who de-

**Table 1—Political Chronology in the Colonial Period**

<i>English Rulers</i>	<i>Founding of American Colonies *</i>
Elizabeth (Tudor) 1558–1603	Exploration of Drake, Gilbert, and Raleigh
James I (Stuart) 1603–1625	{ Virginia (1607) Plymouth (1620)
Charles I (Stuart) 1625–1649 (Civil War 1642–1649)	{ Massachusetts (1629) Maryland (1632) New Netherland (1638) Rhode Island (1638 and 1644) Connecticut (1639)
Commonwealth (Puritan) 1649–1660	
Charles II (Stuart) 1660–1685	{ Carolinas (1663) New Jersey (1664) New York (1664) New Hampshire (1679) Pennsylvania (1681) (and Delaware)
James II (Stuart) 1685–1688	
William and Mary (Orange) 1688–1702	
Anne (Stuart) 1702–1714	
George I (Hanover) 1714–1727	
George II (Hanover) 1727–1760	Georgia (1732)
George III (Hanover) 1760–1820	{ Continental Congress (1774) State Constitutions (1776 and 1777) Articles of Confederation (1777; ratified 1781) Constitutional Convention (1787) U. S. Constitution in effect (1789)

\* Some dates refer to legal charters granted by the crown; others refer to local compacts or agreements in the colonies themselves. They do not necessarily refer to time of first settlement.

cided to try to escape the persecutions imposed upon them by the Stuarts and the leaders of the Church of England. They, therefore, picked up and moved bodily to Massachusetts, stockholders, directors, charter, and all. With the corporation itself located in Massachusetts the members of the company felt much less dependent upon England.

In effect, the directors of the company became the governor, council, and magistrates of a civil government, and the stockholders became not only

owners of the corporation but free citizens in a political commonwealth. The voters who made up the General Court of stockholders soon found that it was too difficult for them all to gather together from the several towns they had established; so a representative assembly of deputies was soon devised in which the deputies were elected by the freemen (stockholders who had become voting citizens). The governor, deputy-governor, and his assistants, elected regularly from among the men of more substantial property, comprised a kind of upper legislative chamber, and the basic pattern of political organization in America was forecast. Even when the original Massachusetts charter was abrogated and a new one making Massachusetts a royal province was established in 1691, the power and authority of the General Court were strong enough to carry on a running battle with the royal governors appointed by the king for nearly a century.

This precedent in which a commercial charter became virtually a political constitution was of enormous significance. The idea of a written contract as the basis of political authority found its way eventually into the American system of state and federal constitutions. It found expression more immediately in the colonies that were offshoots of Massachusetts. When the followers of Anne Hutchinson went to lower Rhode Island, they drew up a compact to govern themselves in 1638; Thomas Hooker and his Puritan followers in upper Connecticut adopted a constitution in 1639; and the Puritan settlers under John Davenport and Theodore Eaton adopted a covenant for the "plantation" of New Haven in 1638. These were all in effect mutual contracts establishing a body politic with virtually sovereign powers. Upper Connecticut and New Haven were joined together as the colony of Connecticut in a royal charter of 1662 from Charles II under which Connecticut governed herself until her first state constitution of 1818. Roger Williams had obtained a separate royal charter for the Providence settlement in 1644 and was instrumental in obtaining another charter in 1663 which incorporated both parts of Rhode Island and which remained the organic law of Rhode Island until the first state constitution was adopted in 1842. Connecticut and Rhode Island were never brought to heel by the crown to become royal provinces as was done in several other cases. For example, New Hampshire was colonized by several independent companies directly from England, while other towns were settled from Massachusetts and looked to her for law making. From 1641 to 1679 Massachusetts laws had force in New Hampshire, but the crown made New Hampshire into a royal province in 1679, and a separate legislature was authorized in 1680. After a period of uncertainty New Hampshire was again created a royal province in 1691 with a royal governor and a local assembly.

The third type of political organization used by the English king in this first period of settlement was the proprietary grant of land to an individual

who was given rights to political authority as well as landed property. This was the case with Maryland when the king granted a large share of Virginia to the first Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert). Calvert died before he could take advantage of the grant but his son, the second Lord Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, became Lord Proprietor of Maryland by charter in 1632. By this time the pattern of rule included the appointment of a governor by the Lord Proprietor and the election of a representative assembly by the freemen of the colony. The Catholic leanings of the Lord Proprietor and his successors and the conflict between a Catholic minority and a Protestant majority led to many complications in Maryland. The colony was made a royal province for two decades but was returned to the proprietors again prior to the Revolution. Through all these changes, representative government continued to play a large role.

When the second wave of colonization began in the 1660's, the pattern of commercial stock companies dropped out of the picture and the pattern of proprietary grants became the rule. Thus, in 1663 eight land and trade promoters received proprietary rights to all the land south of Virginia and north of Florida to be known as Carolina and to be ruled on the ground by a governor and elected assembly. Much of the political and economic power centered in Charleston, and somewhat later a separate assembly was authorized for the northern and distant regions which came to be North Carolina. The government shifted back to the crown in 1729. North Carolina and South Carolina were separated. Both became royal provinces, but their assemblies continued to function and to grow in power.

New York and New Jersey became proprietary colonies in 1664 when Charles II gave the conquered Dutch colony of New Netherland to his brother, the Duke of York (later James II). New York had originally been settled by the Dutch under authority of the States General of the Netherlands by grant of power to the Dutch West India Company in 1621. The company established trading posts at Albany in 1624 and on Manhattan Island in 1626. It drew up a series of articles for colonization which, when approved by the States General in 1640, set the governmental policy for New Netherland. Government was vested in a governor and council appointed by the company. No representative assembly was instituted until one was called by the English governor under the Duke of York in 1683. With a mixed population and large political control exerted in the assembly by the Dutch elements because of their vast property holdings along the Hudson, the assembly fought long and hard against the governor, especially over matters of taxation and religion. The Duke of York granted the territory of New Jersey to two of his friends in 1664, who, as proprietors, split up the territory and then sold out to other groups of proprietors. A representative assembly appeared by 1683 in the Jerseys and continued to function