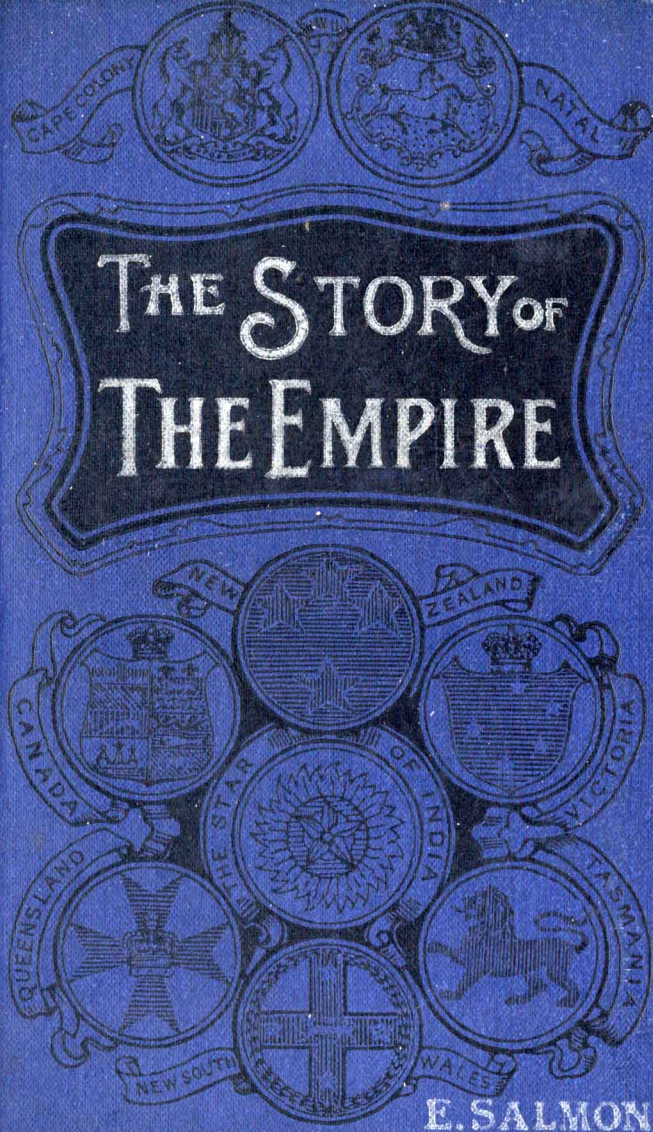


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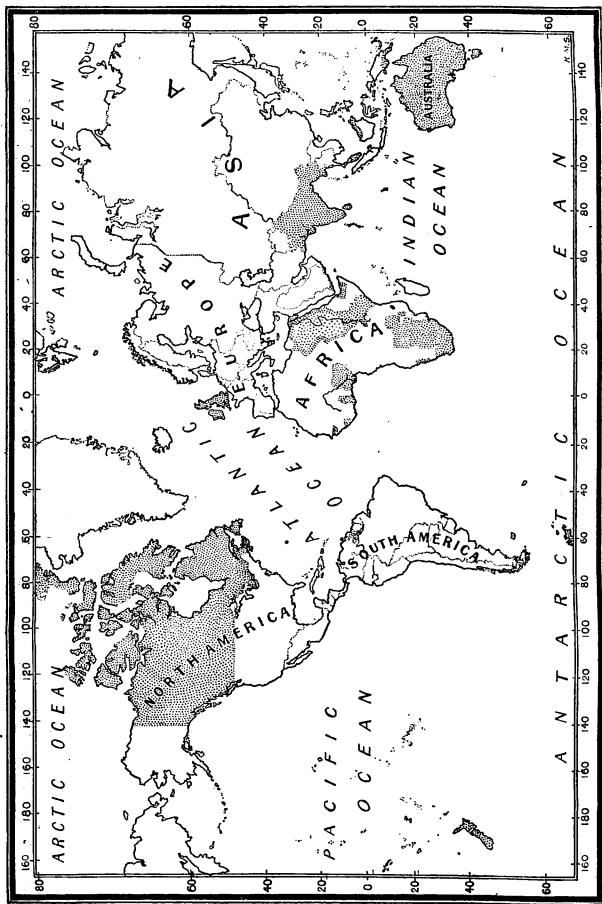
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# THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE





MAP OF THE WORLD, SHOWING BRITISH POSSESSIONS SHADED

# THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE

BY

EDWARD SALMON

*Author of "The Marquis of Salisbury," etc., etc.*

LONDON : GEORGE NEWNES, LTD.  
SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND

1902

**Dedicated**  
TO  
SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.  
WHOSE LIFE-LONG LABOURS  
HAVE BEEN DEVOTED  
TO THE CAUSE  
OF  
IMPERIAL UNITY.

## PREFATORY NOTE

THE history of the Empire has been written not infrequently in recent years, but generally in a species of water-tight compartments. My aim has been to tell the story, so far as is possible within the limits of my space, as a connected whole and to bring into relief the dramatic development of the British dominions, east, west and south, from the time of Henry VII. to that of Edward VII. This story, superficial though it must necessarily appear, is the result of some fifteen years' study of imperial history and affairs, and in preparing it I have not hesitated to make occasional drafts on articles contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Saturday Review* since 1896. The chief excerpts from the *Fortnightly* articles are contained in the first chapter of the book. I have abstained from mentioning authorities because I could only do so at the expense of valuable space. This is not intended as a text book, but should rather be regarded as a swiftly moving panorama, such as one witnesses from a railway train, to particular points in which one may hope at some future time to return for closer acquaintance.



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# THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE

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## CHAPTER I.

### A WORLD'S AWAKENING—CABOT, COLUMBUS AND VASCO DA GAMA

THE greatest Empire and the greatest Republic the world has ever known are the boast of the English-speaking world at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is a boast which neither the average Briton nor the average American would consider it difficult to justify. Whether as Empire or as Republic, Rome lacked the combination of virility and freedom which marks alike the British Empire and the United States of America. To that combination of qualities neither the Russian Empire nor the French Republic can lay claim. If Russia is as virile and remarkable a growth as the British Empire it is not as free: if the French Republic is as free as the United States of America it cannot claim to be as virile. The more warrant that is shewn to exist for the proud claim of the United States, the greater the credit due to Great Britain: for three reasons, first, because it was from the loins of Great Britain that the



United States sprang; second, because the strong arm of Great Britain crushed the power which stood in the way of colonial freedom and security; third, because Great Britain has risen triumphant after the staggering blow which her colonies delivered a century and a quarter ago.

The story of the British Empire covers four centuries: the period of preparation and discovery during the larger part of the sixteenth century; American colonisation and the acquisition of a foothold in India during the seventeenth century; the loss of the American colonies and the beginning of a new colonial empire in the eighteenth century: the assumption of direct Imperial responsibility for the government of India and the concession of self-government to the great colonies in the nineteenth century. To understand that story thoroughly it is important to know something of the conditions in which England embarked upon adventures whose issue was to be so momentous. In the fifteenth century Europe began to rub its eyes uneasily and rouse itself from a long slumber. It was a century of renaissance in culture and enterprise. Possibly the awakening in the one direction was but the consequence of the other. As new light came to men's minds, the desire to burst the geographical bonds which held more than half the world in darkness and mystery was inevitable. America and Australia and South Africa were as unknown as though they were non-existent. Geographical ignorance was probably more dense than it was even thousands of years before.

What the ancients knew of the extent and

character of the world, the most patient of students cannot hope to tell with any definiteness, but no doubt they knew more than the superior moderns are prepared to give them credit for. That they were aware of the spherical shape of the earth we may take for granted. The Phœnicians, setting out from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean fifteen centuries before Christ, explored seas and coasts of which the makers of world maps down to the last decade of the fifteenth century were ignorant. Inquiries into the past of Rhodesia, to which both students and explorers have been moved by the relics and monuments unearthed, bring into prominence the doings of the race of colonisers and traders who have not inaptly been likened by Mr Rider Haggard to "the English of the ancient world." "What the great British Empire is to the nineteenth century," says Mr A. Wilmot, "Phœnicia was to the distant ages when Solomon's temple was built at Jerusalem, and Hiram, king of Tyre, sent out expeditions to the distant shores of India, Arabia, and South-Eastern Africa."

Did the Phœnicians cross the Atlantic? They went beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and voyaged north and south, but did they face the terrors of the untraversed seas as far west as America? Two views exist; one is that the Phœnicians permitted themselves to be carried by trade winds to the north-east of South America; the other that they reached the north of South America from the west, that is, down the Red Sea and *via* Ceylon, Java, the Caroline Islands and Samoa. It is not unreasonable to regard

Aztec civilisation, of which evidence abounds in South and Central America, as possibly the product of Phœnician adventure. As the Phœnicians discovered South America, so the hardy Norsemen made their way to North America from Iceland, but their discoveries, as Dr Bourinot says, are misty and belong to the domain of legend.

Whatever may be the truth with regard to the Phœnicians and Norsemen, it is certain that for centuries—save perhaps for isolated adventures such as that of Jean Cousin, a Frenchman who is said to have struck the Amazon in 1488, though nothing very definite about him seems to be known,—the Atlantic had not been crossed by man at the time when Europe began to make more active enquiries concerning India and those Far Eastern lands whence came the spices and other commodities, in the commerce of which the Venetians had piled up immense wealth. From the earliest days the produce of the East was familiar in the great marts of the Mediterranean. Now it came up the Red Sea and across Egypt to Alexandria, now up the Persian Gulf and across Asia Minor, now through Central Asia to the Black Sea and Constantinople. As the fortunes of war attended Roman or Saracen, Greek or Venetian, so the direction commerce took was affected. In the fifteenth century Venice appeared literally "to hold the gorgeous East in fee," Genoa being her most strenuous rival. During the greater part of that century the Portuguese were on the *qui vive* to seize any opportunity for opening

up direct trade relations with India. Prince Henry the Navigator, a son curiously enough of an English princess, dreamed dreams of reaching India by sea, and handed on his dreams to inspire those who came after him. He was a mere theorist, but his studies, speculations and encouragement imparted an irresistible impulse to Portuguese maritime enterprise. The west coast of Africa was explored, and in the year 1484 the King of Benin—then an empire of some importance and pretensions to civilisation—visited or sent envoys to the Court of Portugal. From Benin, Dom Joan heard so much about India and Prester John that he determined to despatch envoys *via* Venice, Alexandria and Mecca to discover India and all about it. Dom Joan did not live to see the realisation of his hopes, but his successor, Dom Manoel, earnestly took up the task. The end was advanced at a bound by the discovery of the Cape in 1486. Bartholomew Diaz or Janifante, or both,—there is a superb indifference, or should we not rather say difference, in the records of exploration as to who did achieve certain things—rounded the southern extremity of Africa. The discovery was probably an accident. Coasting down the west of Africa the voyager suddenly found that the land was trending away eastward and northward; and it is easy to understand the excitement with which the news was hailed in Lisbon.

Portugal was hardly prepared to take advantage instantly of the discovery. Ten years elapsed ere the first expedition to India by sea was



ready to start. Whilst Portugal was, in a sense, digesting the opportunity which came to her so naturally and yet so unexpectedly, great things were happening elsewhere. Columbus, a native of Genoa, had induced the King of Spain to listen to his plan for reaching the Indies by a voyage west. In 1492 he embarked and lighted upon the West Indies. The name he gave the new land signified his belief that he had reached Asia and was in touch with some part of the country which was the goal of Prince Henry's speculations, and to which Dom Joan had despatched envoys overland seven or eight years before. A good many points are in question concerning Columbus, but there are some as to which little doubt is now possible. Among them is the claim that he was the first European to set foot on the American Continent. That claim is inadmissible. It is a shock to the historic structure laboriously erected for us at school, to learn that whether or not there is substantial ground for awarding the palm for priority to Jean Cousin, there is still another claimant whose title seems good.

Columbus did not touch the mainland of America till 1498. News of his discoveries spread and agitated every court and every port in Europe. In England there must have been some bitter reflections, for Columbus had offered to do for Henry VII. what it was thought he had done for Spain. When therefore John Cabot, who like Columbus was Genoese born, approached Henry with a view to securing letters patent permitting him to fit out an expedition

for the discovery of eastern lands by the western route, the king was prepared to listen. Cabot came to England full of the ideas of new commercial routes which were animating Venice and Genoa, just as Columbus had done, and he found ready assistants in the men of Bristol, who for years had been sending out futile expeditions in search of "the island of Brazil and the seven cities." On the 5th March 1496, John Cabot with his three sons, Louis, Sebastian and Sanctus petitioned Henry VII. "to graunt your gracious letters patentes under your grete seale in due forme to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuyng." The letters patent, granted a month later, set forth that it was the Cabots' desire "Upon their own proper costs and charges to seek out, discover and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and the infidels, whatsoever they be and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to Christians." The first expedition consisted of one small vessel with a crew of some eighteen men, and was in charge of John, not Sebastian Cabot, as popular histories and reference books generally assume. Recent investigations go to show that Sebastian succeeded in handing himself down to posterity as a greater man than he really was by appropriating the laurels which belonged to his father, who mysteriously disappears from history in 1498.

John Cabot set sail from Bristol in May 1497, a little more than a year after the receipt of his letters patent. He steered north and west after

leaving Ireland, struck land according to the general opinion at the easternmost point of Cape Breton, according to Mr Henry Harrisse much further north, and returned to England in August to receive from the king the munificent reward of £10 which was given "to hym that founde the new isle."

Whilst Cabot was preparing for the voyage west, Vasco da Gama was making his arrangements for the initial voyage to India. It is matter for regret that the same ample account of Cabot's voyage has not been handed down to us, as may be found in the works of Barros, Correa and others of Vasco da Gama's. With the aid of Jasper Correa's "*Lendas da India*," we can follow the movements of Vasco da Gama from the time of his appointment by Dom Manoel to his return from India. Vasco da Gama left Lisbon, after elaborate preparations, on July 8th, in charge of three vessels, *Sam Miguel*, *Sam Gabriel*, and *Sam Rafael*. He was equipped with powers to make peace or war; to be a mere merchant or a warrior, as circumstances rendered necessary; to be an ambassador or to send embassies to kings and rulers, and generally to be and do whatever was essential to safety and success. The ceremony and interest of the start on this momentous expedition, we can believe, were much more impressive than anything witnessed at the embarkation of the Cabots from Bristol a few weeks earlier. Correa assists us to observe king and people praying that the enterprise might prove of service to the Lord and to Portugal: he assists us to see Vasco da Gama

on horse-back, with his gaily-liveried attendants, riding through admiring crowds down to the wharf, and to hear the boom of big guns—fit exponents of the excitement of that far-off summer day—as the beflagged vessels moved out into the mouth of the Tagus. And then the voyage. The superstitions of the sailors, the hesitation and the reassurances, the almost rebellious desire of the men to turn back, and the masterful confidence and courage of the commander. None but a born leader of men could have carried that voyage to a successful issue. Vasco da Gama persuaded and threatened, used soft words and grand old sea-dog oaths, as he had now to win his followers to his way of thinking, now to dare them to take matters into their own hands. As the expedition slowly moved round the mighty continent which lay between Portuguese ambition and its fulfilment, even the most enlightened minds aboard must have felt that the voyage was a temptation to Providence. Unaccustomed storms and unfamiliar seas made the sailors wonder what evil genius had induced them to leave wives and children on so mad an enterprise. They went forward, as the chronicler quaintly puts it, with their souls in their mouths, and before the voyage was half over they began to evince so active a desire to face the anger of the king rather than the further terrors of the unknown ocean that Vasco da Gama had to place many of them in irons. Camoens describes the crew as heroes, but Correa takes the view that they were poltroons. Probably, being human, some were heroes and some cowards. The essen-

tial fact is that the leader himself was a hero of the first water, determined, at all costs, to execute the high commission entrusted to him by his sovereign.

Had Vasco da Gama failed to reach India or to return to Portugal, the opening up of this route to the East would have been indefinitely postponed; how easily failure might have been his portion, Correa's minute narrative of events after the Cape was rounded makes quite clear. Da Gama arrived at Mozambique in March 1498, and had an interview with the Sheik. He said he wanted to find his way to India for purposes of trade, and when the Sheik understood that the Portuguese were specially anxious to obtain a supply of spices he laughed and promised to provide a pilot who would help them to fill their ships. A little later the Sheik appears to have changed his mind, and Vasco da Gama and his enterprise were saved from the Sheik's treachery by the loyalty of the Moor who played the part of go-between. The high-mettled Vasco must have longed to read the Sheik a lesson, but as it was of supreme importance that he and his companions should not be heralded as pirates throughout the Indian seas, he ignored the treachery and dissembled. The Moor, whose timely warning saved him, in due time followed the Sheik's example and also resorted to treachery. But the Portuguese enjoyed miraculous escapes. Arrived at Melinde, a soothsayer proved their friend. He predicted that they were destined to be the future lords of India, and that peace with them for ever was

in consequence to be desired by the king of Melinde. Vasco da Gama responded with antique courtesy to the king's overtures, and presented him with a sword as a sign and symbol of the friendship and brotherhood of Dom Manoel. Unfortunately for themselves the Portuguese were better at promises than in performance. Leaving Melinde, Vasco da Gama proceeded across the Indian Ocean—he was now in seas frequented by the Moors—and in three weeks arrived off either Calicut or Cananor.

India at last! The sense of triumphant joy at da Gama's heart, as he gazed upon the land, is expressed by Camoens (translated by Mickle) in these forceful words—

“Gama's great soul confest the rushing swell,  
Prone on his manly knees the hero fell ;  
Oh bounteous heaven, he cries, and spreads his hands  
To bounteous heaven, while boundless joy commands  
No further word to flow.”

Da Gama was received in India with very mixed feelings. The natives are said to have regarded his coming without surprise, and as the fulfilment of a prophecy made by certain wise men among them. According to this prediction “the whole of India would be taken and ruled over by a very distant king, who had white people.” The soothsayers assured the king that the Portuguese were the representatives of the nation which would in the future control the fortunes of India. Apparently the natives did not share that view. Had not people come from China and the far East, they asked, hundreds of years before in great numbers, and failed to

overrun India, or even to maintain communications? Was it likely that a few, who had, moreover, sailed so far, would be able to do what so many had failed to accomplish? The sooth-sayers' arguments prevailed, and the newcomers were welcomed in the belief that to resist them would be useless. Vasco da Gama did not display undue precipitancy in establishing relations with the natives. He was anxious to know with whom he had to deal. He went very cautiously to work, and was careful to let it be known that his ships only formed part of a larger fleet, from which they were separated in a storm. With what histrionic art he must have swept the horizon for sight of that phantom fleet! Sooth-sayers and fibs were not, however, the only forces on which Vasco da Gama relied. He and his companions refuted the slanders, which represented them as pirates, by paying for everything they needed and making presents to would-be vendors with whom they did no business. Such generosity roused the cupidity and admiration of the natives, and assured them that peace and trade were the objects kept in view by the Portuguese. With the natives, therefore, the Portuguese were soon on good terms, but the natives had not alone to be reckoned with. The traders of the Malabar coast, who had from time immemorial enjoyed a monopoly as intermediaries between the Eastern producer and the Western merchant, were the Moors. Calicut had developed into a first-rate commercial city in their hands. Its inhabitants were among, if they were not actually the richest in India. "They were,"

says Correa, "Moors of Grand Cairo, who brought large fleets of many ships, with much trade of valuable goods, which they brought from Mecca, and they took back in return, pepper and drugs, and all the other richest merchandise in India, with which they acquired great wealth." For these people, the appearance of the Portuguese in the very heart of their preserves was a serious matter. They foresaw that their monopoly would be challenged, and they spared no effort to rouse native fears that the Portuguese, who came in the guise of men of commerce, were spies and fore-runners of conquerors, who would claim India for their own. By means of bribes to state functionaries—"it is notorious that officers take more pleasure in bribes than in the appointment of their offices"—the Moors laid the foundation of much future trouble for the Portuguese. But the first tiny stream had trickled over the dam which shut the West off from the East. The flow was destined to increase apace until in the centuries to come, India was submerged by the enterprise, the commerce and the arms of Europe. Vasco da Gama made other voyages; the Portuguese enjoyed three-quarters of a century's monopoly of business in the Eastern seas; then the Dutch, and the English, and the French began to follow in their footsteps, and the magnificent struggle for world-empire, for which the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 made England a fully qualified candidate, was inaugurated in grim earnest, though perhaps half unconsciously.



## CHAPTER II

ELIZABETHAN ADVENTURERS—HAWKINS—  
DRAKE—GILBERT—RALEGH

IT is difficult for us, in the beginning of the twentieth century, to realise what the voyages of Cabot, Columbus and da Gama meant to Europe in the closing years of the fifteenth century. Even the discovery of some unknown land to-day—the discovery, say, that the South Pole offered new opportunities for the satisfaction of the earth-hungry—would not affect us as the opening up of a western and southern route affected the Englishman, the Spaniard and the Portuguese then. To them it meant revolution not merely in their knowledge of what the world was but in commerce and material prospects. Spain and Portugal were ready to seize the advantages which opened out before them; England did little or nothing to follow up the lead which Cabot had given. The main explanation of this seeming inertia may be traced to the Church. In 1493, promptly on the return of Columbus from his first voyage, the Pope, Alexander VI., issued a bull dividing the heathen world between Spain and Portugal, as though, to quote the happy rejoinder of Francis I., “Our first father, Adam, had made them his sole heirs.” The Pope’s method was simplicity itself. He treated the globe, of which he knew practically nothing, as a parent might treat an orange to which two

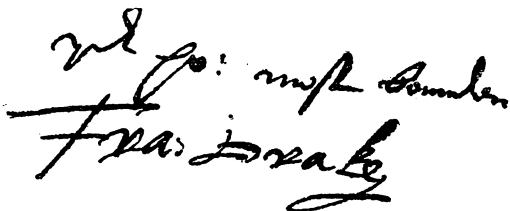
boys laid claim. He gave the eastern half to Portugal and the western to Spain, and left each to do what he liked with his portion. The possibility that other boys, England and France to wit, might have a taste for the fruit was not taken into consideration by the autocrat dispenser of worldly possessions. That such an enactment, even of papal infallibility, would be allowed to operate indefinitely was not to be supposed, but in the circumstances of the time it blighted all enterprise which was not Spanish or Portuguese.

Not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth did Englishmen begin openly to challenge the pretensions of Spaniard and Portuguese. During the first half of the sixteenth century Englishmen did two things: they began to acquire that knowledge of the sea which was to stand them in such good stead in the time to come, and they awoke to the necessity of direct access to the Eastern markets whose produce had reached them hitherto by various channels. In the East, Portugal was seeking to discharge a triple mission of conquest, commerce and Christianity, and in the West, Spain was lading galleon upon galleon with treasure wrought at the expense of luckless native and slave. Spain and Portugal exercised to the full the monopoly they enjoyed, and the monopoly was the cause of their ultimate undoing. Before England dare think of throwing down the gauntlet she tried to find a way to the East which should not conflict with the claims of others. It was hoped that the East might be reached by a northern route, and Sebastian

Cabot, more than half a century after his father's voyage across the Atlantic, was responsible for the despatch of an expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to the north-east. The expedition got as far as Archangel and became ice-bound. Sir Hugh Willoughby died, and tradition has painted picturesque but improbable stories of his being found frozen to death at a desk in his cabin. The voyage had important consequences. Far Cathay remained as far off as ever, but Chancellor, exploring the river Dwina, found himself in Moscow, and in an interview with the Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, laid the foundation stone of the Russia Company. On the other side of the Atlantic England attempted nothing; yet the way was clear, papal bulls notwithstanding. Spain could not possibly absorb the whole of North and South America, and France was prepared to take whatever chance there was of securing a foothold. Jules Cartier made extensive explorations in the region of the St Lawrence, and France advanced a claim to the northern part of the northern continent.

Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558. Her accession was in every sense of the word a departure for England. Under Henry VIII., England began to form a navy, and in Mary's time, Philip II. of Spain, her husband, had endeavoured to make England understand that security depended upon naval efficiency. "It is right that the ships should not only be fit for the sea, but instantly available." Little did Philip dream when he penned those words

that the fitness of England's ships in the next reign would summarily dispose of all the grand schemes of world dominion which fertilised in his brain. More extraordinary still was it that one who saw the truth did not apply it with regard to Spain itself. Long before the decision was taken to despatch the Armada, the grandest collection of ships the world had ever seen, to bring England and its haughty queen to a proper

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Your honors most bounden Francis Drake". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style. The words "Your honors most bounden" are written in a smaller, more compact script above the larger, more prominent "Francis Drake".

SIGNATURE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

(Translation—

Your honors most bounden  
FRA DRAKE).

sense of respect for Spanish power, rovers in the narrow seas and buccaneers in the West Indies had given Philip a hint as to the quality of the seamen who were being bred in the little island to the north. For sheer daring, there was never a more remarkable set of adventurers than those who followed, or rivalled, John Hawkins and Francis Drake.

The reign of Elizabeth was a time of experiment, adventure and unsuccessful effort at plantation. Hawkins and Drake set an example which others eagerly followed. Hawkins, the son

of a well-known trader of Plymouth, discovered the possibilities latent in the slave traffic. When the Spaniard arrived in the West Indies, he found the Greater Antilles occupied by the Arawak, and the Lesser by the Carib Indians. These interesting folk to the best of his base ability he proceeded to exterminate and with the depopulation of places which Spain reduced from something like a paradise to something undistinguishable from purgatory, came the slave trade and its attendant horrors. African negroes had to be imported to do the work which the Spaniard found it impossible to exact from the indigenous Indian. Perhaps the Spaniards were so cruel to others because they were so indifferent to their own sufferings in the quest for gold. From the hour when Columbus returned with stories of fabulous wealth to be had for the mere gathering, the Spaniard, like so many Englishmen after him, was a victim to the belief that El Dorado was a reality. Though the Spaniards failed to reach El Dorado they tapped mines whose wealth could only be exploited with slave labour, and Hawkins saw the chance of a huge fortune for himself if he might be allowed to supply them with the negroes essential to their operations. But Spain refused to allow access to their West Indian possessions to any but Spanish ships, and the great achievement of Hawkins was that he not only snapped his fingers in the face of Spanish power, but compelled the West Indian representatives of that power to buy his "prime gold coast negroes" as though they were cattle. The authorities on the spot were probably op-

posed to the enterprise of Hawkins in a merely official sense. The necessity of the embargo was to be proved later when Hawkins returned to England with accounts of the veritable Tom Tiddler's ground which Spain sought to ring-fence.

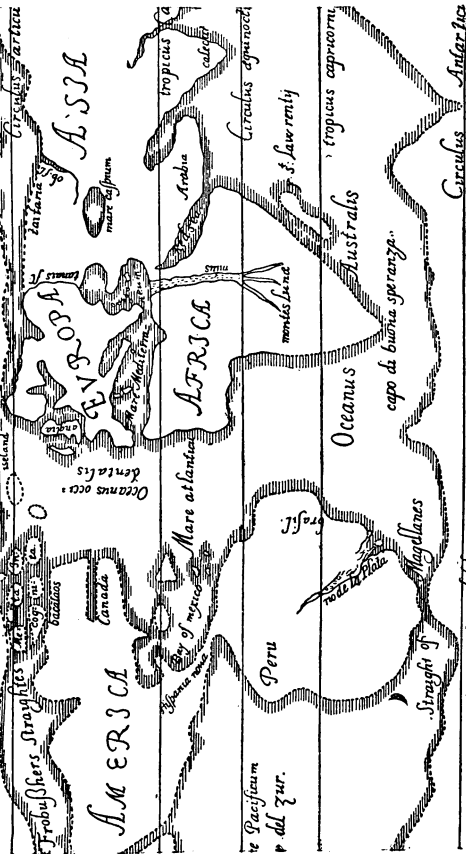
Where Hawkins aimed at conducting peaceful traffic in human beings with the Spaniards of the West Indies, Drake embarked, boldly and unblushingly, on the business of the buccaneer. Hawkins fought when the Spaniard would not trade; Drake fought whenever and wherever he could find a treasure ship. His name became a terror to every Spanish captain, and it was to his buccaneering spirit that he owed his trip round the world, the first accomplished by a European. He coasted down South America round Cape Horn, and up the western side of the Continent; he waylaid Spanish vessels and finally put in at a spot which he named New Albion but which we know as California. He annexed the territory in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and if nothing came of it, it may nevertheless be considered the first appropriation of land over the sea after Cabot's ineffectual proclamation at some spot on the American coast. Drake then set sail across the Pacific, visited various of the Spice islands, and found his way round the Cape of Good Hope back to England.

Drake and Hawkins rendered the Armada inevitable. A spirit less proud than that of Philip of Spain would have found their depredations intolerable, and if Spanish power had been the reality it was supposed to be, it would have

gone ill with England in 1588. Once the Armada had been shattered, English colonial enterprise became possible. Hitherto English efforts had been tentative and unfruitful, but the condition of England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century made such efforts more and more essential to the national welfare. Everyday Englishmen came to realise more acutely the necessity for markets abroad, and for exchanging home products for those commodities which could only be obtained from tropical lands through Spain and Portugal. Frobisher, in a futile attempt to discover a north-west passage, brought away with him certain metals which were believed to be gold, and the reports, false though they were, set Englishmen agog for further exploration and investigation. But down to the year of the Armada, England as a nation fought shy of embarking on enterprises disapproved by the Spaniard. The State did not feel itself strong enough to do against Spain what individual Englishmen had not hesitated to do against individual Spaniards. Hawkins and Drake prepared the way for the more philosophic school of hero-adventurers, Gilbert and Raleigh and Hakluyt. Gilbert for years speculated on the feasibility of a north-west route to the East, to take advantage of which, as he says, England was more favourably situated than Spain. He hoped also that it might be possible to appropriate lands for settlement by "such of the needy people of our country," "the vagabonds and suchlike idle persons," as "now trouble the commonwealth, and through want here at home

NORTH

TERRA SEP-TENTRIONA = LIS.



TERRA AUSTRALIS INCOGNITA.

SOUTH



are forced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are daily consumed with the gallows." But first, it was quite clear, the Spaniard's power must be curbed, and Gilbert proposed a scheme for Elizabeth's acceptance which bears a remarkable likeness to the projects with which Englishmen rightly or wrongly are prone to credit the modern Russian. The time having arrived when England in her own interests must proceed "to pare the nails" of those who stood between her and the lands beyond the seas, he proposed to embark on the discovery of strange places under "special provisoes for their safeties whom policy requireth to have most annoyed." He proposes to set forth under "colour of discovery" for the New Land, to meet there "the great shipping of Spain, France and Portugal," to seize and bring away the best of them, and to find shelter for those who engage in this act of piracy at some spot on the English coast under a Vice-Admiral who shall be committed to prison during her Majesty's pleasure for harbouring such folk. Whilst this mockery was going forward at home, munitions were to be laid up "in some apt place," for some five or six thousand men, pretended settlers on the other side of the Atlantic, who were to be picked up by a fleet of warships and employed in driving the Spaniard out of the West Indies. It was an ingenious bit of Machiavellism, but like all Gilbert's schemes came to nought. He embarked in 1578, but returned after a futile voyage. In 1583 he set out again, attempted a settlement both on the

mainland and at St John's, Newfoundland, but misfortune dogged his steps and he went down with his ship which foundered in a storm. He seems to have been a proud, strong-willed, self-opinionated man. His reckless confidence in his own judgment cost him his life and many others theirs.

Gilbert's tentative efforts at colonisation were the outcome of ideas which were not his alone. Hence his failure did not involve the abandonment of colonial enterprise at its birth. Within a year of his death, his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, had taken up the project with all the fervour of a nature which blended the dreamer with the practitioner. He despatched an expedition which took possession of the island of Roanoke and the coast of America adjacent thereto in the name of Queen Elizabeth in honour of whom it was called Virginia. In 1585 a number of intended settlers were despatched under the protection of a fleet commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, the gallant sailor who won immortal renown a few years after by fighting a whole Spanish fleet with his one tiny vessel the *Revenge*. The men selected for the settlement were not of the sort of which colonists are made. They went in search not of homes but of gold mines, and when they failed to find the treasure, their anxiety was to get away, either back to England or on some buccaneering enterprise. Raleigh's disappointment must have been great. He spent himself and his wealth in the promotion of his schemes of colonisation; but he had to admit that the prospect of starting

a new state in a distant country was insufficient inducement to the average man. It involved all the risks attendant on projects which were at once more exciting in themselves and more profitable if they succeeded.

Wealth, supposed to be the bane peculiar to modern times, was every whit as luring to men at the end of the sixteenth century as it is to men at the beginning of the twentieth. Raleigh was determined not to be beaten, and saw an opportunity for utilising the lust for gold as a means to dominion over the seas. Permanent advantage, he knew, was to be found in the settlement of virgin lands, in commerce and in the opening up of new fields for the employment of the labour of "needy people who trouble the commonwealth through want of a home." In South America there was believed to exist a land so overflowing with riches that it was designated by the Spaniards *El Dorado*. "Many years since," Raleigh wrote in 1595, "I had knowledge, by relation, of that mighty rich and beautiful Empire of *Guiana* and of that great and golden city which the Spaniards call *El Dorado* and the naturals *Manoa*." That Raleigh believed in *El Dorado* is certain, and he hoped not only to tap its wealth but to make that wealth the magnet which would attract settlers from England who might form the nucleus of a colonial empire. He spared no pains and no expense to discover the truth as to this golden city of *Guiana*, but neither he nor his emissaries ever succeeded in getting near it. It was a mirage which vanished at the approach of reality, but

though Raleigh had to admit that it was hundreds of miles from the place where he hoped to locate it, he found indications of gold that were sufficient to keep his faith alive. He failed to discover El Dorado, but gold is to-day taken from the region where he sought it and might have found it but for persistent ill-luck,—ill-luck which landed him in gaol at the end of Elizabeth's reign and brought him to the block in her successor's.

*Thursday morning we had ageyne a dubble  
rainbow w<sup>ch</sup> putt vs in feare it w<sup>ld</sup> continue  
woud not end, from wensday 12 to thursday  
12 we made not above 6 l. having allwayes  
uncomfortable raines & dead calmes*

HANDWRITING OF SIR WALTER RALEGH, 1617

*Translation—*

Thursday mor[n]ing we had ageyne a dubble rainebow, which putt vs in feire that that the raines would never end. From Wensday 12 to Thursday 12 we made not above 6 l[eagues], having allwayes vncumfortable raines and dead calmes.

Raleigh was a martyr of Empire if ever there was one. In insight he was far ahead of his time, in accomplishment well abreast of it. He was the architect of his own fortunes, a financial speculator, a shipowner, a member of Parliament, a student, a reforming landowner, a poet, a chemist, an engineer, a philosopher, an historian, a courtier, a rover and a patriot. Unlike so many of his famous contemporaries he was much more than a mere adventurer. He bearded the Spaniard with the doughtiest of them, but he did so not for gold alone. He was not averse from "picory,"—marauding—but he entertained larger ideas than

plunder. On the very threshold of England's colonising career, he pointed out the truth and demanded to know "who gave gold and silver the monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almighty's favourites?" Whilst Elizabeth was alive Raleigh's enterprises brought him disappointment, but were not denied support from the sovereign. When James I. came to the throne they were not only denied support, they were betrayed to England's most implacable foes. One of Raleigh's captains attacked, apparently in self-defence, a Spanish settlement on territory in Guiana which Raleigh twenty years earlier had annexed for England. That was enough to ensure that Spain would leave no stone unturned to destroy him. Raleigh was naturally hated by Spain, and Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London, relentlessly hounded him to his doom. James I. was just the sort of creature who would fail to appreciate the greatness of such a subject as Raleigh. Did Raleigh not embroil him with Spain, and was not Spain, which Elizabeth had humiliated, still the most powerful of empires? James I.'s subservience to Philip is a miserable and contemptible episode, and England could hardly have been in worse plight if the ambitions of Philip II. had been realised. Raleigh was tried by orders from the Spanish court, Gondomar was chief prosecutor, and but for the decision of the Spanish monarch that it was more convenient he should be done to death in England, this glorious patriot would have been handed over for execution and probably torture in Seville. Yet Raleigh's main

offence was to challenge the Spaniard's right to half a world claimed under the terms of a preposterous papal dispensation.

### CHAPTER III

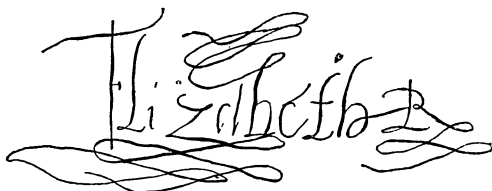
#### THE STRUGGLE FOR EASTERN TRADE—EARLY VOYAGES—SIR THOMAS ROE AND THE LAND OF THE GREAT MOGUL

Not merely half a world but the whole world became Spain's ambition when in 1580 she absorbed Portugal. Portuguese possessions in the East were appropriated, and the way prepared for the decline of the empire beyond the seas which Vasco da Gama had inaugurated and others, like Albuquerque and Almeida, had extended and confirmed. Spain never recovered fully from the effects of the Armada, notwithstanding the efforts she made, and the more vulnerable Spain became, the more certain was the ruin of Portugal. In any case Portuguese Empire was not likely to be long-lived. It was Latin and wanting in virility. It dawned with the sixteenth century, passed its zenith soon after the first half of that century, and was eclipsed before the century was complete. Founded partly by lust of gain, partly by a desire to evangelise, it was predestined to failure from its inability to strike root. It existed for a while because Portugal was strong enough to beat the Arabs out of the field, or rather off the seas; it was broad based on the

dissensions of Mahomedan powers on the one hand and African natives on the other, and for three quarters of a century it enjoyed immunity from European competition.

The Dutch led the way. They threw off the Spanish yoke under which they had laboured so long, and then proceeded to dispute the Spanish-Portuguese right to a monopoly of Eastern trade. Queen Elizabeth, needless to say, lent ready assistance to Holland in this enterprise, her object being to humiliate the Spaniard and open up commercial opportunity for England. Holland went to work deliberately to appropriate Spanish-Portuguese trade and settlements, and she enjoyed a measure of success which not only drove the Spaniard to fury, but seems to have partly turned her own head. No sooner had she proved her ability to dispute successfully Spanish pretension than she sought to adopt measures hardly distinguishable from those of Spain. Where Holland secured a footing, trade conditions were instituted not one whit more liberal than the Spanish and Portuguese. It is true monopoly was the one canon which dominated commercial philosophy in those days and for centuries to come. Only in England were whispers heard of the possibility and wisdom of a less hide-bound system ; in practice England became as monopolist as any. At the same time the assistance given to Holland by Elizabeth should have been taken into account, especially as both religion and trade were concerned. England and Holland were Protestant, Spain and Portugal Roman Catholic.

Just as, nearly two centuries later, the fate of the British Empire was to turn on the question of tea, so in the closing years of the sixteenth century one of the most momentous departures in British history was directly due to pepper. Holland, to whom England looked for supplies, put up the price of pepper from 3s. to 8s. per lb. A meeting of London merchants was promptly called to consider the situation, and it was determined forthwith to co-operate for the purposes of trade with the East Indies.



SIGNATURE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Hitherto the East had been tapped only by certain gallant spirits like James Lancaster who braved unknown seas and well-known Spanish hatred. They managed to secure a certain amount of highly profitable trade, but more important than the immediate gain were the reports of illimitable opportunity which set the whole business world of London agog. London capitalists were ready with the necessary funds, and Queen Elizabeth put no obstacles in the way. The first charter of incorporation of the East India Company received her signature on the last day of December 1600.



Such competition was not calculated to turn the victorious Dutch in Eastern seas to a more friendly frame of mind. They now understood that England was no more prepared to be placed at the mercy of Dutch pretensions than were the Dutch to be kept out of the Spice Islands by the Portuguese. The smouldering hostility of the Dutch was fanned into flame by the accession of James I., and his unfortunate leanings towards Spain. When we remember how James treated Raleigh, it is almost matter for wonder that he did not attempt to stamp out the enterprise of the London merchants in order to placate Spain. The London merchants however were not an individual ; they were a powerful corporation with a fairly firm grip on the strings of well-filled purses. So far, therefore, from taking action against them, he promoted the cause, and could at least feel that in so doing he was aiming at a formidable enemy of Spain. Nine years after the granting of the first charter by Elizabeth, when several voyages undertaken by the Company had, notwithstanding the hazards run, brought the Company immense profits, amounting to from 100 to 300 per cent., James made his way to the London Docks to name the largest merchant ship yet built in England. The *Trade's Increase*—a name of happy omen surely—attained the huge burden of 1100 tons, a tenth of that of some ocean greyhounds to-day.

Of the character of these early voyages we get vivid glimpses in the letters received by the Company from its servants, which have recently been transcribed in bulky volumes from the originals

at the India Office. We see the voyagers, the Middletons, the Sarises, the Downtons, the Adamses, embarking in craft so frail that we moderns can only marvel that any of them lived to tell the tale. After a few months at sea the vessels were often little better than battered tubs. By the time they reached the Far East it was a question whether they would hold together during the return voyage. In such places as the Moluccas, "the worms did consume the ships very much." Many vessels, fleets even, were never heard of again after leaving England, and the reiterated thanksgivings in which chroniclers indulge, are an indication of their consciousness of dangers passed. With the crews the voyage played as much havoc as with the ships. Scurvy, debility and death added enormously to the responsibilities of "the General," as the principal captain in each voyage was called. Of James Lancaster we are told how he reached the Cape of Good Hope with his men in such a state that he had to seek succour from the natives. "Hee met with certaine of the Countrey and gave them divers trifles, such as knives and pieces of old iron and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen. For he spoke to them in the Cattels Language, which was never changed at the confusion of Babell, which was Moath for oxen and kine, and Baa for sheepe, which language the people understood very well without any interpreter."

The Dutch and Portuguese added to the difficulties of the English in Africa and Asia

by stirring up the natives against them whenever possible. A quite delightfully impartial and informal warfare was maintained by Europeans in Eastern seas, and all had to face what Captain Middleton called "the threats and brags" of resentful rivals. As though the enmity of the Europeans were not sufficiently serious, Middleton in the *Trade's Increase* found himself the victim of treachery at the hands of the Turks. He was received at Mocha with every show of cordiality, and went ashore with a party, secure as he thought in the goodwill of the Turks. He and his men were attacked without provocation or warning, many were killed and several with Middleton made prisoners. Middleton was released, and by capturing a valuable Turkish ship secured the release of his men also after five months' detention by "these truthless Turks." When the English were helpless the Turks taunted them with being "women in men's apparel."

How wide of the fact that description was, the most superficial acquaintance with the doings of the English in Eastern seas throughout the sixteenth century will show. Generally speaking their objective was not so much India as the islands further east, whence the spices came, and it was this fact which brought them into such close conflict with the Dutch. The Portuguese devoted their chief attention to India, and though the struggle was maintained throughout the Eastern seas the duel between Holland and England was Far Eastern and between Portugal and England Indian. The first English settlement on Indian

soil was made in 1612 at Surat on the west coast at the mouth of the Tapti river. The Portuguese resorted to every artifice of diplomacy and arms to keep them out, and inferior English ships were often engaged with imposing Portuguese fleets in bitter struggles from which the English generally emerged the victors. In 1614 for instance a considerable Portuguese force was sent from Goa to dispose of a small fleet under the command of Downton. The result was a crushing defeat for the aggressors, increased confidence on the part of the English, and an enhancement of the respect entertained by the native for the representatives of the island power from the far North Sea. Achievements such as Downton's paved the way for the reception of Sir Thomas Roe at the court of Jehangir, to whom he was accredited by James I. in 1615. Roe was duly impressed by the magnificence of the surroundings of the "Mightie Emperour commonly knowne as the Great Mogul." The empire founded by Baber—one of the innumerable invaders from the North—grew under Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, to be the greatest and most powerful ever seen in India, with the exception of that consolidated under a greater British queen even than Elizabeth. Englishmen approached the Emperor and solicited privileges with a modesty which, however becoming, affords an idea of what they thought of his power. Sir Thomas Roe's mission resulted in little that was tangible, but his despatches were not without value. They foreshadowed the difficulties ahead: the Mogul Empire, created at the cost of native states,

crushed out the very forces which might have stood it in good stead in the hour of trouble: "the time will come when all these kingdomes will be in combustion and a few years' warre will not decide the inveterate malice laid up on all parts against a day of vengeance." Like most other Englishmen, Roe thought that English traders would do better not to attempt settlements and the erection of forts. He found that such things were the "beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territories, that he keeps souldiers that spend it: yet his garrisons are meane."

Sir Thomas Roe's views confirmed the general tendency to pay more heed to the Spice Islands than to India. But fate willed that success should come from the quarter where it was expected least, and that misfortune should dog the steps of Englishmen where they hoped to gain most. The years 1622-3 by a somewhat dramatic coincidence illustrate alike their success and their failure. The hostility of the Dutch developed into bitter hatred and no weapon was too bad to beat the English dog with. The Dutch adopted every expedient honourable and dishonourable to keep the English out of the Moluccas, and their opposition culminated in one of the most notorious of cold-blooded massacres. A small number of Englishmen, with Captain Towerson at their head, started a factory at Amboyna, where the Dutch held a fort garrisoned by ten times the number of the English traders. Without warning, Towerson and his men were taken prisoners by the Dutch authorities on the

absurd charge that they were conspiring to secure possession of the fort. The respective strength of the two parties should have been a sufficient answer to this allegation, but the object of the Dutch would not have been served if the weakness of their case had been admitted. That object was to oust the English and they had at command an effectual means of making their enemies a party to their own defeat. Torture wrung confession of guilt from innocent men, and the luckless prisoners were promptly executed, praying forgiveness of each other, it is said, for having admitted the accuracy of the lying charges brought against them. Many months elapsed ere the horrible story reached England. Great though the indignation was, beyond stirring Englishmen to their depths and moving the Government to demand from Holland a reparation which was grudgingly given to the inadequate extent of £3615, nothing was done to restore the confidence of the English. Not unnaturally the incident drove them away from the Moluccas, and had disastrous consequences for the Company, whose finances were sorely prejudiced by the loss of the Far Eastern business.

English adventurers turned more and more to India of which so little was expected; whilst things went ill with them in the Spice Islands in Indian waters they triumphed in nearly every encounter with the Portuguese who were just as eager to crush them as were the Dutch. Their most valued possession for the purposes of commerce and defence was the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. With the assistance of the

Persians who had no reason to love the Portuguese, Ormuz was captured after a very poor attempt at defence, and the population of two thousand Portuguese subjects were transported to Muscat. Heavy punishment was inflicted on the Portuguese officers concerned in the surrender on whom the Government could lay their hands, and the Spanish king used every endeavour to secure repossession either by purchase or reconquest. Not less than £100,000 was the value of the prize, but the company did not enjoy the full advantage of its conquest. King James and his Lord High Admiral demanded a share in the plunder amounting to £20,000.

Portugal was very soon out of the running, and as her commercial star waned, that of England rose. What England did not do to destroy her power and prestige, already sorely blighted by the Spanish union, the Dutch and the native powers accomplished. The Emperor, Shah Jehan, who sat on the throne of Jehangir, destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Hugli and with it the respect in which the Portuguese were held as fighters, by the native races. English influence on the other hand was materially augmented by the service rendered to members of Shah Jehan's household by Dr Broughton a surgeon in the employment of the Company who was equally skilful as operator and diplomatist. Through him special privileges were secured to the Company. But as though the struggle maintained by that body against the Portuguese and the Dutch were not sufficient, they were confronted with a new danger. Inter-

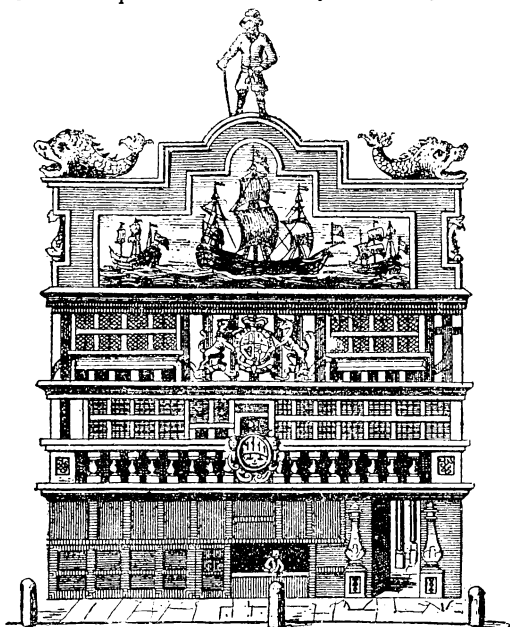
lopers—that is, unchartered competitors—were allowed to go forth from England, and at a critical moment a new charter was granted to a number of rivals. Under the Stuarts the Company's chances of permanent success were slender, but Oliver Cromwell gave it a new lease of life.

During the century which followed the accession to power of Cromwell, the fortunes of European traders and settlers beyond the seas fluctuated with the quarrels and alliances of their governments at home. English and Dutch and Portuguese and Spaniard were in any case generally at war, unofficially if not otherwise, and it would be a hopeless task in a limited space to attempt to unravel the tangle which European and Indian affairs in the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century present. England fought now with Holland against France, now with France against Holland. During Louis XIV.'s reign, France and Holland enfeebled each other on the high seas, presenting England with a grand opportunity of which she did not fail to take full advantage. Complications in Europe rendered it impossible for France to carry out any of the schemes of colonisation and conquest elaborated by Colbert, the brilliant author of the French East India Company. The state of India began to invite European intervention. On all sides, signs of the decline of the Mogul power appeared. Aurangzeb, the successor of Shah Jehan, sought to strengthen his hold on the peninsula by robbing the smaller states of all means of self-



defence, and when the Marathas rose in revolt, the Great Mogul found not only that he was powerless to cope with the insurrection in Central India, but that the other races remembered that Baber was an invader. The authority of the Moguls rested on the sword, and when trouble came, Aurangzeb found himself, as his French physician put it, "in a hostile country containing hundreds of Gentiles (Hindus) to one Mogul or even one Mahomedan." The mighty Imperial fabric began to crumble, and the Europeans, settled on its fringe, bethought themselves that the time had arrived to advance their pretensions. The English Company materially strengthened its hold on the imagination of the Emperor and India generally, by the ability with which its servants defended the factory at Surat when attacked by the great Maratha leader Sivaji in 1664. Having routed the forces of the Mogul, Sivaji hoped to capture the riches stored up by the Company at Surat. With a mere handful of men Sir George Oxindon successfully resisted the Maratha onslaught,—an event which had the double effect of enhancing the respect in which the English were held by the Emperor, and of promoting the Company's views of its own importance. The assumption of territorial privileges, the adoption of civil and military responsibilities within the limits leased to them, tended to place the Company even in those early days on a plane different from that of the mere trader. Factories had sprung up at Madras and Calcutta, and in 1669 Bombay, which was given to Charles II. by Portugal as the dowry of his queen, was

leased to the Company by the king for £10 per annum—a political and commercial bargain which can only be likened to that almost contemporaneous compact in the literary world by which



THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE IN LONDON.

Milton parted with "Paradise Lost" for a £5 note. Bombay was destined soon to displace Surat as the Company's principal emporium on the west coast of India. In 1687, permission was granted

to the Company to make peace or war in India, and without delay operations were undertaken by way of reprisals for certain injuries which the Company had sustained at the hands of native officials. The servants of the Company on the spot were never slow "to draw the sword his Majesty has entrusted us with to vindicate the rights and honour of the English nation in India," and only the condition into which the Mogul Empire was falling, saved them from extinction at the very outset of their military career. The army of the Mogul speedily disposed of the diminutive forces the Company could command, and the Mogul accepted the Company's humble apology. He refrained from expelling the English from India for diplomatic and strategic reasons. The English, however, were not in favour with either natives or Europeans. Treachery met them on every hand, and the methods they adopted with a view to showing that they were not to be made mere playthings of, grew more drastic as the forts and defences erected around their factories inspired confidence. Some natives characterised the English as "base, quarrelling people, and foul dealers," and the Portuguese wrote them down as "thieves, disturbers of states and a people not to be permitted in a Commonwealth,"—surely two excellent examples of the propensity of the pot to call the kettle black. Prepared to fight though the Company was, however, its aim was trade and dividends; but consciousness of the magnitude of the stake made it ready to fight if the prize could not be gained peaceably. What the prize was, Sir William

Davenant explained in an essay in which he pointed out that whatever country was in possession of the East India trade, would give law to all the commercial world.

Gradually, partly by sheer pluck, partly by luck, Englishmen succeeded in pushing aside their Dutch and Portuguese rivals in India ; but another who threatened to be more formidable than either appeared in the French East India Company which was directly supported by the French Government. Schemes of aggrandisement in Europe brought only humiliation to France and embarrassment to the trading corporation in the East. Hence the English in India were in the happy position of being on the one hand confronted with rivalry sufficiently serious to keep them alert, and on the other afforded an opportunity of consolidating their forces in preparation for the more strenuous efforts which were to decide whether France or England should acquire the proud title of Raj. But it was not only in the East that the question of supremacy had to be decided, and in order that the story of the Empire may be followed as it developed, we must now turn to the West.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE BEGINNING OF CANADA AND OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES—EARLY TROUBLES— ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY—THE WEST INDIES

WHILE Englishmen were thus strenuously maintaining the struggle against Dutch and Portuguese in the East, in the West not less energy and determination were necessary in combating the Spaniard and the Frenchman. With Spain, the conflict was fought out mainly in the West Indies; with France it was fought out in the north of the continent which to-day is divided between the United States and Canada. The fight in the West called forth all the qualities of endurance demanded by that in the East, and was attended by incidents equally heroic and equally tragic. The object was different. In the East trade was the major consideration and settlement the minor; in the West settlement was chiefly aimed at and opportunities for the acquisition of wealth if any were the means to an end.

That the larger part of the West Indies and the whole of the North American continent should for a time have become English, is a fact almost more striking than the ultimate achievement of empire in the East. There was little promise of success in the early days, and the fate of Raleigh and Raleigh's schemes might well have warned others off any attempt at transatlantic

colonisation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century English possessions in America were memorials of failure. No claim could be based on effective occupation, and all the signs pointed to the continent ultimately becoming French. If the wisdom of a Colbert had existed in France throughout the century this might conceivably have happened. In the year in which Queen Elizabeth granted the charter to the first English East India Company, Henri IV. granted exclusive trading-rights in Canada to a naval officer named Chauvin and a merchant named Pontgrave. Chauvin was succeeded by de Monts, a Calvinist, who might have done great things but for the narrow bigotry of the French king who ultimately disgraced him. Eight years after the concession to Chauvin, Champlain founded Quebec as the capital of New France. This step was however hardly the mark of progress which it might appear. The first comers supplied the natives with fire-arms and so reduced the country to chaos. Native feuds were constant and uncontrollable, and it became necessary to adopt measures for bringing Canada under more regular government. An Association, known as "The Company of the Hundred Partners," was started with administrative powers, to secure the conversion of the heathen and to find a way to the Spice Islands which lured Frenchmen as they lured Englishmen. Cardinal Richelieu was president of the new body, to which a monopoly of conscience and commerce was granted, in return for a gold crown, to be presented to every French sovereign

on his accession as an acknowledgment of his authority. All Frenchmen, save Protestants, Jews and "other heretics," were allowed certain privileges by the Company and efforts were made to start a French population. The Company over-reached itself. If de Monts suffered for his Calvinism, another Calvinist took signal revenge for the persecution to which his fellow-"heretics" were subjected. A young French exile in England, Kirtck or Kircke by name, was permitted to fit out an expedition which he led against his countrymen in Canada; he triumphed so completely that Quebec itself fell into his hands. It was restored to France because Charles I. was incapable of forming an estimate of its value. The Company of One Hundred Partners achieved little and went under in 1663, its possessions lapsing to the State. Colbert assumed direct control of Canadian interests, and at once began to experiment on the lines of his great project for giving France a real empire beyond the seas. One part of Colbert's scheme was the formation of the only French East India Company which enjoyed any considerable measure of success. Colbert planted families and discharged soldiers on Canadian soil and started a West India Company which was to establish itself anywhere, either in America or Africa—far fields for West Indian enterprise!—by exterminating or conquering the natives, or "colonists of such European nations as are not our allies." The Company was given powers of war and government; its main business was furs; it was never quite a success; and its

affairs were complicated by troubles with the Indians, the wars with whom are said to have been carried on with terrible barbarism on both sides. The relations of the French with the natives were generally extreme. It was either a state of war or of intermarriage. In the latter event they secured invaluable allies in their conflicts with the English. Intermarriage created a large number of half breeds, who were a bond of union between the French and the natives, and served French purposes excellently well in both a military and commercial sense.

France thus secured for herself territory which the discovery of Cabot and the energetic exploration of Frobisher, Davis and others should have secured for England. Raleigh's efforts turned the eyes of his countrymen further south, and Virginia fascinated men's minds notwithstanding the failures with which it was associated. The idea of making it an English nation, which Raleigh hoped to live to see, was actively fostered by men like Bartholomew Gosnold whose names are seldom remembered to-day, and in 1606 letters patent were issued by James I. for the formation of a new association to colonise Virginia. The association was to create two companies known as the London and the Plymouth. The Plymouth Company must be added to the list of failures. The London Company, whose sphere of operations roughly covered the extent of coast still known as Virginia survived the initial mistakes which seemed inevitable in the colonisation enterprise of the seventeenth century. The Council in



London to whom the interests of the Association were entrusted were merchants who considered the needs of a new country chiefly from the point of view of trade. The men sent out as colonists were of the wrong sort. They were mainly needy gentlemen with an ambition to become rich in a hurry and at the least possible trouble to themselves, "unruly gallants packed off by friends," is one description of them, and the escape of the London Company was due solely to one man—Captain John Smith—whose career, an adventurous one, was very nearly ended summarily by jealousy and the inability of his companions to appreciate his masterful methods. On the voyage out he was made a prisoner on the charge of designing to murder the Council and proclaim himself king of Virginia. Whatever his designs, he was not long in the colony before he proved that he was the only leader among the settlers.

The first batch arrived in Chesapeake Bay in April 1607, and selected a spot at the mouth of the river which they named James after the king. Smith set himself energetically to explore the colony and very nearly lost his life at the hands of the Indians into whose territory he penetrated. He was captured and only saved from instant execution by his pocket compass, which literally, to use modern slang, astonished the natives who had never seen such a thing before. He was taken before the chief, Powhatan, and would have been beaten to death with clubs but for the devotion of the chief's daughter, Pocahontas, who threw herself between the executioners and

their intended victim. Her father relented and Smith lived to become very popular with the tribe. He rendered most disinterested services to the colony, in all his proceedings making "justice his first guide and experience his second"; his vigorous rule and uncompromising example made him enemies among the colonists but saved Virginia for the London Company. The best tribute to his influence is that within a few months of his leaving the colony everything had gone wrong and the remnant of the community was prevented from abandoning the country only by the timely arrival of ships from England bringing new hope in the shape of provisions and settlers. The ultimate success of Virginia encouraged another experiment which was inaugurated in very different circumstances a few years later. James I. had not been on the throne long ere his intolerance in Church matters drove hardy independents out of the country. They found an asylum at Leyden in Holland, but were as unwilling to expatriate themselves as to conform to the thinly veiled Roman Catholicism of the Stuarts. With the assistance of some London capitalists they made arrangements to emigrate to America and were granted land in Virginia. They came to England in the *Speedwell*, and in September 1620, when the *Speedwell* had proved unseaworthy, they left Plymouth in the *Mayflower*. These Pilgrim Fathers, as they were called, were landed far to the north of the spot at which they desired to settle, but they made the best of their situation. Their numbers are variously given as 102 and

120. So began New England. The Pilgrim Fathers had a genius for colonisation and within a dozen years had paid off the debt incurred to the London capitalists who helped them to resume their English life in another hemisphere. The intolerance of James I. the signatory of the death warrant of the earliest and noblest of English Colonial pioneers, was therefore directly instrumental in founding one of the greatest of colonies, and to the same influence was due the reinforcement of the Pilgrim Fathers by the Puritans who set up for themselves in Massachusetts in 1629. Conscience and freedom of worship were incentives to the accomplishment of the object which Raleigh and his supporters and successors endeavoured to attain by more worldly means. It is a curious fact that the freedom the Puritan settlers claimed for themselves they denied to others. Their assurance that they held the only true faith was not less absurd than the Stuart pretensions to divine right. Dissension led to a split headed by Roger Williams who, persecuted by the liberal-minded folk of Massachusetts, was driven to seek the hospitality of the Indians and the wilderness, and ultimately started a new colony on Rhode Island with Providence for his capital. The only colony which escaped the blight of intolerance was Maryland, of which Lord Baltimore was the founder and proprietary governor. A Roman Catholic, he set an example which his Protestant neighbours were unwilling to follow. Other colonies sprang up; and gradually the whole coast line from Nova Scotia to Florida became

dotted with settlements. Perhaps the quaintest experiment was that in the Carolinas which were presented by Charles II. in 1663 to certain of his favourite supporters. They attempted to form a community under a constitution devised by John Locke—a cruel practical test to subject any philosopher to. The result was almost worthy of comic opera. One wonders with Mr A. W. Jose whether Locke was quite serious when he devised the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina “with

*for me at one Fords in Bow-lane  
London* *Thy very true  
old Friend*  
Wm Penn

HANDWRITING OF WILLIAM PENN, 1681

*Translation—*

For me at one Fords in Bow-Lane, London.

Thy very true old Friend Wm. PENN.

their seignories, baronies and precincts, their sliding scale of landgraves and caciques, and their attempt to make everyone either an aristocratic landowner or a serf bound hand and foot to the land he lived on.” Such hidebound regulations were foredoomed and Locke’s wonderful constitution had to be abandoned. Efforts were made to colonise Nova Scotia and Newfoundland but they came to little or nothing, and the last great colonising scheme of the seventeenth century was Quaker Penn’s in 1682. In satisfaction for a debt owed to his father by Charles I., William Penn accepted a grant of nearly 50,000 square miles of American territory, and in-

augurated Pennsylvania, where the spirit of goodwill towards settlers of all creeds prevailed as in the case of Maryland.

The colonies throve in the teeth of the most adverse conditions. They were harassed by the French and the Dutch, by the natives and by the home Government. With the Dutch the conflict was sharp and decisive, and New Amsterdam, after changing hands twice for brief periods, finally passed to England in 1664, and has ever since been known as New York. With the natives the relations of the colonies were uncertain. Many of the early colonists regarded the Indians as necessarily enemies, and themselves as "divinely favoured conquerors of New Canaan." In 1622—a year before Amboyna—the Indians made a descent on Virginia and indulged in a massacre for which the colonists took signal revenge. The origin of the trouble was the marriage to an Englishman of Pocahontas, the saviour of John Smith. There was, however, no disposition on the part of the English to imitate the French and make inter-marriage general. The Indians considered this a slight and objected to the importation of white squaws from England. In 1675, New England had to face a serious war with a tribe under a chief named King Philip. With one race, the Iroquois who occupied the lands between the northern English settlements and Canada, the English were always on the best of terms and their loyalty was an immense advantage in the recurrent conflicts with the French.

The chief troubles of the colonies were due

to the French and the mother country, partly to the quarrels of the French and the English, partly to the designs of both on the colonies themselves. England, in a spirit worthy almost of Spain, no sooner found that the American settlements were beginning to prosper than it became her object to make as much as possible out of them, and to keep them as a preserve for her own manufacturers and traders. As a state England did nothing for the colonies beyond the granting of charters. They were the outcome of private effort and what they achieved was the result of individual initiative. If they had failed, England would have been where she was before they started. Their success supplied an incentive to something very like confiscation. Charters were abrogated, rights of self-government were restricted, and navigation laws made it a cardinal offence to send Colonial goods anywhere else than to England in any but English ships. From the English point of view there was a good deal to be said for the navigation laws. They were a material assistance in the up-building of maritime supremacy, but the time came when they were an intolerable burden to the colonies.

The view taken of the American settlements is sufficiently illustrated by the action of James I. in 1624. When the London Company was struggling to found Virginia and there was nothing to indicate whether its efforts would issue in success or failure, it was left pretty much to itself and allowed a certain measure of autonomy. When it became evident that a new English state had risen on the

American sea-board, James concluded that the right of self-government it enjoyed was incompatible with other rights, which the Stuarts regarded as their divine attributes. He therefore superseded the Colonial Council by one of his own. Ten years later an attempt was made to establish a Colonial Department in London in response to Laud's view that New England was not sufficiently under control. Oliver Cromwell took a more sympathetic and enlightened view of the Colonial question and his lead was followed by Charles II. so that one of the first things done after the Restoration was to create a Council of Plantations and give more freedom to the colonies in the management of local affairs. Unfortunately, the tendency in this direction was a tendency only: the right of arbitrary interference was to be persisted in with disastrous consequences. As early as 1636 the American colonies, divided though they were, on many points realised the necessity of union for common purposes. The menace of a general Indian rising, the persistent activity of the French on their borders and the checks imposed by the mother-country brought about a tentative federation under the title of the United Colonies of New England. That union lasted forty years and should have been a hint of possibilities for the guidance of Imperial statesmen.

English energies, it might seem, would have found more than sufficient employment in the double effort of maintaining the struggle in the East and founding colonies in the West. On the contrary they grew with achievement; they

fastened on to the West Indies in the south, and Hudson's Bay in the north. Colonial expansion, as Mr John Morley has said, "had its spring in the abiding demands of national circumstance, in the continuous action of economic necessities upon a national character of incomparable energy and adventure. Such a policy was not and could not be the idea of one man, or the mark of a single generation." One man could not check it; otherwise James I.'s subservience to Spain would have done so; but another could foster it, as Cromwell proved by the adventures on which he embarked in the West Indies. English interest in the West Indies was constant if not always as great as it might have been. In 1604 Barbadoes was taken for King James, though twenty years elapsed before any definite scheme of settlement was attempted. It was given by James to the Earl of Marlborough and later by Charles I. to the Earl of Carlisle; thus there were two claimants to proprietorship of the island. International rivalry apparently was not a sufficiently disturbing element. St Christopher—familiar as St Kitts—was occupied by the French and English about the same time. So that whilst Barbadoes was the battle-ground of rival Englishmen, St Kitts was the battle-ground of rival nationalities. The greater part of the islands were more or less in Spanish hands, and one of Cromwell's projects was the capture of Hispaniola, now Haiti. The enterprise under the command of Venables and Penn, the father of the founder of Pennsylvania, failed signally, and the discomfited English, to save the ex-



pedition from futility attacked Jamaica which fell an easy prey. Jamaica in English hands soon became a valuable possession, but it became valuable unfortunately by means which revolt the conscience of a later period. Its wealth on the one hand was accompanied by the extremest human misery on the other. It became the richest and the worst of the West Indian haunts of buccaneers, slave traders and outlaws. The fate which overtook it would, in the pages of romance, be regarded as an exaggeration devised by a mere desire to be sensational. In the hour when its prosperity was highest and its morality lowest an earthquake altered the face of the island, and carried its capital bodily to the bottom of the sea. Thousands of lives were lost, and property disappeared out of sight as though it had never been.

Other islands, the Bermudas and the Bahamas among them, fell to England, to become the battledores and shuttlecocks of Empire. When the Stuarts were deposed, some of the islands remained loyal and it was only by the exercise of brute force that they were induced to recognise the Commonwealth. Almost pathetic is the idea of a small island on the other side of the Atlantic forming a Royalist outpost with no possibility whatever of rendering effective service to the Stuart cause. If the islanders objected to a change in the form of the home Government how much more must they have resented a change in nationality. Yet they were French or Dutch or English as the fortunes of war, or the ineptitudes of diplomacy, might dictate. Barbadoes alone

escaped change of nationality; as Mr W. H. Woodward points out, it has never either by capture or by treaty passed to the hands of a foreign power. Sugar was the staple of West Indian industry, and the prosperity of the islands continued until the abolition of slavery. The losses they incurred through that splendid but not wholly well-directed act of philanthropy were turned into sheer ruin when England threw open her markets to bounty-fed beet sugar.

From the first the English settlers in America looked with a jealous eye on the French in Canada and especially in Acadie, and the mistake England had made in not following up the claim given her by the Cabots was keenly felt. Port Royal, in Acadie, to-day the province of Nova Scotia, was a menace, which Captain Argall in 1614 proceeded to destroy, and for a time Acadie was English; it was handed over to Sir William Alexander for settlement by Scotchmen, and was renamed Nova Scotia. But it was not to remain English. In 1632 Charles I. returned to France everything which English daring had secured. France made the least of her opportunities. To the north of her settlements in Canada was Hudson's Bay with its vast possibilities for the development of the fur trade, on account of which during the whole century the French intrigued and fought and explored. Hudson's Bay was discovered by an Englishman, but its potentialities were first seized by a Frenchman; his countrymen failed to grasp the force of his representations and he came to England for support. The interest of Prince Rupert

was enlisted, and in 1670 an association was formed under the title of the Hudson's Bay Company. Trade and the still hoped-for discovery of a way to the South Seas were the objects of the corporation ; the experience of its promoters and proprietors was an arctic counterpart of the East India Company. The Hudson's Bay Company incurred risks and losses not less great than the East India Company, and it continued to prosper and pay huge dividends for nearly two hundred years.

On the frozen shores of the north as well as on the eastern coast of America the English, by the end of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, had secured a hold which France could not hope to destroy, but she made it clear that she would spare no effort to prevent the expansion of the English colonies and trading stations.

Her explorers were indefatigable : they pushed their way west along rivers, over lakes, into forests penetrated hitherto only by the Indian or the venturesome *coureur de bois*. They found willing helpers in the Jesuits who were not less determined to promote the cause of France than to make lip converts to Christianity. La Salle, on the strength of information supplied by Indians concerning what we should now call the hinterland of the English colonies, found his way to the west of the Alleghanies and south to the Mississippi, meeting strange tribes, performing strange ceremonies of annexation, inducing native chiefs by signs which were mere mystification to swear allegiance to the king of whose power and

attributes they could form no idea, and erecting crosses in the hearts of native villages which proclaimed the sovereignty of France. It was very quaint, very picturesque, very daring. Having run the line of appropriations from the Atlantic sea-board on the north of New England west round the English colonies to the Atlantic again south of the Carolinas, where they proclaimed the colony of Louisiana, the French had only to make good their claim, to confine the English for all time between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic. There could be no doubt about their intention because we find a French governor of Canada committing himself to the statement that the English were interlopers and should be allowed at most to retain their settlements east of the Alleghanies, the whole of the land west becoming French by right of discovery.

The English, alive to their danger, seized every excuse for striking at French power in America. In 1690 Sir William Phipps who, born a farm labourer, lived to become a distinguished admiral, attacked and captured Port Royal, but it was handed back to France at the Treaty of Ryswick seven years later, to the disgust of the New Englanders. Their disgust was not lessened when it was seen that Port Royal was to be the rallying point of French privateers who kept the English colonies in a state of nervous expectancy. Early in the eighteenth century it was decided that the French must be driven out of Acadie once and for all. When in 1710 a strong British squadron appeared off Port Royal the place surrendered

after a brief struggle. Acadie, henceforth Nova Scotia for good, became British by the Treaty of Utrecht—which also recognised the British right to Newfoundland though unhappily on conditions which have ever since been a sore trial to the colonists—and Port Royal was renamed Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne. The French rallied at Cape Breton making Louisbourg their capital, and Nova Scotia began to settle down reluctantly under British administration. The Acadians steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to King George. They seem to have been profoundly indifferent as to who governed them, but they were victims of the intrigues of their friends in Cape Breton. Under Paul Mascarene, a British officer whose forbears had been driven from France by persecution, they enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity, and when in 1741 England took sides with Frederick the Great against France in the war of the Austrian succession, the Acadians had made such progress that they refused to join France, giving as their main reason that they lived under a government “to which they had good cause to be faithful.” Yet they persisted in refusing to take the oath and later were charged with anti-British intrigues. Whatever cause they had to be faithful to the British Government, they took queer views of their duty, and when it was decided that Nova Scotia must become British in fact as well as in name, harsh measures were instituted to compel the simple folk of Acadie either to accept British nationality or to abandon their rude but much loved home. For the expulsion which followed they

were not wholly without responsibility, but the step was one which Britons can never think of without regret. They were distributed among the British colonies, and their trials were possibly often as keen as those of the loyalists who a few years hence were to face the wilderness and begin life afresh for the sake of the British flag.

## CHAPTER V

THE INTERNATIONAL DUEL IN INDIA—DUPLEIX'S  
DREAMS AND CLIVE'S ACHIEVEMENTS—  
FRENCH SCHEMES IN AMERICA—PITT AND  
THE EMPIRE—WOLFE AND QUEBEC

WITH the middle of the eighteenth century England and France arrived at a point in their relations East and West which rendered a decisive conflict inevitable. In Europe they were at war from 1741 to 1747 over the Austrian succession; in 1748 they signed the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, but the peace was unsatisfactory, especially for England, and it was only a question how long the arrangement would last. It was terminated abruptly in 1756 when the Seven Years' War began. In Europe peace and war alternated; in India and in America the French and English were never really at peace. When England and France declared war they merely regularised so far as India and America were concerned a state of things which otherwise was irregular. In both directions the absurd pretensions of the French

were the cause of the strife which became chronic. I say absurd because France did nothing to give her colonies and trading corporations a chance of winning against England. The resources at their command were inadequate to support the colossal ambition which aimed at making France supreme in North America and Southern India. The fault rested with France herself: if she had backed up the efforts of her sons beyond the seas, if she had utilised her resources in the furtherance of Colonial and Indian schemes instead of wasting them on a vicious court, and above all if she had spared no effort to make her navy efficient, then Dupleix and Montcalm might have triumphed, and there might have been no Clive and Wolfe on the roll of English conquerors.

How near the French came to success, and how completely the situation was changed by their inability to maintain their sea communications, is borne in on one by the course of events during 1740 and 1760. Dupleix arrived in India in 1741. The French East India Company, never a real success, was hampered by its dependence on the home Government. What it could not do commercially, Dupleix hoped to achieve for it politically. His brain teemed with projects for founding an empire in India and ousting the English, who were securing the huge dividends which France coveted. Dupleix proceeded to make friends with local potentates, and when in 1745 an English fleet appeared off Pondicherry he was strong enough to induce the Nawab of the Carnatic to forbid hostilities

taking place on territory within his jurisdiction. In the following year when a French fleet under Labourdonnais appeared off Madras and the English made the same request, the Nawab was unable to interfere. He could not do for the English what he had done for the French. The town was captured and Labourdonnais agreed to hand it back on payment of a ransom of £400,000. Dupleix, acting on orders from home which were entirely in keeping with his own views, treated the arrangement made by Labourdonnais with contempt. He refused to give up Madras, even to the Nawab; and when the Nawab attempted to take it by force, Dupleix read him a lesson which left its impress on the native mind for many a day to come. Dupleix made it quite clear to the Indian levies that they had no chance against a European force, however slender. Labourdonnais protested and retired from the conflict, and Dupleix aggravated his refusal to recognise the Admiral's undertaking, by carrying the English as prisoners to Pondicherry, where they were paraded as evidence of French omnipotence. It was an infatuated thing to do, and Dupleix was to reap the bitter fruit of it all in a very few years at the hands of one of his prisoners. Robert Clive was then a clerk in the East India Company's service and if Dupleix had taken stock of his prisoners with a view to estimating their quality, he would probably have fixed upon the boy Clive as the last person likely to prove dangerous. For the time being, everything favoured Dupleix; he had reduced the English to ignominy, and made the



name of France a terror throughout Southern India. His dependence upon Europe, however, was brought home to him in 1749 when he learned that by the treaty of the previous year, Madras was to be restored to the English in exchange for Louisbourg which had been captured by the New Englanders. Dupleix was not less furious at the exchange than were the colonists; the incident, in view of the action of the American colonies, a few years later is of particular interest. But for the restoration British enterprise in India might have suffered irreparable injury, and the subsequent history of the American colonies makes it a matter for congratulation that Louisbourg was not held in order to placate the New Englanders. Madras became the "jumping off place" of British dominion in India; Louisbourg would not have saved the revolt of the American colonies in 1775.

An opportunity for promoting his schemes came to Dupleix in 1748 when the Nizam-ul-mulk, the ruler of the Deccan died. A pretender to the throne, Muzaffer Jung, was supported by the French; the rightful claimant, Nazir Jung, appealed to the English for help; the contest became complicated by a subsidiary dispute between Chunda Sahib and Mahomed Ali, both of whom claimed to be the Nawab of the Carnatic. The English lent what assistance they could to both Nazir Jung and Mahomed Ali whom they considered the rightful heirs. Again fortune favoured Dupleix. Nazir Jung was murdered and Chunda Sahib with the aid of Dupleix triumphed everywhere.

except at Trichinopoly which was defended by the British and Mahomed Ali. Trichinopoly held out pluckily against the combined attacks, and Madras did what it could to afford relief.

In this extremity, Clive's military genius flashes across the dark prospect. By one intuitive stroke he snatched triumph from failure and inaugurated British dominion in India. The best way to relieve Trichinopoly, Clive suggested, was to attack Arcot, Chunda Sahib's capital. The wisdom of the idea was apparent even to the civilian governor of Madras, but two things were essential: first, troops, second, a leader. Clive was equal to the occasion. A tiny force of five hundred, of whom three hundred were natives, could be got together, and these he proposed himself to lead against a place held by eleven hundred men. The scheme was just one of those which are mad if they fail and brilliant if they succeed. Clive, meagre as his chance of learning the soldier's business had been, did not hesitate. With his little army he set out in August 1751. On the road, all sorts of difficulties were encountered, including a thunderstorm that dismayed the natives. But nothing stayed Clive's progress; reports of his movements preceded him and the superstitious native mind regarded them as little short of miraculous. When he arrived before Arcot, the scared garrison refused to await attack. It simply bolted, and Clive found himself in possession of the fort without striking a blow. The enemy soon recovered from the shock and proceeded to invest Arcot. As Clive anticipated

troops were drawn away from Trichinopoly to dispose of this new danger, and in the defence of Arcot he achieved a more remarkable triumph than in the taking of it. He held it for three months on what seemed like impossible conditions, and won the devotion of his men not less than the admiration of his chiefs and colleagues at Madras. The enemy could neither take the rickety fort by assault nor reduce the defenders by starvation, near though the latter came. Arcot was the beginning of a series of military feats accomplished by Clive against Chunda Sahib and his allies. He beat them wherever he met them, whatever the odds ; he razed monuments which the French had erected to their own triumphs and he destroyed Dupleix Fatahabad (the City of the Victory of Dupleix) which the French governor had modestly named after himself. Clive effectually crushed French power in Southern India, and opened the way to the realisation by England of the dreams of empire for France in which Dupleix indulged. Pondicherry is French to-day, thanks to the confidence of the British that its possession could do them no harm, and among its features is a statue of Dupleix gazing seaward. It may be taken as a symbol. Dupleix is looking for the arrival of the fleets which would have saved India for France. He received instead notice of recall, and returned to France to die a disgraced and disappointed man. England has enjoyed no monopoly of the right to bait and destroy heroes whose patriotic purpose was their chief crime. Dupleix was succeeded by Lally,

an Irishman, domiciled in France, with a bitter hatred of England. What Dupleix hoped to do, Lally was nothing loth to attempt. Failure came to him also; he was soundly beaten by Sir Eyre Coote at the battle of Wandewash in January 1760. Except some twenty years later when they supported Hyder Ali—a fearless and resourceful native chieftain who taxed the energy and skill of Sir Eyre Coote to the full—the French were never after a serious menace to the British in India.

Barely had the English secured themselves against the joint hostility of the French and the natives at Madras than a new peril had to be faced elsewhere. The East India Company's establishment at Calcutta was suddenly victimised by Suraj-u-daulah, Nawab of Bengal. Suraj-u-daulah disliked the English; he was as hot-tempered and suspicious as bad blood and inexperience could make him. The English had no desire to quarrel with him, their purpose being trade; all that concerned them was how best to safeguard their immediate interests. With this modest aim in view they took measures to strengthen the defences of Calcutta. To Suraj-u-daulah that was an unwarrantable act of pretension and an insult to his authority. He promptly despatched a force to Calcutta, which surrendered on his undertaking to treat his prisoners honourably. Whether through carelessness or sheer inhumanity can never be known, but the honourable treatment to which the luckless prisoners were subjected was the Black Hole! One hundred and forty-six luckless human beings

were forced into an apartment some twenty feet square; the horrors endured by slaves packed in the hold of a ship in torrid seas were as nothing to the hideous agony suffered by these Europeans in a small room sweltering under Indian conditions; their appeals to their guards were fruitful only in jeers, and long ere the night was passed one hundred and twenty-three were dead, while of the remaining twenty-three some lived but a short time, others were hopelessly insane, and few survived, happily perhaps, to carry the memory of their torture to the grave.

When news of the outrage reached Madras, Clive had just returned from England where he had been for a holiday. A demand for vengeance went up and Clive, with Admiral Watson, was despatched north with all speed to exact retribution from the tyrant Nawab. Suraj-u-daulah already realised the mistake he had made; he had deprived himself of a highly profitable source of revenue by the injury done to Calcutta, and he had now to face the consequences of his treachery. He professed a desire for peace and offered compensation to the friends of his victims. The traders of Calcutta were inclined to lend ear to these representations; they too wanted peace, and they probably thought more was to be gained by letting bygones be bygones than by warlike measures. Clive saw further than they. He did not believe in the Nawab's protestations; and he had good grounds for considering that they were a mere blind to gain time while negotiations were going on with the French at Chandernagore. He therefore struck boldly at

once. He attacked the French and rendered them powerless to assist in any scheme Suraj-u-



ROBERT, FIRST LORD CLIVE

*(From the original in Government House, Calcutta)*

daulah might be hatching. The Nawab was furious, of course, but the action Clive had taken seems to have had the effect of convincing some

of Suraj-u-daulah's chief followers including the commander-in-chief of his army, Mir Jaffier, that Clive held Bengal at his disposal. They approached him with offers of assistance, with which he closed, and preparations were at once set on foot for a campaign against the Nawab. At the last moment Omichund, one of the intriguers, threatened to turn traitor, and demanded £300,000 as the price of his silence. In order partly that the whole enterprise should not be ruined and partly that so large a share of the profit should not go to a scoundrel, Clive resorted to a forgery to deceive him. It was a mistake which cost Clive endless worry in the future, when his enemies were striving to compass his disgrace, but to a man of Clive's iron will the temptation to defeat a scoundrel with his own weapons proved irresistible. Omichund disposed of, Clive marched to the field of Plassey. His force numbered 3000. He found in battle array against him an army of 45,000,—fifteen to one. To his officers, with one exception, it seemed little short of madness to think of attacking so formidable a force. Clive of course expected assistance from the ranks of the Nawab, and in the teeth of a decision not to fight taken at a council of war, he determined to give battle. He made up his mind during a lonely hour of thought, and it was not Clive's habit to go back on deliberate plans. The fight began, and Clive delivered an assault on a position which commanded the enemy's camp. At the first blow the Nawab was seized with panic and fled; in an hour his army had been routed, and its

equipment of guns and baggage fell into Clive's hands. The English loss in this extraordinary battle amounted to twenty-two killed and fifty wounded. Clive was master of Bengal, and Mir Jaffier was placed on the Nawab's throne at Moorshedabad. The hostility of Suraj-u-daulah had done for the British in the North pretty much what the ambition of Dupleix had achieved for them in the South.

As in India so in America: France and England might sign treaties of peace; the French and English on the spot stood to arms, intrigued, marched and countermarched, built forts, and committed acts of war often with the connivance of the representatives of the home Government. The provocation, it must be said, generally came from the side of the French: as a rule the English colonist was desirous of enjoying the fruits of his industry in peace; as for the Quakers of Pennsylvania they simply looked on while the enemy advanced to their very doors. The colonies were divided in their aims, and the only one among them who showed real grit in meeting the crisis was New England. When war was declared in 1744 the New Englanders, as has already been indicated, marched on Louisbourg and to the astonishment of the whole world captured it. It was a Colonial achievement in marked contrast with the supineness shown by some of the colonists later. It was hard on the New Englanders that Louisbourg should be given back to the French in exchange for Madras, but from an Imperial point of view the compact was not unreasonable. It was soon realised that



the conflict had been indecisive, and must be resumed in a few years. British settlers on the borders were subjected to continual annoyance and loss by the French and their Indian friends; any attempt at expansion by the British was rudely checked; forts were built intended to warn them off; and when the English dared to imitate the French example and build forts too the action was resented. Thus when the English attempted to take possession of the Ohio valley and proceeded to erect defences, the French pounced down upon them and took their fort which they renamed Duquesne. Fort Duquesne stood on the spot where now stands the great manufacturing town of Pittsburg; the English built Fort Necessity as a set off, and Washington, who now made his first appearance as a soldier, was sent to take charge of it. His small force was captured. Such proceedings, to the stronger-minded and pluckier of the colonists, were intolerable, and the new conflict between France and England which commenced in 1756 was really begun in America a year earlier. The home Government was appealed to and sent out a force under General Braddock. The campaign opened with disaster. Braddock allowed himself to be caught in the defiles of the Alleghanies, his force was cut to pieces, he himself was mortally wounded; the defeat was only saved from being a rout by the skill of Washington, and when reinforcements arrived the disaster was converted into a victory. Nothing but ill-luck dogged the British, and when the Marquis de Montcalm arrived in 1757 to take charge of the

French forces, he inflicted reverse after reverse on his incompetent opponents. The victories of the French brought them no honour. Their Indian allies committed wholesale massacres of helpless women and children, for which the French must bear responsibility. The stories of these atrocities which reached England created hardly less horror than did the Black Hole in Madras, and as the English in India produced the man to avenge that atrocity so the English at home produced the man to avenge the women and children of the American frontier settlements and wrest the dominion of the West from France as Clive was wresting it from her in the East.

That man was William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham as he subsequently became. The colossal debt of England to the Pitts she owes really to India. William Pitt's grandfather was one of the most intrepid of the interlopers who refused to recognise the monopoly right of the East India Company. He was fined and imprisoned and persecuted, but nothing short of hanging could prevent him from embarking on illicit competition with the great corporation. He made a huge fortune, got into Parliament, and as he could not be destroyed was induced to join the Company whose power he flouted. He became Governor of Madras, did excellent work, and made his name famous as the possessor of a diamond which he bought for £12,500, and sold to the Regent of France for £135,000.

The resource and the daring which were characteristic of Thomas Pitt were inherited to the full

by his grandson. When William Pitt took the reins of Empire in his hands, an extraordinary change came over the nation. Its strength seemed to be drawn out by his magnetic personality. He raised money, men and ships, and directed them all into the right channels as if by magic. He provided Frederick the Great with invaluable funds for the maintenance of the war against Austria and France; his naval policy rendered it impossible for France to send material assistance to her representatives in India or Canada; and to America, where everything had gone wrong, he directed forces under commanders chosen by himself who were to operate along lines which he indicated. Canada was to be invaded at three points, by Amherst, Abercromby and Forbes. Abercromby was repulsed on the verge of Lake Champlain, but Forbes who was indomitable, though too ill to walk, captured Fort Duquesne, and Amherst, with whom was Wolfe, whose energy, notwithstanding that like Forbes he was far from well, was contagious, captured Louisbourg, thus giving the English free access to the St Lawrence. Amherst superseded Abercromby, and to Wolfe was left the vital task of ascending the river and attacking Quebec. Wolfe was only thirty-three years of age, but like Clive he had a genius for military command. Clive's feat either in taking Arcot, or thrashing Suraj-u-daulah, was not more remarkable than that which Wolfe was now called on to attempt. As he moved up the St Lawrence and came in sight of Quebec his heart might pardonably have failed him. Quebec stands on a height

which had been well fortified and was defended by Montcalm, the ablest of the French generals, with no less than 15,000 troops. Wolfe



MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

had barely 9000, rather less than two-thirds. The initial attack resulted in a reverse owing it is said to a premature and unsupported advance by some impulsive grenadiers. Wolfe's anxiety acting on a weak constitution brought on fever; Amherst who was to have co-operated with him

failed to appear, and the problem seemed well-nigh insoluble. But ill as he was, Wolfe was indefatigable in his efforts to find a way of getting at the French. A narrow and precipitous track was discovered from the bank of the river up to the heights of Abraham overlooking Quebec. The way was so steep and the approaches so well guarded, that Montcalm was confident he could hold it with a handful of men against the whole British army. On "a bold suggestion" made by General Townshend—whose claims to credit for the whole affair have recently been advanced anew and admitted by authorities who should know better—Wolfe decided to lead a forlorn hope up this particular path. In the dead of night he made his way to the spot with 4000 men in boats which the French sentries permitted to pass in the belief that they carried provisions for the garrison. The gallant fellows scaled the heights with the greatest difficulty and when morning dawned Montcalm found the British drawn up in battle order on the plains of Abraham overlooking Quebec. They had seized the one spot from which Quebec was vulnerable. Only the splendid nerve of Montcalm served to rally the dismayed French forces for an effort to thrust the intruders back into the river. The British met the impetuous onslaught of the French with exemplary coolness; they mowed the French down with point blank fire and won the day by a bayonet charge. Wolfe and Montcalm both fell mortally wounded at the head of their men, the one dying happy in the consciousness of triumph, the other happy in

being saved the bitterness of realising the magnitude of the consequences of his defeat. If ever the honours, apart from the material gains of the battle-field were divided, they were at the taking of Quebec, and a single monument to Montcalm and Wolfe on the heights of Quebec commemorates their common valour and death. Of Wolfe, Pitt said that "with a handful of men, he added an Empire to English rule." That was the simple fact. With the capture of Quebec, Canada easily fell into English hands, never to be relinquished. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 Canada was ceded to Great Britain, and the English colonies on the east coast were freed for ever from the nightmare of French dominion.

## CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLT OF THE COLONIES—FRANCE JOINS  
THE REBELS, BUT CANADA REMAINS LOYAL  
—THE UNITED STATES—INDIA—THE TURN-  
ING OF THE TIDE

NEVER perhaps did any country occupy a prouder position than England after the Treaty of Paris. Her sons had crushed their French rivals in India, and Clive had laid the cornerstone of empire for a trading company: the North American Continent was hers so far as human eye could foresee from the Atlantic to the Pacific whenever she chose to peg out her claims. Her supremacy at sea was unchallenged.

The future seems to be hers, and a jealous world, eager to strike at her as she had struck at Spain, was without the means to do so. Her sailors had taught her and the rivals she had beaten the meaning of sea power. The most eloquent proof of the greatness of her triumph was the fact that the treaty of 1763 was negotiated not by Pitt who had rendered it possible but by Bute, his successor, who was a second Walpole in his desire for peace. That such a treaty, which swept so much into the British net, should have been secured by such a minister may be taken as a monument to the achievements of the army and navy under Pitt's inspiration.

From this imperial height England was to be dashed, not it is true without warning, but by hands from which she expected only gifts of gratitude. Bute gave place to Grenville, and Grenville's first concern was to review the Imperial position on the financial side. There was an enormous war bill to be settled, and there was a large future establishment to provide for. Measures must be devised for securing the colonies from enemies who would doubtless seize the first opportunity to strike again. Three things seemed to Grenville to be expedient and necessary: the quartering of Imperial troops in the colonies, the taxation of the colonies to meet some part of the expense, and the enforcement of the navigation and trade laws which were systematically flouted by a large number of colonists engaged in smuggling operations in the Spanish West Indies.

What sort of reception were Grenville's pro-

posals likely to have? The American colonies had been relieved by Imperial forces of their great enemy, and the first effect of the Treaty of Paris was a demonstration of gratitude to the mother country. The colonies were of one mind on that point. England had saved them, and Franklin who was by-and-by to be an instrument of Britain's undoing, declared that the colonies had more love for England than for each other. How little they loved each had indeed been shown throughout the war, and Franklin's assurance reads to-day like a subtle suggestion that there was not overmuch regard for the mother country either. At the first hint that the Imperial Government proposed to raise money in the colonies there was an outburst of indignation which should perhaps have warned the Ministry off such delicate ground. The cry of liberty was raised, and agitators sprang to the platform to denounce the tyranny of the country which had prevented America from becoming a French preserve. The colonies then discovered that the sacrifices in the late war had been theirs. Imperial troops it might seem were the mere auxiliaries of colonial forces which had driven off the invader. On the other hand the mother country was convinced that the colonies could not have defended themselves against the French unaided. And the mother country was right: the colonial levies did some good work, enjoyed some successes, and had ample opportunity to scoff at the incompetence and conceit of Imperial officers, but Quebec was the decisive stroke and Quebec was Wolfe's, unassisted by a single



colonial. Previous to 1763, said Franklin, the colonies were led by a thread. No doubt they were: they knew that the hand which held the thread alone was capable of drawing a sword equal to that wielded by France.

England felt that it was unreasonable to expect her to bear the whole burden of Imperial defence. Great as her triumph had been, she was somewhat scared at the size of the National Debt she had incurred, and she did not see her way to reduce that debt at the same time that she provided funds for present and future Imperial needs. In her view, she was entitled to impose taxes on the colonies; in their view such taxes were unconstitutional; there could be no taxation without representation; the Parliament at Westminster contained no colonial members, and the Imperial Government were given ample warning of the spirit in which the colonies would receive the Imperial proposals. The warning went unheeded, and the Stamp Act of 1765, under which all sorts of documents had to bear an Imperial stamp, was met in America with fierce opposition, culminating in riots in the streets of Boston. Grenville was driven from office, and the Stamp Act was repealed within a year. But the repeal was robbed of its grace by a resolution declaring the right of Parliament and the King to enact laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

If this resolution had been allowed to remain a dead letter, like many another agreed upon in order to "save face," all might have been well. Pitt had opposed the taxation scheme, and when

as Lord Chatham he returned to office late in 1766 there were hopes that the dispute might be brought to a summary and amicable termination. But the Earl of Chatham in 1767 was not the William Pitt of ten years earlier. The mysterious malady, which affected his whole future, was already upon him; he no longer secured that masterful grip of Imperial necessities which worked such wonders, and as has been well said his name gave vitality to a ministry that did everything he disapproved. He disliked the attempt to tax the American colonists. Yet Townshend his Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in an act imposing duties on colonial imports: tea, glass, painter's colours, and other items were to bring a revenue of £400,000 to the mother country which would be used for colonial purposes. Townshend's excuse for this measure was an admission by the colonists that the mother country was free to deal with external trade provided she left the internal business of the colonies to be dealt with by themselves. This searching for an opening whence something could be extracted from colonial pockets was neither dignified nor wise. The act failed of its purpose, and so far from realising £400,000, it brought in barely enough to pay for the costs incurred in collection. It was met with renewed disturbances, which landed the mother country in serious losses, and when the Imperial Government realised that it had added fuel to the flames which Grenville had started they retreated again. The obnoxious act was repealed and one item alone retained by way

of securing the principle. The tax on tea was to be kept. The mother country did not seem capable of realising that it was the principle chiefly to which the colonists objected. Boston would have none of it, riot led to the firing on the mob and bloodshed, and when the tea arrived a party of Bostonians disguised as Indians boarded the vessel and emptied the tea into the harbour. Other colonies refused to receive any tea from the mother country, and one which permitted it to enter stored the consignment in a damp cellar in order that it should spoil! The trouble was aggravated by an act of Franklin's unworthy of him. The Governor of Massachusetts, in private correspondence which was stolen, used some uncomplimentary reflections on the colonists; this correspondence fell into Franklin's hand and he did not hesitate to publish it. At a time when public opinion was so dangerously excited, the governor's remarks could only aggravate the situation. The mother country took stern measures to repress the disorders. The charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and Boston Port closed until the Bostonians made reparation for the tea incident. Unreason prevailed on both sides. The colonies objected to the proposals of the mother country but took no steps to make alternative proposals, which might have averted civil war. The mother country made proposals but it does not seem to have occurred to statesmen to ask the colonies what they would accept. They called each other names, defied each other and then proceeded to extremes which the exercise of a little goodwill

and a modicum of diplomacy would have rendered impossible. The explanation is to be found in the clash of incipient disloyalty with autocratic pretension. It became a conflict between the transatlantic agitator and the King who thought that the most virile of his subjects should be whipped into obedience like schoolboys. Troops were sent out and colonial chambers were suppressed: the effect was to unite in a common bond states so unsympathetic as Virginia and New England. Meetings of delegates were held, a continental congress was called, and committees of correspondence which were to keep the various colonies informed of what was being done were started; these committees became vigilance bodies for the defeat of all things British; the local militia was called out, and corps of Minute men, ready to spring to arms at a minute's notice, were formed. The tension became more and more severe: trade was reduced to nothing; the suffering in both the mother country and the colonies was already acute, and the only alternatives to surrender on one side or the other was war. A conflict between the Imperial forces and the local levies at Lexington in 1775 made war practically certain.

A second congress met, and Washington appeared upon the scene as commander of the continental army which it was decided by the colonists to raise; then came the battle of Bunker's Hill, and the War of Independence, whatever it may have been called at the time, had begun.

The first thing the rebellious colonists tried to

do was to secure Canada. They imagined that the conquered race would gladly assist any cause which aimed at the overthrow of England. But Canadian memories, happily for England, were not short. First it was in the interest of the revolting colonies that Canada had been annexed, and Canadian dislike was not so much for England as for the English settlers in America: second, the English Government had recently passed the Quebec Act, which secured to Canadians the enjoyment of the Roman Catholic religion and the region west of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. In other words, England gave to Canada everything the English colonists would have withheld, and they did not fail to show their disgust in characteristic fashion. Canada had moreover in Carleton a governor who was convinced that her interests were safe in English hands and that she could expect no benefits from the rebels. The overtures were therefore rejected, and the Americans promptly attempted to seize by force what they could not capture by diplomacy. Montreal fell an easy prey, but the American forces hurled themselves in vain against Quebec. The defence was stubborn, and their efforts were fruitless. What Wolfe accomplished with a slender force against the superior numbers of the French, the Americans could not accomplish with a superior force against slender numbers, British and Canadian. Quebec held out manfully till it was relieved by the arrival of an Imperial naval force in the St Lawrence in May 1776. Generally, however, the rebel colonists in arms enjoyed a sufficient measure of

success to give them confidence in their ability to oppose the mother country, and in July 1776, the very month in which a British fleet arrived with a considerable Imperial army in American waters, came the decisive stroke. Congress voted the Declaration of Independence. The mask of loyalty was thrown aside, and the United States, as the colonies were now called, pledged themselves to each other with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour.

The American colonists as a whole were as unprepared for the Declaration as the King and Parliament at home. Thousands of loyalists had supported the opposition to the Imperial tax without a thought of war, least of all of independence. They played into the hands of the agitator and called up forces which they were unable to control. They hoped to scare the mother country into surrender, and when that was found to be impossible, threw their worldly all into the melting-pot by either remaining neutral or taking sides against the rebels. Evidence abounds that the loyalists were betrayed by the extremists and separatists. "The Continental Congress," says Mr Flick, "usurped authority not delegated to it, raised the standard of armed rebellion and closed the door to reconciliation which it was instructed to open as widely as possible, overthrew monarchy and created a republic." Loyalists did not believe England was in the right because they declared they would face death or ruin rather "than that the Imperial dignity of Great Britain should sink or be controlled by any people or power on earth."

For the sake of the mother country they endured insults and outrages which were in keeping with the general principles or lack of principles of the men who made the revolution. They failed to understand how a congress called in the name of liberty could deny their fellow-subjects the right of liberty to differ from them. "Popular" tyrants are invariably the worst. Unfortunately, the loyalists were not always well treated by the British army. Frequently they were considered to be apathetic: and British generals always had a more tender place in their hearts for rebels who relented, than for the men who risked all and lost all in the cause of Great Britain. Throughout the long struggle which was now commencing, the loyalists were cruelly victimised, and the story of their devotion, whether passive or active, is one which no good Briton can read unmoved.

If the rebels were resolute so was the King. George III. shared the loyalists' view of the action of the Congress. The cataclysm might yet have been averted if he could have brought himself to negotiate with its representatives. He regarded it as an utterly illegal body; rejected overtures made by it, and proceeded to chastise the rebel community which refused to disavow it. He would teach the colonists a lesson. By 1777 something in the nature of a plan of campaign had been decided upon by the British, and the rebellion might possibly have been stamped out if the British commanders had kept their engagements. Washington was defeated at Brandywine, and the fortune of war seemed to be going in favour of the Imperial forces, when

General Burgoyne, taking part from the north in a movement which he had concerted with General Clinton to the south, was caught at a disadvantage and unsupported, and was compelled to surrender at Saratoga with 3500 men. A concerted movement which fails in the one essential of concert is merely a trap for those who act in accord with their agreement. It was so with Burgoyne. Saratoga had far-reaching, and for the Empire, disastrous consequences. The triumph for colonial arms came opportunely for Washington and his friends. Franklin had been sent to France to secure assistance against the mother country, a proceeding which throws a flood of light on the attitude of the colonists; the fate of his mission was still in doubt when the news of Saratoga arrived. In the colonies there was as little readiness to furnish supplies for the army under Washington, as to pay Imperial taxes, and every colonist was eager to shift the burden on to its neighbour's shoulders. Saratoga did two things: it smoothed out some of Washington's innumerable difficulties in the colonies themselves, and it convinced France that an enemy had risen within the British household who could help her to deliver the crushing blow which she had so long sought to inflict.

In England the news that the colonists had appealed to the ancient enemy, from whose clutches the mother country had saved them, caused a revulsion of feeling which robbed them of many friends. Chatham was in the midst of a speech in the Lords in favour of conciliatory measures, when the fact came to his knowledge



and he committed a dramatic right about face on the spot. The eloquence which was intended to bless was turned to bitter condemnation. Burke, in still more stately and superb periods, appealed to the British to desist from this fratricidal strife: but there could be no paltering with people who took such views of loyalty and duty.

France, early in 1778, entered into two treaties with "the United States of North America," one commercial, the other embodying a defensive and offensive alliance against Great Britain. War was declared shortly after, and in the spring a powerful French fleet left Toulon for American waters. Spain shortly after joined France, and as though that were not enough, the Dutch assumed so unfriendly an attitude that Great Britain declared war against the Netherlands also. At first the French devoted themselves to the West Indies, and they managed with the assistance of the Spanish and the Dutch so far to secure command of the seas, that the British forces in America were left to continue the land fight without material reinforcement, and for two years the weary conflict in America went on, the balance of results being decidedly in favour of the mother country. Only the knowledge that England was engaged in a life and death struggle with three powers can have buoyed up even Washington to persist. In 1781 arrangements had been made by the Imperialists for a vigorous effort in South Carolina, which was to roll back the rebellion northwards; Cornwallis was ready and awaited reinforcements which he expected would reach him at Yorktown in Chesapeake Bay. At

the moment when he looked for the arrival of the British fleet, a French fleet under the redoubtable de Grasse hove in sight: the French and the colonists combined to shut Cornwallis up in Yorktown; he speedily came to regard his position as hopeless, and on the day that a force was starting for his relief he surrendered. Yorktown convinced England that to attempt to bring the colonists back into the Empire meant only further disaster, and so far as they were concerned the war was over. Whether or not England cared at once to swallow the bitter pill of acknowledging the independence of the thirteen colonies, that independence was now inevitable.

What might have happened had the British Government been able to command the services of Clive when the crisis came in America can only be matter for conjecture.

He died by his own hand in 1774. His military achievements in India had been followed up by important administrative developments. He became first governor of Bengal in 1758, and when he left for England a couple of years later, the East India Company had definitely embarked on its extraordinary career of conquest which was to make it one of the most important governing bodies in the world. Clive's disappearance from Bengal resulted in considerable administrative confusion and corruption, but on the military side every officer seemed to be imbued with his own spirit. Major Adams crushed a revolt headed by Mir Kasim whom the British made Nawab of Bengal in place of his father Mir Jaffier, and Major Munro advanced against the

Nawab Wazir of Oudh with whom Mir Kasim sought refuge. At the battle of Buxar not only the ruler of Oudh but the Emperor Shah Alam himself realised the folly of trying conclusions with the Company's forces. These military successes only made the administrative chaos of Calcutta the more obvious, and Clive, having been raised to the peerage, was induced to go out again as Governor in 1765. He remained two years in Calcutta, during which time he effected sweeping changes, some proving of permanent advantage while others had to be modified as experience showed them to be unworkable. On his return to England Clive looked for peace and rest after strenuous years of empire-making. His career, brilliant as it had been, had not been morally impregnable, and some of his transactions were made the grounds of attack by enemies whose rancour was great in proportion to the success he had enjoyed. He gave England an empire, and because he acquired a fortune in the process by methods which would not be justifiable on moral grounds but must be judged by the spirit and practice of the age, he was arraigned almost as a common criminal. The attacks on him preyed on his mind, and his untimely death may, for all we can tell, have changed the history of the Empire as surely as did the illness of Chatham. It is impossible to believe that Saratoga would ever have been heard of if Burgoyne's fate had depended on the co-operation of a Clive; it is quite certain that Chatham in the days of health and vigour would never have adopted

the inconstant expedients of Grenville and North.

England seemed indeed to have fallen completely from her high estate. Canada it is true remained loyal, notwithstanding the association of France with the triumphant colonies, and in India the British carried everything native, French and Dutch, before them. But the Empire had been rent in twain, and the British navy had barely managed to hold its own in various directions. An expedition despatched to seize the Cape of Good Hope, where the Dutch had been in possession since 1652, was anticipated and defeated by the great French Admiral Suffren; and in the West Indies several important islands fell into the enemy's hands. Spain made great sacrifices to recapture Gibraltar which England seized in 1704 and refused to give up; during four years the Spaniards battered away at the Rock, but General Elliot was steadfast and the defence of Gibraltar was of happy omen. The tide turned with the defeat of de Grasse by Rodney and Hood in the West Indies in April 1782, and the final failure of the Spaniards to take Gibraltar in September of the same year. These two great triumphs practically brought the world-struggle to an end. England lost her American colonies but the greatest sufferers were those who helped them to their independence. By the Treaty of Paris in November 1782 Great Britain recognised the United States as a sovereign power. France, Spain and Holland not only emerged from the war without profit: they had planted seeds which

were to have further disastrous consequences for themselves. The example set by the American colonies paved the way to the French Revolution, the revolt of the Spanish possessions in South America, and the loss of the Cape by the Dutch. In throwing stones at Great Britain, France and Spain had forgotten their own glass houses.

## CHAPTER VII

AUSTRALIA—NEW SOUTH WALES DISCOVERED  
BY COOK—SETTLED BY CONVICTS—THE  
EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT

UNWISE statesmanship at home, ingratitude and demagogism in the colonies, jealousy and hatred in Europe combined to rob England of her chief over-the-sea possessions and only her navy saved her from utter eclipse. When time had been given them to recover from the blow, Imperial statesmen realised that there still remained to them opportunities of which the extent could not be foreseen. Canada was Britain's, her position in the West Indies was predominant, and India was becoming yearly a more valuable asset. The loss of the American colonies made her cherish what remained with a greater solicitude and put her on her mettle for the acquisition of new lands unappropriated by European powers. The necessity of taking steps to safeguard the road to India induced her to have an eye to the future of the Cape which was

at present in moribund Dutch hands ; the further necessity of finding some suitable place for the transportation of convicts who had hitherto been sent to America to be utilised as the bondsmen of the colonist lent a new interest to the stories of Captain Cook's discoveries in the South Seas. If England had never colonised North America, she would never have conquered Canada ; if she had not conquered Canada the American colonies might never have revolted ; if they had not revolted she would probably never have thought of occupying Australia at any rate until too late, and if the East India Company had not developed into a sovereign power in Bengal, less concern would have been felt as to the Cape of Good Hope. This historic interdependence of the parts of the Empire has never perhaps been as fully appreciated as it must be if the story of the Empire is to be properly understood.

At the time of the outbreak of trouble with the American colonies little was known concerning the South Seas, and the facts as to the discovery of Australia are still veiled in uncertainty. Whether the ancients had any idea of the existence of Australia it is vain to inquire. They assuredly had an idea that a great continent, where lived the fabulous antipodeans, was to be found far to the south. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo while in China heard of the largest island in the world. Terra Australis figures on the oldest maps as a great stretch of land around the South Pole. France has claimed the title of discoverer of Australia on the strength of de Gonneville's explorations, but he probably

did not get further than Madagascar. Portugal has been credited with knowledge of Australia which she anxiously concealed in order to keep it from Spain, and there is evidence that charts were misdrawn with intention to mislead. Spain made an effort to discover the Australian continent in 1595 and sent out a pioneering expedition to found a colony. The expedition discovered an island which is little larger than some Australian towns. The Dutch were active in the beginning of the seventeenth century and Tasman sailed down the west coast of Australia and along the south coast as far as Tasmania in 1642-1644. The land was named New Holland, and when Dampier visited its shores in 1688 and 1699 he spoke of it as New Holland. Dampier's account of what he saw was so unpromising, that the country was regarded as sterile and worthless, and it was not until Captain Cook in the *Endeavour* in 1769-70 ascertained the truth by sailing up the east coast, after exploring the shores of New Zealand, that British interest was aroused in "the giant ocean isle." Cook hoisted the Union Jack in Botany Bay, named certain coves and headlands, and called the country New South Wales.

The suggestion that Australia should be used for convict settlement seems to have originated with Sir Joseph Banks, who was with Cook in the voyage of the *Endeavour*. Others, notably James Matra, an American loyalist, would have given Australia nobler birth. Matra proposed that New Holland should become the home of the men who had stood by the flag in the War of

Independence, but Great Britain, stunned for the time by her loss, was unequal to the emergency. The loyalists were destined to assist in the building up not of Australia, but of another great division of the Empire. Nor was the need of the loyalists as pressing in the view of the mother country as that of her overburdened gaols. Viscount Sydney, the Secretary for the Colonies, at the beginning of 1787 made up his mind to start a convict colony in New South Wales, and by May a fleet of six transports and three store ships, under the command of Captain Phillip was ready to sail with 756 convicts, less than a third of whom were women, and 200 marines, with some forty women and a few mechanics and children. Never surely was a man called upon to lay the foundations of a state with more unpromising material under more depressing conditions. Foresight was the one thing necessary, and foresight was the one thing lacking. What Phillip did not see to himself was apparently left undone. He was in charge of the very pick of the gaol birds of England, wretches some of them who could hardly be considered safe company even in irons.

The fleet was well on its way when it was discovered that the marines who were under Major Ross had practically no ammunition. Had the omission come to the knowledge of the convicts, the settlement of Australia would probably have been postponed awhile. Phillip arrived in Botany Bay on January 26, 1788, anticipating a French expedition by no more than six days. Botany Bay proving un-



suitable for settlement, he shifted his quarters to Port Jackson, one of the largest and loveliest natural harbours in the world. Provisions sufficient to last for a year were carried by Phillip's fleet. During that period, it was expected that agricultural operations would be successfully inaugurated, and the colony placed in a position to feed itself. Looking dispassionately at the circumstances, it must occur after the event to wiseacres that the sane thing to have done would have been to send out a year or so in advance of the convicts, a batch of farmers to prepare the way. Phillip's first crops were failures and the colony nearly came to an end through starvation. The Governor's skill and spirit as an administrator under severe famine conditions were admirable. His heart must often have sunk as he watched the rations decreasing and counted up the hours during which they could be eked out in ever lessening quantities. To make matters worse fresh ships arrived with more convicts and no fresh supplies of food. A store ship which would have relieved all the misery, foundered soon after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. It was at least something that officialdom 12000 miles away had not quite forgotten Phillip and his settlement. Had the colonists been cast in heroic mould anxiety must still have been keen, but with a thousand desperate men growing more desperate for want of proper food, Phillip's position demanded a nerve of iron. Happily, ere hope was quite abandoned provisions reached the colony.

Phillip's task would have been hard even though he commanded the utmost loyalty of every

man who went out with him, from Major Ross down to the very lags themselves. He demurred at the outset to laying with convicts the foundations of an empire—a phrase which makes amply clear his consciousness of the possibilities of Australia. Yet convicts were practically the only settlers for some years, and he found it often an easier task to impart a semblance of civilisation to the aborigines themselves than to the majority of his colonists. He succeeded in putting the settlement thoroughly on its feet before he left for England, but chaos came again immediately on his departure.

No easy problem confronted the second governor, Captain Hunter, on his arrival in 1795. He took with him some free settlers, who proved for once that the little leaven does not necessarily leaven the whole lump. He found a discontented community, hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, and knowing little or nothing of the country fifty miles from Sydney. His governorship was marked by considerable progress in farming operations and by the explorations of Bass and Flinders, the former of whom gave his name to the strait which he discovered divided the continent from Tasmania, while the latter christened the continent by the name which it bears to-day. From Hunter's day down to Bourke's—roughly from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the accession of Queen Victoria—the history of Australia is the record of a struggle on the part of her best friends to emancipate her from the conditions in which she was born. Free settlers arrived slowly, and

convicts became free men even more slowly. The first four Governors—Phillip, Hunter, King and Bligh—were naval men and ran the colony very much as they might have run a man-of-war. Discipline was hardly tempered with that mercy which strengthens its morale whilst it lightens its burden, and there were revolts of the convicts and all sorts of corrupt efforts on the part of individuals to take advantage of the situation. A body of men known as the New South Wales Corps, soldiers in name only, were recruited as a sort of military police; they soon became more troublesome than the convicts themselves, by starting an illicit trade in spirits which they taught the convicts to make from cereals grown on the spot. Rum, as the concoction was called, became a currency in the colony. Hunter and King failed to put down the practice, and almost the first proceeding of Governor Bligh whose chief distinction, before arriving in the colony, was as captain of the *Bounty*, whose crew he drove into mutiny, was to issue an order forbidding the traffic in spirits. Bligh's methods brought him into conflict not only with those who participated in this illicit business, but with more reputable men. He quarrelled with Macarthur, who did so much to give Australia pre-eminence in the wool market, and in his efforts to bring Macarthur to what he would no doubt have described as justice, he roused so much hostility to himself that Major Johnston of the New South Wales Corps marched to Government House and placed the Governor under arrest. Johnston was ultimately cashiered

for his temerity, but Bligh did not again fill the office of Governor of New South Wales for so much as an hour. The next Governor, Lieut.-Gen. Lachlan Macquarie, was of a very different mould. Large-hearted and liberal-minded, he endeavoured to make of the colony something better than a convict settlement; he encouraged exploration, and during his term of office the Blue Mountains were crossed, mysterious rivers were traced, and the way opened up generally for a free Australia. Governor Brisbane followed the lead given by Macquarie, and Australia was advancing apace to a higher and worthier plane when Major-General Ralph Darling arrived in 1825. The explorations of Sturt and Cunningham make Darling's Governorship memorable, but less so perhaps than his reactionary policy in dealing with his "subjects." To him happily succeeded Sir Richard Bourke. Bourke had no sympathy with those mean-spirited and narrow-minded free settlers who made emancipation a greater punishment than penal servitude itself. Convicts who had served their time—many of them were far from being hardened sinners—and were anxious to begin life afresh, were shunned as vermin by the colonists, and denied the chance of reform which possibly a more humane penal system would have given them before they were sent to the Antipodes.

New South Wales was fast approaching the stage when ideas of self-government began to occur to the minds of leading men and the cessation of the system of transportation was prayed for as the one hope the colony had of

developing into a great free state for which the country was fitted. By degrees its institutions had been broadened, and the autocracy of the first governors gave place to councils which were the half-way house to autonomy. Other colonies were founded, Western Australia in 1829, South Australia in 1836, economists at home led by Edward Gibbon Wakefield were busy with schemes of colonial development, and already there were visions of a new power rising to nationhood in the South Pacific.

## CHAPTER VIII

LOYALISTS FIND THEIR WAY TO CANADA—"THE  
FAMILY COMPACT"—WAR OF 1812-14—  
CANADIANS STAUNCH

WITH the recognition of the independence of the thirteen colonies, Great Britain's responsibilities in North America were increased rather than diminished. What was to be done with the thousands of loyalists who had fought for her and suffered for her in a hundred ways, and now refused to become citizens of the new Republic? Homes must be found for them elsewhere. Suggestions that they should be settled in Australia were not, as we have seen, taken up by the authorities in England, but the question was too urgent to admit of delay. The loyalists were subjected to intolerable insult by the successful rebels, and

everything pointed to Canada as their future domicile. Some were taken to Nova Scotia, where a province to be called New Brunswick, was specially set aside for them; others found a home in the province of Quebec among the French Canadians; others toiled through forests and along rivers to Western Canada henceforth to be known as Ontario. Carrying what of their personal belongings they could save from the wreck, they endured hardships and faced perils which make the story of the United Empire Loyalists one of the most moving in the annals of patriotism. Lands were granted them freely, but adequate steps were not taken to protect them from the ravages of climate and the failure of first efforts, and their agonies from cold and semi-starvation were greater than any they had experienced in their long and painful journey north.

The influx of so large an element of British settlers materially affected the political and social conditions of Canada. It was no longer a French preserve under the British flag; the new-comers had no sentiments in common with the older inhabitants, and friction was inevitable. The French became concerned for the privileges granted them under the Quebec Act, and the Imperial Parliament was called upon in a year or two to consider their grievances. Pitt, the great son of a great father, was in power. The Canadians demanded some form of representative government. Pitt divided the Western or Upper—that is the British section of Canada, from the Eastern or Lower—that

is the French section, and gave both local Assemblies. The Act, which passed the Imperial Parliament in 1791, did little more than aggravate the situation. It left all power in the hands of the Legislative Council, but created a body with the right to criticise and condemn without any means of compelling respect for its views. Especial objection was taken to the right of the Judges to a seat in the Assembly. Impotent as the Assembly was in both Upper and Lower Canada, the discontent of the colonists became daily more serious from the doings of the official classes who appropriated lands and grew fat at the expense of the people. The officials were practically an oligarchy and were nicknamed the family compact. The conflict was embittered by the suppression of newspapers, and the arrest of those who dared to voice the views of the people. So grave was the situation in 1811 that the Americans who studied it on the spot were of opinion that they had only to send a few officers into the country to secure Canada as part of the United States. Never was a situation more completely misunderstood. England was at war with Napoleon and there was a large party in the United States anxious to strike at the one country in Europe which was waging war for the world's freedom; the Americans had real grounds of complaint on account of the ruthless exercise by the British navy of the right of search, and the passing of certain orders which aimed a blow at American commerce; but on the other side it must be urged that the British knew the

Americans were assisting the Napoleonic cause by studying first the interests of their own pockets. War was declared in June 1812, and as if by magic the discontent of the Canadians disappeared at the prospect of invasion by the Republic. United Empire Loyalist and French Canadian rose literally as one man to meet the danger. Whatever their differences with Great Britain might be they would not make them the occasion of a new triumph for the Stars and Stripes. The Imperial troops in Canada were some 5000 strong, but the local militia rallied to their support, and the American forces though superior in numbers were beaten back everywhere. Thousands of American officers and men were carried prisoners of war into Canadian cities, and it was not until the American and British naval forces met on Lake Erie in an unequal contest that the Americans enjoyed any advantage. The bitterness of the conflict is principally illustrated by the senseless and barbarous destruction of York (now Toronto) by the Americans who handed even the library and public records over to arson. In revenge the British landed a force which made a daring march on Washington and committed it to the flames. The most serious reverse the British troops suffered was at New Orleans in the south; the battle was fought in 1814 before news that a treaty of peace had been signed could reach the armies in the field.

The war was no sooner over than the Canadians returned to the domestic conflict which had been so rudely interrupted. The question of the



independence of the judiciary was revived, and the claim of the colonists to supervise the expenditure of public money advanced. In the light of late events there could be no doubt as to the loyalty of the Canadians either French or British. They had fought and suffered shoulder to shoulder for the British flag, and the remarkable thing was that the common cause in the war and the common grievance in domestic matters did not serve completely to obliterate their racial differences.

The truth is the French Canadians saw themselves being gradually swamped by the British. With the peace in Europe which followed the extinction of Napoleon at Waterloo, the population of the British Isles increased apace and economists were predicting that England would soon be dangerously overcrowded! Emigration schemes were started, and all the colonies, though principally Canada, received many new settlers. With the rapid increase of the British element the French deemed it vital that they should secure representation on the executive and legislative bodies to whom the Governor looked for guidance in administration. The French Canadians grew eloquent in their testimony to the benefits they had derived from the substitution of King George for King Louis; they admitted that a reign of law succeeded license and were grateful to Great Britain for all she had done for them. Experience should have made Great Britain conscious of the difference between their attitude and that of the American colonies; but apparently the

lesson went almost unheeded. Lord Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies, regarded the claim of the Assembly to control finance and hold the Government responsible in some measure to itself as inadmissible under monarchical institutions. Some of the speeches and despatches in which the impossibility of giving the local legislature local powers on all fours with the Imperial powers exercised by the Imperial Parliament are very curious reading to-day when the British Empire is dotted with legislatures enjoying these impossible privileges. An appeal home in 1832 was met by a threat to suspend the constitution of Canada if more reason were not shown in colonial councils. An inquiry however was granted and the colonial reformers in England worked hard for the proper consideration of Canadian grievances. But redress was slow in coming, and not until Papineau in Lower Canada and MacKenzie in Upper Canada had brought matters to the verge of civil war was the seriousness of the situation realised by statesmanship at home. In Upper Canada no less a person than Lord Sydenham himself declared that all power was in the hands of the "high tory and family compact party," and that "members were everywhere chosen only with reference to the extent of jobbery for their particular district which they could carry on." In 1834, the Assembly of Lower Canada took the extreme course of refusing to vote supplies till the demands of the reformers were conceded, and in 1836 their example was followed by the British in Upper Canada, where

men like W. L. MacKenzie were beginning to advocate union with the States. The marvel is perhaps that a conflict with the mother country being now inevitable so little was heard of separation. The loyalty, however, of the vast majority of the Canadians was equal to any strain the inability of Great Britain to understand the signs of the times might impose. They fought the wrong rather than the country which inflicted it.

## CHAPTER IX

THE CAPE IN BRITISH HANDS—DIFFICULTIES  
WITH THE DUTCH AND THE NATIVES—  
DURBAN *v.* GLENELG—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY  
AND THE GREAT TREK

WHEN Holland lent a hand to assist in destroying the British Empire in America, it could never have been anticipated that the ideas of freedom carried back to France by her soldiers would result first in the most dramatic revolution which France or any other country has ever seen, and secondly in the overrunning of Holland itself by the revolutionary forces of its big neighbour. The Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder, had to fly to England, and one of the first things he did was to authorise the English to take possession of the Cape in his name to save it from the French. A dozen years before, the French had seized the Cape on behalf of Holland to save it from England. The Dutch at the Cape now

handed over the reins to Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig with a bad grace. The American revolt and the French revolution were not without their effect in South Africa itself. The Dutch East India Company had never ceased to govern the colony with the iron hand of monopoly. The Company's interests came first; the colonists might take what was left when the traders were satisfied. Discontent was rampant. The settlers, Boers as they were called, began to ask why they should not have some small voice in the control of their own affairs. They were met with the reminder that there was all the difference in the world between the burgher at home and the burgher in a colony. It was the height of pretension for a Dutchman in South Africa to expect the same privileges as the Dutchman in Europe considered to be his right, and the Boers were solemnly admonished to remember that a colony's first duty was to promote the welfare of the land from which it derived its existence. When therefore the British demanded the surrender of Cape Town, the Dutch were divided as to whether they should be loyal to the Prince of Orange or throw in their lot with the Batavian Republic which had been created at home. There was some show of resistance but the English were in too great strength to warrant any hope of success. When a Dutch fleet arrived to assist the colony it was allowed to enter Saldanha Bay, was instantly cut off by Admiral Elphinstone from retreat by the sea and was menaced by General Craig with his force on shore. The Dutch Admiral was in a trap

and surrendered his fleet without striking a blow. Easy as had been the triumph, the position in which the English found themselves was one of peculiar difficulty. Whether the occupation was to be permanent or temporary was unknown. They were masters of a considerable settlement and they proceeded to govern as though the doubt which disturbed their every act were non-existent. For two years Sir James Craig was in charge, and both he and Lord Macartney who arrived in 1797 as Governor had to face a situation which presented all the racial obstacles to be found in Canada without the assurance that they would not be called upon to surrender the colony at any moment. As a matter of fact the Cape was held till 1803 when it was given back to Holland under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens.

During their eight years' control the British revolutionised the life of the colony. They introduced methods of freedom which alienated by their thoroughness as many as they pleased. They improved the government generally but gave eternal offence to the Boers by tyrannously refusing to allow them to treat the natives as cattle. British control was assuredly not without its benefits, but it did not give entire satisfaction even to colonists accustomed to the exactions and restrictions of the Dutch East India Company. When the Union Jack was hauled down in 1803, the colony appears to have been divided between the pro-British and the pro-Dutch. The return of Dutch administrators is said by some to have been hailed with genuine

and general satisfaction. Others allege that as the British made their way from the castle to the point of embarkation evidences were not wanting of real regret that the British régime had come to an end. Both views are probably right. The British had gone, but not for long. Napoleon found a new excuse for war in the refusal of Great Britain to give up Malta which had been taken from the French in 1798. Napoleon had tricked the Knights of St John who were in possession of Malta into surrendering the island to him and intended to utilise it in furtherance of his scheme for the conquest of Egypt and ultimately of India. Under the Treaty of Amiens England undertook to give up Malta but the Maltese knew the risks to which they would be exposed directly the Union Jack disappeared and their desire that the British should remain, fitted in admirably with British ideas of Napoleonic intentions and strategic necessities. So the British remained, and Napoleon entered on a new war. The Prince of Orange resigned his position as Stadtholder of Holland, and this time Great Britain did for herself at the Cape what previously she had done in his name.

It was certain that the French would lose no time in attempting to secure possession of so excellent a coign of vantage on the road to the East and a fleet under Sir George Popham with a military force on board under Sir David Baird was despatched in all haste to forestall them. Early in 1806 the British effected a landing at Leopard's Cove in Table Bay some sixteen miles to the north-east of Cape Town. General Janssens, the

Dutch governor, was in readiness to receive them. With a force some 5000 strong, including a sprinkling of Frenchmen saved from a wreck, he met the British at Blaauwburg. The opposing sides were roughly equal in point of numbers, but the Dutch had the advantage of artillery and cavalry. A short sharp fight culminated in a Highland bayonet charge before which the enemy broke and fled. Janssens retired to the hills, was deserted by many of his followers, and Baird marched on Cape Town, which after some show of resistance surrendered. The Union Jack was run up once more, this time to remain for good. When Napoleon was finally crushed at Waterloo, a treaty was entered into between Holland and Great Britain with the consent of the European powers, under which Great Britain retained Cape Colony together with Ceylon and part of Guiana both of which she had captured during the war. For these possessions which she had won by force of arms, Great Britain paid Holland no less a sum than £6,000,000.

There can be little doubt that the transference of Cape Colony to Great Britain was anything but popular with the Boers. British governors, with what the present Prime Minister of Holland has called their morbid regard for the natives, gave offence by restraining the slave-driving instincts of the Dutch. The slave-trade—not slave-holding—was abolished, the land laws improved, the judiciary purified and systematised, and something like impartial justice meted out to those who fostered disorder on the frontier whether native or Boer. If the British refused

to allow the native to raid and rob the settler, on the other hand the brutality of the white man towards the black was sternly chastised. In many cases British colonists themselves were not too sensitive in their dealings with the natives, but they never went the length of the Boer who resented the conferment of any sort of right on the native more even than the native resented being dispossessed of his land by the invading whites. It was part of the avowed Boer policy to keep the Hottentot and the Kaffir in ignorance and serfdom, and the Boers hated the missionary in proportion as he succeeded in carrying light into any of the dark corners of Kaffraria. Efforts to bring home charges of brutality to the Boers in their treatment of natives led to unpleasant collisions between the Government and the colonists; one incident was especially unfortunate, and its bitter fruit is tasted by the British down to this day. A Boer accused of maltreating a Hottentot refused to respond to a summons and attempts were made to arrest him for contempt of court. He retired to a cave, armed and provisioned for a long struggle and kept some soldiers at bay, until a bullet fired from the gun of a Hottentot into the mouth of the cave killed him. The affair led to an intrigue between certain Boers and the natives with a view to a general rising for the purpose of driving out the British. The leaders with the aid of peaceable Dutchmen were arrested, tried and condemned to death. That they would be hanged seems never to have occurred to the Dutch who had assisted in their capture, and petitions were



drawn up and every possible argument brought to bear to induce the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, a martinet and an autocrat, to grant a pardon. An impartial reading of the evidence can leave only one impression: it would have been an act of wise clemency to have acceded to the prayer of the men's friends and others who had no sympathy with them, but the Governor was inexorable. The men were hanged publicly at Slachter's Nek, the scene at the scaffold being equally disgraceful and pathetic. Lord Charles Somerset had made an example of the recalcitrants, but he had also created a memory which has been a shame to the Dutch and a trouble to the British for the greater part of a century.

Recurrent difficulties with the Kaffirs on the frontier and the Dutch induced the Imperial Government in 1820 to spend £50,000 in sending some four thousand English and Scotch emigrants to settle on the borders of the Eastern province. The importance of making the Cape British in fact as well as in name, was realised in proportion as British interests in India and Australia grew, and it was wisely determined to divert to South Africa some of the stream of emigration then running strongly. The settlement of so many Britons on the frontier aggravated a chronic trouble. The Kaffirs were a sturdy race prepared to dispute every inch taken from them by the white man, and the process of being continually pushed farther back led to outbreaks which developed into more or less serious wars. The Kaffir stole the colonists'

cattle and the colonists compensated themselves at the expense of any native at hand, whether the thief or not. In these disputes the missionaries generally took the side of the native, and the Government the side of the colonists. In 1835 the Kaffirs, rendered desperate by the reprisals just or unjust of the colonists, crossed the frontier, at that time the great Fish River, and murdered every white man on whom they could lay hands. The war which followed, in which Dutch and British fought side by side, resulted in a bad beating for the Kaffirs, released from bondage a race known as the Fingoes, and placed Sir Benjamin Durban in a position to dictate terms. He was one of the greatest and most far-sighted of the several great and far-sighted men England has sent to govern South Africa, and he considered it imperative to remove the frontier danger once for all by driving the Kaffirs to the north as far as the Keiskamma. This decision was not lightly taken: the feeling it would arouse was not anticipated; it gave the philanthropists in England an opening for an agitation of which they made disastrous use. No word was too tender for the native who was to be dispossessed: no allegation too sweeping against the colonist whose security was menaced. The Fingoes who were set free got no sympathy. The agitators captured the ear of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, and held the Governor up to obloquy as a sort of superior brigand. Whether the Durban settlement was the best or the fairest that could have been devised, is perhaps a fit subject for controversy;

having been made it was the most fatal of mistakes to undo it. Yet this was what Lord Glenelg perversely decided should be done. He took the natives' side throughout—though they were as much intruders in this part of Africa as the whites—declared the assertion of British authority between the great Fish River and the Keiskamma wholly unwarranted either by the situation or international law, and ordered a withdrawal. The white community in South Africa, Dutch as well as English, gasped in amazement, but the Imperial order had to be obeyed, and Sir Benjamin Durban's career as Governor of the Cape was summarily terminated.

The disgust of the Boers at the retrocession was the greater because it confirmed them in their conviction that where the native and the Boers were concerned the native, in the eyes of the British authorities, must always be in the right. Of the special interest of Great Britain in the black brother, further proof was forthcoming in the Emancipation Act, passed by the British Legislature in 1833. But Great Britain was not in this case, as even the Boer could see, anxious to be philanthropic at other people's expense. £20,000,000 of money were voted as compensation to the slave owners, "perhaps the noblest and most generous act recorded in history," says Mr G. M. Theal. For the moment the Boer slave owner was happy in the consciousness that if he was no longer to be allowed proprietary rights in human beings, he would at least only surrender those rights for value received. He was doomed to disappointment. The total value

of the slaves in the Empire was estimated at £50,000,000,—more than double the amount voted by Parliament. In Cape Colony, the value of the slaves was estimated at three millions, and the proportion of the compensation allotted amounted to £1,200,000. It soon became apparent that from a variety of causes even that amount would never reach the slave owner. The money was granted under conditions which left many for whom it was intended to ruin, and enriched others who were in the position of agents.

The cumulative effect of successive acts of philanthropy drove the Boer, the last person in the world patiently to suffer loss and inconvenience for the sake of others, whether white skinned or dark, to desperation, and 1836 witnessed the momentous resolve of a large proportion of the Dutch in Cape Colony to throw off a yoke which, resented from the first, had now become intolerable. Ten thousand of them prepared to trek north, to brave the wilderness, and the hostility of the Kaffir, rather than continue to be victimised by British sentiment and prejudice. The trek of 1836 was one of the most remarkable exoduses on record; the hardships it involved, and the number who took part in it afforded some idea of the sense of wrong under which the Boers laboured.

## CHAPTER X

### EXPANSION IN INDIA—DIVIDENDS AND DOMINION —HOW THE TRADING COMPANY CAME TO RULE AN EMPIRE

DRAMATIC as the developments of the Imperial story subsequent to the loss of the American colonies has been shown to be in Canada, South Africa and Australia, they were hardly as sensational as the changes that swept over India during the sixty years which followed the departure of Clive. They were years marked by important and courageous administrative reforms, by vast acquisitions of territory, by the ruthless supersession of rulers and the picturesque and sanguinary conflict of the representatives of two hemispheres for supremacy, and the metamorphosis of a trading concern into an Imperial power.

Clive was succeeded by Warren Hastings, who had distinguished himself under Clive in both a military and civil capacity. Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General of India, and his career is not less striking whether studied on the civil or military side. As the success of his administrative changes depended upon the success with which he struck at the enemies who would have driven the British out of India altogether, his achievements in safeguarding and extending British territory were all important. The greatest menace to the British which confronted Hastings was the Mahratta power. Sindhia, the chief of the

Mahrattas was in possession of both the person and the policy of the Mogul. He used his supremacy over the decrepit potentate at Delhi to injure the British whenever possible. As the East India Company was paying a substantial subsidy to the Mogul his dominance by Sindhia meant that the British were subsidising their arch enemy. In 1778, when the war with the French broke out anew, and it was ascertained that the Mahrattas and the French were negotiating some sort of alliance, Hastings lost not a moment in striking at both. He withheld further contributions to the coffers of the Mogul, and by supreme efforts provided the means of waging a war which cost the French Chandernagore, Pondicherry and Mahé, and drove the Mahrattas into their famous fortress of Gwalior which was ultimately taken by storm. The crisis in which Hastings found himself was one demanding "the most instant, powerful, even hazardous, exertion" on the part of the Council at Calcutta. Hastings proved equal to the demand, notwithstanding that his every action was thwarted by the bitterest and most jealous of enemies among the very men who had been appointed to assist him in his government.

Having shown what he could do in the North, Hastings turned to the South where an equally grave state of things was caused by the co-operation of Hyder Ali with the French. The Karnatic was practically in Hyder Ali's power, and the British settlements were in peril of destruction at any moment. Hastings wanted money even more than men; his methods of raising it were drastic,

and in the years to come involved him in an impeachment, which has taken its place among the greatest of State trials. History exonerates him more completely than did his acquittal. When we look to the circumstances of the time we understand how great a man Hastings must have been to have done so little wrong in them. There was nothing squeamish in the methods of the enemies of the English, and it was no time for a too scrupulous regard for rights. Warren Hastings realised that the very existence of the English in India was at stake. The French led by Suffren at sea and by Bussy on land, were busy everywhere in support of Hyder Ali, and all Sir Eyre Coote could do was to hold them in check. Fortunately Hyder Ali died in 1782, and the British having the Mahrattas on their side, Tippu Sultan, his son and successor, was glad to make a peace which secured no sort of benefit to the French. Tippu Sultan, like many another inheritor of a dangerous toy, could not for long restrain a desire to experiment with it. In the Mysore army his father had left him a powerful fighting machine, and he had the French ever ready to assist him in striking at the hated British. Perhaps he thought that in Lord Cornwallis who succeeded Hastings in 1785, he had a different stamp of governor to deal with. Lord Cornwallis was keen on the land question: he made what is known as the permanent settlement; he instituted a fixed sum to be contributed by the landlords to the revenue, a scheme which has since enabled the landowners who have become richer and richer to escape with the same contribution to taxation

that they made in days when their properties were not worth half their present value. Tippu Sultan soon found out his mistake as to Lord Cornwallis's character. The Governor-General took up the challenge which Tippu threw down and with a vigour worthy of Hastings, fought one or two sharp engagements and finally led an attack on Seringapatam in person, which scared Tippu into surrender. Tippu's temerity cost him a large slice of territory and a goodly sum of money.

After this salutary lesson he was quiet for a time though his proud and fiery spirit chafed under the losses he had incurred. He was in a mood to listen to any scheme however mad for hitting at the British. He fell an easy victim to French intrigue. He had heard of Napoleon's doings in Europe, of the creation of the French Republic, and of French plans for seizing India by way of Egypt. In 1798 when Lord Wellesley arrived in Calcutta as Governor-General, the Napoleonic idea of wresting the sceptre from British hands had not yet been dissipated into thin air by Nelson and British sea power generally. Wellesley set himself heart and soul to destroy the possibility of any European body in India successfully challenging British predominance. Tippu Sultan, absurdly styling himself or permitting himself to be styled Citizen, again entered into relations with the French and prevaricated when called upon by Lord Wellesley to explain. Procrastination ended in a new war. Again Seringapatam was the British objective. This time Tippu stood his ground and was killed in rallying his followers to resist the assault ; Seringapatam fell into British



hands, and British influence and territory were further augmented. Wellesley effected alliances with native states wherever possible as a joint guarantee of their own and British security, and where friendship was not to be found, he took steps which left the native rulers in no doubt as to the power and the will of the Governor-General. With the aid of his brother, afterwards Duke of Wellington and victor of Waterloo, he disposed of the Mahratta terror which was ever present notwithstanding the assistance the Mahrattas had afforded the British recently in fighting others. He brought the Peshwa (the head of the Mahratta confederacy) and the moribund Mogul under British control. By diplomacy he induced the Nizam of Haiderabad to disband his French battalions, and by arms he crushed the French troops in the employ of Sindhia. He went out to India pledged to a policy of peace, but circumstances were more potent than any instructions from Boards of Directors.

It cannot be said that Lord Wellesley evinced any particular reluctance to extend British dominion in India, and the effect of his policy was to make the Company supreme throughout the peninsula. In that land of diverse races and religions, it was comparatively simple to play off one against the other, and Wellesley made the Company the sole unifying factor in those heterogeneous conditions. He scared the directors at home: they preferred dividends to dominion, and when we recollect how much was spent in fighting and governing and controlling native States it is remarkable

that there were dividends at all. Lord Hastings, when he succeeded Lord Wellesley, was really anxious to carry out the pacific and consolidating desires of the Board, but all his efforts to restrict the area dominated by the Company were fruitless. During the ten years he spent in India he had to go to war with the Gurkas of Nepaul and annexed part of their territory: he crushed the Pindaris and was involved in a new Mahratta attempt to throw off the restraining hand of England: the triumphs of the British in every direction brought new territory to the Company and new responsibilities.

What Wellesley began, Hastings, whose views were supposed to be so strongly opposed to his, completed. Like Wellesley, Hastings also naturally incurred the displeasure of his directors, but he was as unable as Wellesley himself to take a merely tradesman's view of the political situation in India. What the proprietors in London did not realise, any more than did Burke in his splendid denunciation of British doings in India was that the conflict was between two wholly irreconcilable bodies brought into contact and that if the forces of the West did not triumph those of the East would. The triumph of the East meant the expulsion of the West from India: the triumph of the West meant that the West must assume responsibility for displaced authority or leave the vanquished to anarchy. The last quarter from which the directors would have expected trouble for their Governor-General, probably was Burmah. Yet Lord Amherst on taking over the government from Lord Hastings,

found the King of Burmah prepared to claim a part of Bengal to which he had not a shadow of claim. The war which ensued cost him part of Assam. Lord William Bentinck had better luck. He managed to preserve the peace for some years and accomplished great internal reforms, but even he had to bring Coorg under British administration to save it from the misrule of the Raja. With the arrival of Lord Auckland in 1836, a new era of conflict and conquest was opened up, chiefly by fears which induced Lord Auckland to plunge into the vortex of trans-frontier intrigue. The Russian bogey appeared upon the scene, Persia supported by Russia attacked Herat, and Lord Auckland took the hazardous resolve to bring Afghanistan within the sphere of British influence.

One reason among others why the directors in London opposed a policy of adventure and annexation was that it afforded a handle to the agitator who regarded the native ruler as an innocent and injured person whenever he got the worst of it in an encounter with the British forces. The Company was dependent upon Parliament for the renewal of its charter, and felt the force of criticism in proportion as its rule was extended. From the time when Warren Hastings was appointed first Governor-General under an Act of Parliament for regulating the affairs of the East India Company, the doings of the Company's representatives in India were subject to the veto of the sovereign. As the interests of the Company in India developed, some more comprehensive scheme was felt to

be necessary, and in 1784 William Pitt carried a Regulating Act, creating a Board of Control to be appointed by the Crown. The Company was thus deprived in large measure of political initiative, except with the sanction of the Imperial officials; trade, its original object, became once more its primary consideration, but as time went on the political side of the Company's energies predominated and in 1813 when the charter was again renewed, its monopoly of Indian trade was abolished and the good government of the people under its flag was insisted upon as its first duty. In 1833, the next renewal of the charter was made conditional on the abandonment of its trading privileges altogether; its future was to be administrative only, its dividends being guaranteed by the Imperial Government, of which it had in fact though not in name become a department. 1833 was the beginning of the end of the Company. India, it was clearly seen, must sooner or later be taken over by the Crown; how and when events would dictate.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE EMPIRE AT QUEEN VICTORIA'S ACCESSION —DISCONTENT AND RIOT IN CANADA, IN AUSTRALIA AND AT THE CAPE—A DARK PROSPECT

IT was not a pleasant Imperial prospect, assuming, that is, she was permitted to know anything about it, which the young Princess Victoria was called

upon to contemplate on that June morning, 1837, when she was summoned from her bed in Kensington Palace to learn that she was Sovereign of the British Empire. If in the first year or two of her reign, Queen Victoria knew the truth regarding her Colonial Empire and the views of a considerable school of political economists, a serious survey of the estate she was called upon to govern must have resulted in the pessimistic conclusion that it was doomed to dissolution. Five years before her accession, the Reform Act had given the people something approaching a voice in the affairs of the Empire. Men like Cobden and Bright had secured the ear of the people, and they never wearied in pressing home the point that the colonies were costly encumbrances, which had wholly disappointed the belief of their founders that they would advance the interests of British trade. Philosophers like John Stuart Mill were convinced that disintegration was ahead. Adam Smith at the end of the eighteenth century had his doubts as to the wisdom of Britain's colonial policy, and Cobden was convinced, if Adam Smith had lived, he would have found in the United States, which had become England's largest and most friendly commercial connection, an opportunity of understanding the expediency of "cutting the painter." Where, asked Cobden, in 1835, is the justification for subjecting ourselves to the heavy taxation required to maintain armies and navies for the defence of the colonies? With such political teachers acquiring more and more power, could the young Queen have hoped that

her people would rise superior to their own particular leaders? Little more than half a century divided the Queen's accession from the War of Independence in America, and at the best it was widely believed that the various colonies were destined sooner or later to secure autonomy as a stepping-stone to republicanism. It remained to be proved that Democracy and Empire were quite compatible.

The Colonial Office was at its very worst in 1837 for dilatoriness and indifference towards the colonies, and its mistakes were calculated to enhance the conviction that the trend of events was towards disintegration. There does not seem to have been very much to choose between the various colonial secretaries, and it was characteristic of the man of the moment to attribute the muddles in which he found himself involved to the incompetence of his predecessors. Nor are the blunders of colonial secretaries to be altogether wondered at. As a rule they had no opportunity of acquiring more knowledge of colonial affairs than the modicum which is proverbially dangerous. In little more than three years there were five colonial secretaries, not one of whom had had experience of the colonies. Procrastination was the order of the day at the Colonial Office, and procrastination came very near to being the thief of Empire. Lord Glenelg, for instance, as Colonial Secretary, had a genius for doing the wrong thing with the worthiest intentions. He was constitutionally incapable of seeing any question in the same light as the colonists whose interests were committed

to his charge. In the despatch he sent to Sir Francis Head, on the latter's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, he reviewed the grievances of the colonists and met their demand for responsible government by the plea that there was responsible government in Canada because forsooth the officers of the administration were responsible to the King.

If in the views of popular politicians and the practices of colonial secretaries, the Queen may have seen cause for foreboding as to the mere continuance, to say nothing of the expansion of her Empire, in the state of that Empire she would have found only too much ground for positive despair. India was on the eve of adventures beyond the north-west frontier which could hardly have been anticipated with complacency, and the colonies were in the throes of rebellion and chaos. Sir William Molesworth who from his position as Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons which dealt the death blow at transportation, had excellent opportunities for ascertaining the truth, laid before Parliament a picture of the colonies dark in every particular. Depressing reports came from all quarters, and as Canada was the most important of Britain's colonial possessions so the state of affairs in Canada was worse than in any other dependency. Mr Roebuck who constituted himself a sort of member for Canada, of which as a matter of fact he was the agent, in 1837 likened her case to that of Ireland and said the desire of both was to be emancipated

from "the over-bearing insolence of a miserable monopolising minority."

The ever present hope entertained by the French element in North America that some day a new French nation would be created on that continent, was quickened by the conflict with the Government. Joseph Hume's prophecy of a crisis in Canadian affairs which would terminate "in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the mother country," seemed in a fair way to being realised. So great had the hostility of certain French Canadians become towards Great Britain at the time of the Queen's accession, that, when the *Te Deum* was sung in the churches in connection with that event, they rose and walked out. In South Africa the outlook in June 1837 was not much brighter than in North America. The great trek of the Boers was not only an unwelcome event in itself, but opened up still more unwelcome possibilities from the conflicts which ensued with the natives. The Boers attempted to take possession of Natal, but their purpose was frustrated by the hated British Government. The trekkers, however, proclaimed their intention in August 1837, within a few weeks of the Queen's accession to found a Republic which would guarantee them the liberties enjoyed by the United States of America.

While secession was going on in South Africa, in the West Indies British subjects were looking for help to the American Republic which the Boers were anxious to imitate. To save themselves from ruin as the result of the freeing of



the slaves on whom their prosperity depended, the planters would have seized any occasion which offered for hoisting the Stars and Stripes. Nor was the abolition of slavery an unmixed blessing to the slave himself. He imagined that freedom and idleness were one and the same thing and the planters had good reason to anticipate his release from bondage with misgiving. They expected to be unable to find men to do the work of the plantations, and liberty for the negro in too many cases, it was feared, would beget license. How right they were, history bears witness. Jamaica, the most British of the British West Indies, absolutely defied the Imperial Government and refused to obey the edicts of Parliament. "If ever a colony was rebellious at heart," says Sir William Molesworth, "if ever a colony was in a state of dangerous excitement, this one is." That this was not an overstatement of the position in Jamaica is clear from the fact that a year later the Melbourne Ministry deemed it necessary to carry a measure through the Imperial Parliament for the suspension of the Constitution of Jamaica during the next five years.

When colonies of such importance to the Empire as those in North America, in the Antilles, and at the Cape received so small a measure of consideration at the hands of the Home Government it is hardly surprising that Australian susceptibilities were not a matter of grave concern. Australia in 1837 was beginning to be something more than New South Wales. Western Australia was slowly but surely establish-

ing itself, and South Australia had just come into existence under the Wakefield régime. With the appearance of sister colonies not founded by convicts, and the emancipist movement in New South Wales, Australia "was beginning to manifest a deep desire for the purification of society and for the introduction of free institutions." The demand that transportation should cease acquired volume every year, and the respectable colonists were bent on cleaning out the Augean stable of New South Wales, which at that time included both Queensland and Victoria.

One may be sure that no account was rendered to the young Queen of the real state of New South Wales. Sir William Molesworth in March 1838 might be suspected of mere declamation, when he asserted that society in Australia had attained a degree of moral contamination so revolting as to be almost incredible, but evidence in support of his statement is not wholly lacking. One authority said the excess of crime in New South Wales was not surprising when it was remembered that "the unbaptized child of the white convict grew up with no more training or teaching than the savage he displaced." The last thing about which the authorities in London seem to have troubled themselves was the colony's moral welfare. Crown lands were sold with the purpose of creating a fund for the sending out of emigrants. Labour and women were equally scarce in the colony, and the emigration fund was utilised to provide both. But so resolutely

and consistently indifferent was the Colonial Office to the manner in which the money was expended that women were taken from the very streets of London and sent to Australia to become wives and mothers. Pariahs were regarded as fit mates for ex-gaol birds. What sort of a community was likely to be raised from such stock, one hardly dares to suggest. The ships which carried the women to the colony became abhorrent to respectable *voyageurs*. No wonder New South Wales complained bitterly of the mother country, and agitated for institutions which would enable her to safeguard these intimate and precious domestic interests to which Downing Street gave no heed.

New Zealand had not officially been brought under the British flag when the Queen came to the throne, although projects had been devised for its settlement as far back as 1825. It was the happy hunting-ground of Anglo-Saxon rascaldom. Some two thousand British subjects led a precarious and lawless existence among the Maoris, and Mr Busby, who was appointed British resident under the direction of the Governor of New South Wales, exercised an ineffectual control. Ten per cent. of the British in New Zealand were escaped convicts and a less number than this would have been ample to stamp the whole body of adventurers as rogues. When not engaged in robbing the natives of their land, those adventurers encouraged them to make war on each other. Tattooed heads were valuable for sale beyond the seas, and instigated by the British the Maoris, the finest aboriginal

race on the face of the globe, fought among themselves to an extent which threatened extermination. A more blood-thirsty set of rascals than many of the earliest settlers in New Zealand were surely never concerned in the founding of a state.

It is a relief to turn from these horrors to the proceedings of Baron de Thierry. This remarkable person had ambitions. For a few axes he claimed to have purchased some thousands of square miles of New Zealand territory, and in 1837 issued a proclamation in which he described himself as sovereign of New Zealand and King of Muhubesa. He took with him from Sydney some ninety-three loafers, and "on arrival unfurled a silken banner, ordered his subjects to back out of his presence, and offered to create the captain of the ship who conveyed him to his kingdom an admiral. Funds running short, however, his subjects deserted him and he subsequently lived in Auckland in a humble way cleaning wax fibre." New Zealand was not formally taken possession of till 1840.

With pessimism rampant at home, with Frenchman against Briton in Canada, with Boer against Briton in South Africa, with Planter against Negro in the West Indies, with Free Settler against Convict in Australia, Queen Victoria's accession gave little promise of bright things in store. And indeed the bright things were slow in coming: it was not till after a long period of travail and anxiety that the Empire was able to swing into the smooth waters of mutual trust and unity of purpose.

## CHAPTER XII

### TRIBULATION AND AUTONOMY — THE MAORI WARS—THE KAFFIR WARS—THE INDIAN MUTINY

As the crisis in Canada was graver than elsewhere, so the solution of the Canadian problem was first arrived at. The Imperial Government by one of those happy strokes which the world calls luck put its hand on the very man of all men to prescribe for British North American ailments. Lord Durham was one of the small school of Englishmen who in those days interested themselves actively and wisely in colonial affairs. He was despatched to Canada as Governor-General and High Commissioner. His methods were a little uncompromising and the measures he took displeased all who did not understand that his first business was to restore order. He exiled certain leading malcontents and raised a storm which resulted in his recall after less than half a year in Canada. But that half year was one of momentous consequence. Lord Durham's report on Canada is generally held to have saved the Empire. The Governor-General enjoyed the assistance of advisers like Wakefield and Charles Buller who must share credit for one of the most profoundly interesting State papers ever written. It was given to the world in 1840, and a year later its principal proposals were embodied in an Act of Parliament which

inaugurated a new life for the people of Canada. Strange fate that the man who so largely made Canada what she is should have unmade himself in the process of ascertaining the facts ! Durham did not live to see the success of his recommendations. It is said he died of a broken heart. If that were true then he died for Canada and the Empire as surely as Wolfe himself.

The report did not mince matters. "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people," said Lord Durham, "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state ; I found a struggle not of principles but of races," and his first business was to discover some means of terminating the deadly feud of French and English. In the process he discovered also the means of ending the conflict between the Government and the colonists. He failed to understand how any English statesman could have ever imagined that representative and irresponsible government could be successfully combined. That was the impossible régime which the Imperial authorities sought to maintain in Canada. The Assembly of Lower Canada "might refuse to pass laws, vote or withhold supplies ; it could exercise no influence on the nomination of a single officer of the Crown." The Executive and its officers were placed in power without regard to the wishes of the people, and Lord Durham did not hesitate to insinuate that it almost seemed a path to preferment to be in opposition to the wishes of the people. The dangers of the situation he put into a few words, only pointing out that the cost of retaining

the colonies would increase as their value and loyalty diminished.

What then was the remedy to be? He proposed first that the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, separated by the Act of 1791, should be united under one legislature, and second, that the advisers of the Governor should be responsible to the Popular chamber. In other words, he proposed to take an essential leaf out of the constitution of Great Britain and adapt it to a subordinate state. The Governor should carry on his government by heads of departments in whom the United Legislature reposed confidence, and should in future look for no support from home in any contest with the Legislature, except on points involving strictly Imperial interests. That a scheme of colonial government so novel should rouse a storm of opposition was to be expected. The idea of giving responsible government to a dependency had never entered the head of any responsible government at home. Even the most liberal-minded of Imperial statesmen asked how could a colonial governor do his duty at once to a colonial community and the Crown?

To ask such a question was to suggest that the interests of the colonists and the Crown were antagonistic. In any case to join the two Canadas seemed like courting further strife. In the United States of America it was considered certain that the adoption of Lord Durham's proposals would hasten the coming of the time when Canada would in American phrase drop

like ripe fruit into the apron of the Republic. Statesmanship for once fortunately rose to the occasion; Lord Durham's advice was taken; the union of the provinces ensured the predominance of the British over the French Canadians, and the conferment of the franchise on French and British alike gave the people the control of their own affairs for which they had risked so much.

The Act which united the two Canadas had not been long in force before it had disappointed its opponents in Great Britain and its friends in the United States. Peace and prosperity returned, and the excellence of the specific devised by Lord Durham was proclaimed to the whole world in a very few years when responsible government was extended to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The future of Canada as a great state was already dimly discerned, and it became necessary to safeguard the road to the Pacific. The Americans were not less eager to forestall British expansion west than the French had been in the previous century. They purchased Alaska from the Russians, and only the vigilance and enterprise of the Hudson's Bay Company and others saved what is to-day the Canadian Pacific Coast from coming under the Stars and Stripes. In 1849 the Company was permitted to take possession of Vancouver, and early in the fifties the discovery of gold in British Columbia and the rushes of prospectors induced the Imperial Government to assume direct control of that part of the Company's field of operations.



The settlement of boundaries, the conclusion of commercial treaties, the building of railroads and the general opening up of the country, under joint Imperial and Colonial enterprise paved the way to the formation of a Canadian nationhood very different from that aspired to by the discontents of 1836.

Canadian progress under the Durham régime was not without its effect on the other great colonies in the Empire. The demand that autonomy should be conceded grew in proportion as the population of the colonies developed, and government by officials who had to give an account of their stewardship to the mother country rather than the colonists became more and more difficult. In South Africa, the problem of government was seriously aggravated by the Boer trek. The Boers came into conflict with the great Zulu race, and were victims of the treachery of Dingaan, treachery avenged by the laagered farmers on December 16, 1838, when the Zulus were routed with frightful slaughter. December 16, 1838, has ever since been celebrated by the Boers as Dingaan's Day. To permit the Boers to wander at their unsweet will and live in any state of disorder which they pleased was felt to be dangerous and even impossible by the authorities at Cape Town. Wherever they went therefore they found that a British protectorate had been proclaimed. They founded Pietermaritzburg in Natal, *only* to learn, as we have seen, that Great Britain had decided to annex the country and govern it from Cape Colony. The more implac-

able of the Boers went north of the Vaal; others less irreconcilable settled between the Vaal and the Orange River and were soon in a mood to forget the past. In 1852, when the feeling at home seemed to be growing that colonies were a nuisance and a mistake, the virtual independence of the Transvaal was recognised and the Boer Republic was started. Two years later it was determined that the Orange River Settlement also, should be abandoned, and against the wishes and prayers of its people British authority was withdrawn and they were left to shift for themselves. British statesmen were convinced that England's responsibilities were too great in South Africa, and the wonder almost is that they did not decide to abandon everything except perhaps a coaling station on the road to India. Representative self-government was granted to Cape Colony in 1853, and in 1856 Natal was made a separate colony under the Crown. There was nothing yet to suggest that South Africa would ever become the pivot of Imperial fortunes: gold and diamonds had not intruded themselves to the embitterment of the racial struggle which without them might have died a natural death.

For a time in 1849 Cape Colony was agitated by the attempt of the Mother Country to start a penal settlement within her borders. New South Wales and Tasmania in struggling to escape any further infusion of the convict element, had turned the thoughts of the Imperial Government to South Africa; persistence and resolution had brought England to understand that the Australian

colonies, with the exception of Western Australia where convict labour was actually welcomed, could no longer be regarded as the refuse corner of the Empire; in 1848 the Colonial Office agreed that no colony should be forced to receive convicts against their will, and the colonies were not slow to make the Colonial Office understand that they were prepared to go considerable lengths in resisting any scheme, however innocent it might appear, for the revival of transportation. In Australia the opposition to transportation was part of a movement for advancing the great southern colonies into line with the budding nations of the Empire. New South Wales aimed at self-government on Canadian lines; Queensland and Victoria had not yet been taken from her; and whilst she demanded an extension of power to control her own affairs, the colonists north and south were demanding a separate constitution. In Port Phillip, as Victoria was then called, opposition to being governed from Sydney was so great in 1844 that the colonists elected Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as their representative in the Sydney Assembly by way of reducing the whole system to an absurdity. Victoria was created in 1851. About that time gold began to be discovered in Australia; New South Wales led the way, but Victoria was not far behind; fortune seekers flocked to the colonies, and when the first rush was over, the other colonies enjoyed the prosperity which the demand for supplies in the rapidly developing Eastern States created. Riches had come to the Australian colonies, and

in a year or two, after much haggling and lack of grace in the concession, responsible government came also. In 1852 when the Australian Colonies Act was passed, the Imperial Government showed itself for once in advance of Colonial sentiment; it provided for something like a federal bond for common Australian objects, but the colonies preferred to go their several ways, which they did almost as completely as though they occupied different continents.

In Australia, the settlers suffered little inconvenience at the hands of the natives, who were few in number and the most miserable of their kind. In Tasmania the black fellow was the occasion of conflict culminating in harsh and even barbarous methods of control which make the memory a shame to latter-day British susceptibilities. The biggest native struggle, apart from that which marked the conquest of India by the Company, occurred in New Zealand. Warriors by instinct, and cannibals by practice and conviction, the Maoris were physically well-endowed, and had developed a tribal system of government which was a sort of blended feudalism and communism.

One effect of Lord Durham's return to England from Canada was that he and Wakefield were free to devote themselves to other fields for colonisation. A scheme for the settlement of New Zealand had fallen through in 1837, but in 1839 the New Zealand Company was formed for the purchase and resale of Maori lands. The first expedition reached Port Nicholson in September of that year, and proceeded to

acquire millions of acres of territory from the natives. Chiefs like Te Rauparaha who signed away the land, either did not understand the transaction, or if they did, knew that they had no right to sell territory which belonged not to themselves but to the tribes. The proceedings of the Company created some uneasiness at the Colonial Office in London, and whilst the Home Government were hesitating what to do, their hand was forced by information concerning French designs on New Zealand.

British sovereignty was proclaimed in 1840 by Captain Hobson—representing New South Wales—a few hours before the representatives of the Nantes Bordelaise Company arrived to take possession in the name of France. Thus once again French colonial schemes were defeated by the British. Captain Hobson's first business was to enter into the Treaty of Waitangi with the Maoris. It was the charter of British sovereignty and of native rights, and was signed in the year which saw the erection of New Zealand into a separate colony and the adoption of Lord Durham's scheme of self-government in Canada. If it had been adhered to, the consequences might have been as happy in the one case as they proved to be in the other. In the face of the treaty the attempt in 1843 to enforce the bargains made between the Company and the chiefs, was distinctly unwise if not wholly improper. Rauparaha himself was the leader in opposing the appropriation by the Company of land to the alienation of which he had been a party; blood was shed and valuable lives

were sacrificed, and the refusal of the Governor to take any steps to punish Rauparaha for the brutal murder of some prisoners induced a spirit of contemptuous insolence on the part of the Maoris which spread rapidly. British authority was flouted; other tribes refused to complete land bargains, and one chief, Hone Heke, proceeded to cut down a flagstaff which with its flag he believed exercised a baneful influence on native rights.

The colony was in a state of chaos when Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey in 1845 arrived as governor from South Australia where he had done excellent work. Grey found a want of funds, of confidence, of resources; in an almost incredibly short time, he brought New Zealand through the crisis. Hone Heke's strongest pah (fortress) was captured, and Rauparaha whose good faith Grey had reason to doubt, was boldly kidnapped by the Governor and transferred to a man-of-war. Grey carried consternation into the hearts of the enemy, and for a while there was peace during which settlements such as Otago and Canterbury were started by Scotch and English religious bodies, and New Zealand was given a self-governing constitution, providing for Provincial Councils and a General Assembly for the whole of the colony—an essentially federal régime in its inception and working. Grey was called away in 1853 to take the governorship of Cape Colony under the régime just inaugurated there. New Zealand lived uneasily under the joint operation of local councils and the general parliament, and some of

the proceedings of the House of Representatives were of a quite Gilbertian order. Under Grey's successor, Gore Browne, there were fresh Maori wars. The Waikalis determined that no more land should be sold to the stranger within their gates, and that they would set up a king for themselves, selecting for that position the chief Te Whero Whero. Another chief sold land, but Wiremi Kingi vetoed the transaction, and thus the colony was called on to face a combined King and Kingi agitation. Governor Browne and the native department upheld the purchase and irregular warfare broke out again. Grey was recalled and once more proved himself as energetic in the field as in the Council Chamber. The war was marked by many dramatic incidents as when a Maori chief refused to surrender and informed the British that he and his friends would "fight on, for ever, for ever, for ever." British arms and British doggedness won the day, however, against those splendid savages, but the end of the gallant struggle did not come till 1871, some time after British regulars were withdrawn from the islands. The Maoris were more sinned against than sinning, and the Maori wars, with all their cost in life and treasure, were due in the main to the Briton's inability to understand native customs and native ideas.

If the more or less constant fighting in New Zealand during a quarter of a century made some people at home wonder whether the prize was worth the price, what must they have thought of the first twenty years of Queen Victoria's reign elsewhere? Lord Auckland's

interference in Afghanistan led to a campaign attended by brief and brilliant triumphs for British arms: these were still fresh in the public memory when news arrived of the murder of the British resident in Kabul, the rising of the Afghans, and the annihilation of the British army in retreat towards India. One man survived to tell the story. An avenging force despatched by Lord Ellenborough placed Dost Mohammed on the throne after retribution had been exacted, and then Lord Ellenborough turned to the conquest of Sind, on grounds which have never been quite satisfactorily explained. "We have no right to seize Sind," wrote Sir Charles Napier, "yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be." How many acts in an Imperial story might not be summed up as humane rascality?

Whatever may have been the case with regard to Sind, there was no room for doubt as to the justice of Lord Hardinge's appropriation of part of the Punjab in 1845. Its people, the Sikhs, had been welded into a military nation by the great Ranjit Singh, a friend of the British; when he died the Sikh army, controlled by the Khalsa or Central Council, proud of their organisation and confident of their ability, developed an ambition to try conclusions in the field with the British and especially the British sepoy. They invaded British territory in force, and in four pitched battles, involving terrible slaughter on both sides, they were decisively beaten by Sir Hugh Gough. The Sikhs surrendered Lahore, their capital, and the British



dictated their own terms. But the Sikhs were not yet convinced that their prowess was unequal to the attainment of other results. Lord Dalhousie had barely taken over the government from Lord Hardinge when the Sikhs murdered two British officers, and the army of the Khalsa was again in being. The battle of Chillianwallah went far to justify their confidence. It was called a drawn battle: impartiality might classify it as a defeat for the British. The Khalsa triumph was short-lived. The Commander-in-Chief braced himself to a great effort, and at Gujrat won a victory which crushed the Sikh army for ever. Lord Dalhousie annexed the whole Punjab, the task of pacification falling to John and Henry Lawrence. Like the Maoris, the Sikhs when once convinced of the superiority of British arms, became devoted British subjects.

An affront offered to British representatives by the King of Burmah led to the second Burmese war and the annexation of Lower Burmah. Various native states for reasons mainly of humanity and good government were brought by Lord Dalhousie under British rule, notably Oudh, which had been so atrociously misruled by its own prince that the Viceroy declared the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if they were any longer to aid in countenancing an administration fraught with sufferings to millions. Than Dalhousie, India has never had a greater chief. He killed himself by the hard work he gave to her well-being on both the military and civil side. He extended and consolidated British rule, and

at the same time revolutionised the internal conditions. "The India of the railway, the telegraph, the halfpenny post and the State-inspected school," wrote Sir William Hunter, "that is to say the India created by Lord Dalhousie, is the India of to-day."

It was not to be expected that the natives should, as a whole, understand Dalhousie's policy. Some were restive under its sweeping annexations, and when his place was taken by Lord Canning, clouds were on the Indian horizon which needed only to come sufficiently near the mountains of superstition and mistrust ever present in India to burst into a deluge. The idea was abroad that it was deliberately intended to make India wholly British; and official carelessness managed to afford evidence, conclusive to the native mind, that the conversion was to extend to their creeds as well as their government. In manufacturing cartridges for the new Enfield rifle at the end of 1856, the authorities used a lubricating material composed of cows' and pigs' fat, which Hindus and Mohammedans could only touch, according to their caste beliefs, at the peril of their souls. When the Sepoys, who were called upon to bite the cartridges, complained that pig and cow tallow was used, and refused to touch the unholy thing, officers and others denied, some in good faith, others knowing the truth, that there was any foundation for their suspicion. It was said to be a foolish report spread by designing persons; but the rumour was noised abroad that the British Government were determined to compel the Sepoy to embrace Christianity and a legend that one

hundred years after the battle of Plassey the British would be driven out of India was revived. The Sepoy knew that the tallow was as he alleged, and preferred to face the consequences of rebellion rather than of sacrilege. It was an opportunity of which even reputable aspirants to native thrones might be expected to take advantage: it was an opportunity which unprincipled, tiger-like creatures such as Nana Sahib would certainly utilise to the utmost. The British were breaking their bond to respect the caste of the native: the native could have no qualms of conscience in joining any plot to expel the British from India altogether. Everything favoured the design. Unusually few British troops were in India at the moment owing to wars elsewhere, and the Sepoy who had been trained to beat the Afghan and the Sikh might pardonably consider himself equal to the task of driving out the handful of men constituting the British garrison.

Early in 1857 the first signs of revolt appeared at Dum Dum near Calcutta; in May, the Sepoys at Meerut shot down their white officers, and marched to Delhi, where the decrepit representative of the Moguls was proclaimed Emperor. The Mutiny is an oft-told tale, but one which can never be told too often while Britons are proud of the deeds of their fathers. In the early stages of the outbreak some mistakes were made by officers unwilling to take extreme measures, but when Lower Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Central India were up, few things were done which do not redound to the eternal glory of the British name. The in-

fluence of the Lawrences kept the Punjab quiet, and released invaluable forces for service before Delhi, at Cawnpore and at Lucknow. Horrible atrocities were perpetrated by the rebels, mainly at the instigation of Nana Sahib; women and children were promised protection and when in his power were slaughtered remorselessly; but men like Nicholson, Havelock, and Outram were in the field, and every man, native or British, whom they led was a hero, without exception. They captured citadels like Delhi believed to be impregnable, held by what might have seemed overwhelming numbers; they accomplished marches in the torrid heat of India which none but the native could reasonably be expected to endure; they conquered in the teeth of odds which should have left them no chance; and in the end they not only avenged the lives of dear ones barbarously butchered but saved India. Sir Colin Campbell when he arrived as Commander-in-Chief did great work, but the hopelessness of the Mutiny was proved by the men on the spot before he could reach India.

A great portion of native India thus made a supreme effort to shake off the British once and for all, and failed at every point. The Mutiny was a final test of the relative strength of East and West; it taught native India a lesson which will not soon be forgotten, but it taught Great Britain a lesson as well. If it showed the native the folly of drawing the sword against the Briton, it showed the Briton the folly of attempting to deceive the native in any matter affecting his religion. The Company had made a huge and

tragic mistake, and the Imperial Government saw that the time had come for its complete supercession. India must be taken under the direct control of the Crown; John Company, as it was affectionately styled, had done all the good in India of which it was capable; it was an anachronism and must go the way of all anachronisms in a progressive age. India became an Imperial charge in 1858. On November 1st of that year a splendid durbar was held at Allahabad when Lord Canning issued the Queen's proclamation, granting an amnesty to all not concerned in the murder of British subjects and assuring the races of India of even-handed justice and religious toleration.

## CHAPTER XIII

PROGRESS ALL ROUND—COLONIAL FEDERATION—  
THE BOER WAR—INDIAN ADVANCEMENT AND  
GRIEVANCES—THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

GRADUALLY the mists generated by political economy and misapprehension of the trend of events began to disperse. Canada had grown more prosperous, more contented and more loyal under the constitution given to her at the instigation of Lord Durham; Australia was growing rich and increasing rapidly in population under the magnetic influence of the gold discoveries; in New Zealand the aboriginal and the settler had fought out their differences and arrived at an

understanding which satisfied both sides; in South Africa the way seemed to be opening to happier relations between the Boer and the Briton, and in India the Crown was sparing no effort to make good the principles of the royal proclamation. A new conception of Empire took possession of the British people if not of British politicians in the sixties, and it is perhaps not unreasonable to give credit in large measure to Canada. Lord Durham's constitution had done its work, and the united provinces were now anxious to be separated again and joined in a federal bond only. Of their loyalty there remained not a shadow of doubt. French Canadian ill-will had so completely disappeared that Sir Etienne Taché declared "The last gun that would be fired for British supremacy in America would be fired by a French Canadian."

In 1864 Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island met to discuss the possibility of federation, and Canada at once saw a way out of its rather unwieldy and uncongenial legislative union. She took part in the movement, and the outcome of the conference was a scheme of federation by which Upper and Lower Canada were given separate provincial legislatures, and both joined with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1867, in a federal union under the name of the Dominion of Canada. Federated Canada lost no time in securing control of the whole of North America unappropriated by the United States: the other colonies, with the exception of Newfoundland which has, unwisely as its best friends believe, rejected the idea, joined the

Dominion as occasion offered; in 1885, under the auspices of Sir John Macdonald, her greatest statesman, Canada started the railway which five years later linked her Atlantic sea-board with the Pacific Coast; and the consummation of her progress and her loyalty is that a French Canadian has been her Prime Minister during the past six or seven years. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the opinion of a good many people, will rank with Sir John Macdonald in Canadian annals as one who aimed at achieving Canada's highest destiny under the British flag.

The success of the Canadian union, combined with the knowledge of German intrigue north of Cape Colony inspired Lord Carnarvon to attempt to remove the discords of South Africa by similar means. Responsible government was granted to Cape Colony in 1872, and he hoped by showing the Boer Republics the advantages of a federal system to repair the blunders of the fifties. The discovery of the Kimberley diamond mines in 1867 had caused new disputes between Boers and British, and the man sent out by Lord Carnarvon in 1876, Mr J. A. Froude, had unfortunately a genius for controversy rather than for diplomacy. Instead of bringing oil to bear on the troubled waters, he lashed them into fresh fury. That the disunion of South Africa was a misfortune was made clear in 1877, when the Zulu impis swept down on the bankrupt and helpless Transvaal. Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Boer State in its own defence, and Sir Garnet Wolseley then Governor of Natal, disposed finally of the native chief Sekukuni, who was the terror of the Transvaal.

Relieved of their fears of the Zulus, the Boers protested against annexation; on Dingaan's Day they rose in arms; Sir George Colley moved against them, took up what should have been an impregnable position on Majuba Hill, was boldly attacked by the Boers and defeated. Sir Bartle Frere was High Commissioner at the time and if he had been supported from home might have saved the situation. But Mr Gladstone, recently restored to office, deemed "magnanimity" the better part of valour and decided to give back the Transvaal without striking a blow for the honour of the flag. If Majuba had been avenged—and the necessary forces were at hand—there would probably have been a very different spirit throughout South Africa during the next twenty years.

As it was the Boer became more than usually insolent, believed himself capable of holding his own against the British power, and embarked on an Afrikaner policy which if it succeeded would make South Africa Dutch and not British. For this propaganda the necessary funds were forthcoming from the proceeds of taxes on the Rand mines opened up by British subjects in ever-increasing numbers since 1884. Boer attempts to expand beyond the frontier allotted to the state were nipped in the bud, and in 1889, Mr Cecil Rhodes then the leading statesman in Cape Colony took steps to secure for the British Empire the country known to-day as Rhodesia. The British South Africa Company has made mistakes—the greatest being the countenance lent by its officers to the Jameson raid—but it



has rendered huge service to the British cause in South Africa. The Jameson raid, wrong as it was, had its origin in the over-bearing attitude towards British subjects, of the Boer oligarchy which had grown fat on British industry. The Boers, fearful of being swamped by the British, denied all semblance of citizen rights to the Outlanders, and repudiated the suzerainty of Queen Victoria.

After long negotiations it became apparent that the issue would be war, and as the Imperial Government keep no troops in self-governing colonies, ten thousand men were despatched to Natal as a measure of precaution. The Boer Republics—the Orange Free State, with whom we had no quarrel, not less than the Transvaal—saw in that step a menace, and with a temerity which would have been wholly admirable if it had not been a little insane, sent forth an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the British troops within forty-eight hours. There could be but one answer to such a demand. That answer was a war which found us unprepared—to our eternal honour as Sir Wilfrid Laurier has suggested—but the Empire had only to put forth its strength and the fate of the petty Republics was sealed. South Africa's destiny is British, and when the Boers have settled down to self-government under the Union Jack the federation of this group of colonies will be more practicable than it proved to be whilst Dutch pretensions were given free play under a pseudo-Republican régime.

The failure of the federal movement in South

Africa owing to racial prejudice, was not more conspicuous than its failure in Australia during a third of a century owing mainly to provincial jealousies—an equally potent force. In the fifties when federation might have been inaugurated simultaneously with the concession of self-government; when Earl Grey at home and Governor Fitzroy, William Wentworth and Edward Deas Thomson in the colonies, urged its adoption in however tentative a form, Lord John Russell declared that it was premature. It would have been easy to unite the Australian, even the Australasian, colonies for general purposes in 1852; every year of delay strengthened the provincial sentiments of the colonists, permitted frontier customs houses to appear and brought local men to the front who being someone in their own colony were not anxious to assist the creation of a big state which would swamp their personality.

The necessity of federation was shown by the repeated conferences held by the various colonies for the settlement of common questions. New Zealand in any case has never shown much desire to be associated more closely with Australia, and as her own federal system, slender as it was, gave way to a central government in 1875 she was not an encouraging example to set before the Australians. In 1881 Sir Henry Parkes, who had risen from a toy-maker-and-seller to be the chief of Australian statesmen, made an effort to bring the colonies into line, but his efforts were defeated by Victoria. Two years later when the whole of Australia was scared

by the activity of Germany in New Guinea, into consciousness of the dangers latent in separation, a new scheme was advanced and resulted in the creation of a body, without power and invertebrate to the last degree, known as the Federal Council. It was treated with scornful contempt by Sir Henry Parkes, who could not forget the rebuff of 1881.

Had Sir Henry Parkes taken a broad patriotic view of things he would have accepted the Federal Council, poor affair though it was, as a beginning and have built up from it. Four or five years more went by and again Australia was brought face to face with facts by the report of an Imperial officer on the shortcomings of Australian defence arrangements. Once more Sir Henry Parkes moved; a great convention met in Sydney and drafted the Commonwealth Bill of 1891; but the bickerings and pretensions of provincial politicians whose loyalty to the federal movement did not go beyond the lips, occasioned more delay and it really seemed that the new scheme would be as hopeless as its predecessors. Fortunately it was decided to take the matter out of the hands of the politicians and refer it to the people themselves. The referendum left no doubt as to what the people desired; they were cordially in favour of union; the federal bill was safe; the measure was sent to London, passed through the Imperial Legislature in 1900, and on the first day of the new century, Australia entered formally on her new life of nationhood achieved under the auspices of the British flag. She has sur-

mounted her earliest difficulties under the joint control of Lord Hopetoun, the first federal Governor, and Mr Edmund Barton, the first federal Premier. New Zealand remains outside the federation as Newfoundland remains outside the Canadian; but New Zealand has more reason. Twelve hundred miles separate her from Australia, and she prefers to continue to be, what she has for the past decade been, an isolated forcing-house of great social experiments. But socialistic as she is, New Zealand has shown that she is second to none in her loyalty to the Empire, and she is affording the most interesting proof of the compatibility of extreme democracy and thorough Imperialism.

The conditions of progress in India are naturally very different from those which obtain in the great colonies: India is governed despotically but the despotism is one of benevolence. Her viceroys have spared no pains to govern in the interests of India not less than in the interests of Great Britain, and to compass at once the ends of freedom and of security. Essentially unlike the colonies of Australia or Canada as India is however, the movement within her borders has been in the same direction. The wave of Imperialism which swept over the British dominions during the seventies did not leave India high and dry. In 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress by Lord Lytton at a great durbar on the ridge above Delhi. India, the empire of the Moguls, became an empire once again, but an empire within an empire. Lord Lytton's successor Lord Ripon took India

a step along the other road which is characteristic of the time. He made some almost revolutionary changes in freeing the native press from all trammels and calling into existence the elements of local self-government. Leading natives have a larger share in the control of their own affairs to-day than ever before. An informal deliberative assembly whose proceedings are not always wisely directed but which serves the purpose of ventilating grievances legitimate or illegitimate meets every year. Side by side with the development of local self-government, a new source of Imperial strength has appeared in the forces voluntarily held in readiness by the native princes to assist the Central Government whenever occasion demands. The difficulty under which the British Raj has always laboured has been to find sufficient employment in responsible positions for those members of leading families who in other days would have been called upon to govern and to fight. Idle hands must be ever ready for mischief in India as elsewhere. Lord Curzon, the present viceroy, had made a material advance by providing military employment for a number of cadets of princely and aristocratic families, a step which received the cordial approval of the King Emperor in the first year of his reign.

In India as in other directions the interval between the Mutiny and the death of Queen Victoria was one of consolidation and progress. It was also a period of expansion. Under the Crown the frontiers of India have been considerably extended; the rest of Burmah has been annexed

owing to the intrigues of the King with the French, and the north-west frontier has been pushed further back into mountain recesses in response to the movements of Russia in Central Asia. In 1878 India was involved in a second costly and disastrous but not inglorious war in Afghanistan, ending in the placing of the British nominee Abdurrahman on the throne at Kabul, where he remained in reasonable security till his death. Nor is it only in India that expansion has been witnessed. A quarter of a century ago, Africa was the dark continent. To-day it is parcelled out among the European powers into spheres of influence. The scramble for Africa on the East and the West, on the North and the South was maintained during the eighties and part of the nineties unremittingly. British possessions in Nigeria, in Central Africa, in Uganda are flanked by French, German, Portuguese and Belgian, and the responsibilities they involve would in themselves be no mean charge if they were the whole instead of a tithe of British Colonial cares. In 1882 Great Britain was left single-handed to rescue Egypt from rebel clutches, and fifteen years later she disposed of Mahdism in the Soudan. She has regenerated Egypt, and her control extends along the whole length of the Nile. Some day it is the ambition of statesmanship to place Cairo in the North in direct telegraphic and railway communication with Cape Town in the South!

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE FUTURE—IMPERIAL FEDERATION—COLONIAL SUGGESTION—ROYALTY AND THE COLONIES

THE story of the Empire is a sort of old-fashioned three-volume novel. The first volume closed with the secession of the American colonies; the second volume will close with the embodiment of Imperial unity in some form of federation; the third volume, to be issued long after the two first, will deal with the achievements of Federal Britain.

The Imperial Federation movement is now of quite respectable age. Disintegrationist theories were not wholly stamped out till the eighties. Steadily combatted by the Royal Colonial Institute, founded in 1869, they were finally disposed of by the band of active and eloquent propagandists who formed the Imperial Federation League. The late Mr W. E. Forster, its first president, prepared the way for Lord Rosebery as propagandist and Mr Chamberlain as a more practical contributor to Imperial Unity. The country was taught to understand that federation is not only a glorious ideal in itself but is necessary on purely material and selfish grounds. Lord Rosebery did not go too far when he said in 1889 "that the existing arrangement, or lack of arrangement between Great Britain and the great self-governing colonies was little better than a fool's bargain. On the

one hand, you (the British tax-payer) pay for everything and that is a fool's bargain for you ; on the other the colonies may be dragged into war without a voice in the matter and that is a fool's bargain for them."

The way out of the difficulty was to draw up a scheme which would regularise the relations of the members of the Empire instead of leaving them dependent on wholly sentimental bonds, but the league concluded that its business was to educate the public to an ideal, not to draft constitutions. Lord Salisbury, who has consistently advocated a cautious policy in regard to Imperial federation, invited the league to formulate a plan and it went to pieces in its efforts to be practical. For a year or two then Lord Rosebery continued to advocate the cause, but in 1896 grew weary of it and declared in effect that the movement had been carried far enough. Mr Chamberlain appeared upon the scene as Colonial Secretary and whilst hearing on every hand that Imperial Federation was "a vain and empty dream," he pointed out that dreams of that kind, which have so powerful an influence on the imagination of men have somehow or other an unaccountable way of getting themselves realised in their own time. "If," said Mr Chamberlain, "it be a dream, it is a dream that appeals to the highest sentiments of patriotism, and even to our material interests. I think myself that the spirit of the time is, at all events, in the direction of such a movement. How far that will carry us no man can tell, but, believe me, upon the temper and tone in which we approach



the solution of the problems that are now coming upon us depend the security and maintenance of that world-wide dominion, that edifice of Imperial rule, which has been slowly built up for us by those who have gone before."

Mr Chamberlain's years at the Colonial Office have been memorable in our history, but they would be more memorable still if it should prove, as might easily be the case, that from them sprung some definite scheme of Imperial federation. He has spared no pains to make the road clear, and he once advanced four propositions which should be subscribed to by all Imperial federationists. "First, there must be a universal desire among all the members of the Empire for a closer union between the several branches, that, in their opinion as in ours, being desirable, nay, essential for the existence of the Empire as such. My second proposition is, that experience has taught us that this closer union can be most hopefully approached in the first instance from its commercial side. My third proposition is, that the suggestions which have hitherto been made to us, although we know them to have been made in good part, are, when considered from the point of view of British interests, not sufficiently favourable to be considered by this country. My fourth proposition is, that a true Zollverein for the Empire, that a free trade established throughout the Empire, although it would involve the imposition of duties against foreign countries, and would be in that respect a derogation from the high principles of free trade and from the practice of the United Kingdom up

to the present time, would still be a proper subject for discussion, and might probably lead to a satisfactory arrangement if the colonies on their part were willing to consider it."

That the colonies are ready for closer union can hardly be doubted. As long ago as 1884 Mr Service of Victoria, then premier, urged that some day as the result of colonial contributions to Imperial defence, colonial statesmen might sit in the Imperial legislature. What Mr Service said in 1884, Sir Wilfrid Laurier repeated in 1897. In 1900 when the colonies were sending men in their thousands to fight for the Empire, as they continued to send them to the end of the war in South Africa, the Canadian premier laid down in emphatic terms the conditions of future colonial assistance. "If you wish to command our help, call us to your councils." According to Adam Smith "the Assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it." That is also the colonial view advanced in response to Imperial invitation and Imperial needs.

The two main stumbling-blocks to federation are the question of the existing Imperial parliament and the question of tariffs. Most stay-at-home Britons, it is to be feared, regard federation as something which will add new lustre to the Imperial Crown without involving any sacrifice on their part; most colonists see in it a means of acquiring a status greater in dignity, fuller in opportunity, than would be attainable under

separation, at less cost and less risk than separation would involve. That these colonies will be called upon or will feel themselves called upon to contribute more to the Imperial Defence Fund than they contribute now seems certain. But to contribute to Imperial funds is to advance an irresistible right to representation at Westminster. Colonial representation spells revolution. To take any step which would supersede the present Imperial Parliament by reducing it to the level of the Canadian or Australian legislature would be opposed by those who feel that the greatness of Britain is bound up with her parliamentary régime. But there should be no need to supersede it. Why not delegate its domestic functions to a local body which would be to the British Isles what the Dominion Parliament is to Canada, and then enhance the importance of the Imperial side by making it a representative Imperial legislature? The question of tariffs ought not to prove an insuperable obstacle; the colonies would welcome a preferential arrangement, and it should only be necessary to make it clear that free trade will exist in future throughout the British Empire to commend the scheme to the Cobdenite as an extension of the free trade principle. The foreigner might enjoy equally favoured terms by granting British traders preference in his own markets. Reciprocity would then become a possibility which it is not to-day.

The question of Imperial defence is at once the most pressing and the easiest to solve of Imperial problems. "Of all the Powers of the

world," to quote Sir John Colomb, "our Empire is the only one without machinery providing supreme administrative control over all the resources under its flag." What those resources are on the military side has been demonstrated in an almost sensational manner in the South African War. The colonies have afforded splendid proof that their readiness to help the mother country was not the idle talk some people imagined.

Our eyes have been opened to the merits of the irregular forces of the Empire, of our own volunteers and yeomanry not less than of the forces supplied by Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. It has always been said by experts that there was in the colonies the finest military material in the world. On various occasions the colonial forces have faced local risings and triumphed against considerable odds. Sir Bevan Edwards' remark on one occasion, that he would desire nothing better, if war broke out, than to be placed in command of ten thousand Australians, and told to go where he liked and do what he liked with them, has been illustrated in many a sharp tussle in South Africa. It has been too much the habit of superiority at home to pooh-pooh colonial military efforts, just as it has been our custom to regard our volunteers as toy soldiers. Again and again the colonies have declared their readiness to put a force in the field to aid the mother country in a crisis. It has been asserted that the experiment made by the late William Bede Dalley in 1885 would not be repeated, and there was certainly

no definite assurance that it would. When Canada, in 1896, offered a perfectly equipped regiment to Her Majesty's Government in the event of war, Mr Arnold Foster regarded the proposal as humorous, and said he had never been able to discover where the regiment was formed or where it was quartered. That it was formed and quartered in the sturdy hearts of the Canadian people seems never to have occurred to him. He associated the offer with the negotiations then in process for a British grant in aid of a Canadian telegraph and shipping enterprise!

Imperial federation would regularise what is now irregular, and place Imperial defence on a footing hitherto impracticable. It would bring within the range of the practical the aspiration of the Hon. Robert Reid—an aspiration which is apparently shared by Mr Brodrick—that under the ægis of the Imperial Government there should be constituted an Australian Army Corps, a South African Army Corps, and a Canadian Army Corps. The Empire would soon become a concrete reality, in place of the sentimental concatenation it now is. Government of the Empire by the Empire for the Empire, to quote Sir Frederick Young's excellent adaptation of the familiar phrase, is an inspiring ideal, dependent for its realisation only on the common sense and good-will of all parties.

Of all the binding forces of the Empire the greatest has probably been loyalty to the Crown. Queen Victoria was the good mother of the Empire, and the fact that His Majesty Edward

VII. included in his title the words, "King of all the British dominions beyond the seas," is a tribute to the beneficent Imperialism of her reign. One of her legacies was the visit of the Heir-apparent and his Consort to the colonies last year, when the occasion was seized to convey from the King the assurance that his interest in the colonies is as vital as was hers and that he will not fail to follow in her footsteps. The tour served to demonstrate, as the Jubilee of 1887 and the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 had demonstrated, that the crown was not only, as Mr John Morley has said, the "outward and visible symbol of the historic continuity of our nation," but the pivot of Imperial unity. In a succession of admirable little speeches the Prince showed that he was conscious of the important character of his mission. He was the Envoy Extraordinary from the King to the most distant parts of the Empire, and upon his mind and that of the colonies the tour has left the deepest and most valuable impressions.

The seven months' trip placed him in touch with present realities — and past. No such congeries of states as he visited within the Empire was ever before loyal to a single sovereign. Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, Ceylon, Singapore, Mauritius; Australia, New Zealand, Natal, Cape Colony, Canada, Newfoundland, let the mind dwell for a moment on all that they symbolise. The very seas ploughed by the *Ophir* seem to speak of other empires, of the Phœnician, the Saracen, the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French. France alone remains mistress of any consider-

able extent of over the sea territory, but Algeria and Tonkin are flanked by Egypt and India to remind her of the might-have-been. The reception everywhere accorded the Prince induces a wish that the King himself could undertake a similar tour. At the Coronation ceremonies His Majesty will have been brought into personal touch with the men who are moulding the future of Greater Britain. The enthusiasm of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee could hardly be exceeded even by the Coronation festivities, but they might easily be eclipsed by the demonstration which would greet the King if he appeared in Australia or Canada, India or South Africa. The Prince of Wales went to Australia to open the first federal Parliament; it is not, perhaps, impossible—certainly all patriotic prayers must be—that His Majesty may be given his opportunity, ere many years are over, of going round the Empire to celebrate the attainment of Imperial federation. Such a tour would be the most remarkable in history.

## SOME BEST BOOKS ON IMPERIAL HISTORY.

For those who care to pursue the study of Imperial History further, I append a few of the best books on the subject, the majority of which are available in most public libraries or are purchasable for a few shillings.

- "Problems of Greater Britain." By Sir Charles Dilke. Macmillan.
- "The Expansion of England." By Sir John Seeley. Macmillan.
- "Imperial Federation." By Prof. Parkin. Macmillan.
- "A Short History of British Colonial Policy." By Hugh E. Egerton. Methuen.
- "Historical Geography of the British Colonies." By C. P. Lucas. Methuen.
- "Report on Canada." By Lord Durham. Methuen.
- "History of Canada." By W. Kingsford. Kegan Paul.
- "Canada" (Story of the Nations Series). Unwin; and  
"Canada, 1760-1900" (Cambridge Historical Series).  
Clay. Both by Sir John G. Bourinot.
- "Montcalm and Wolfe." By George Parkman. Macmillan.
- "The Fight with France for North America." By A. G. Bradley. Constable.
- "South Africa." By Basil Worsfold. Methuen.
- "History of South Africa." By G. M. Theal.
- "History of Australia" and "History of New Zealand."  
By G. W. Rusden. Melville, Mullen & Slade.



- "The Long White Cloud" (New Zealand). By W. Pember Reeves. Horace Marshall.
- "The West Indies" (Story of the Nations Series). By James Rodway. Unwin.
- "The West Indies." By H. Fiske. Putnam.
- "The British Colonies, 1837-1897." By the Rev. W. Greswell. Blackie.
- "A Scheme for Imperial Federation." By G. C. Cunningham. With Introduction by Sir F. Young. Longmans.
- "A Brief History of the Indian Peoples." By Sir W. W. Hunter. Frowde.
- "British Dominion in India." By Sir Alfred Lyall. Murray.
- Rulers of India Series. "Clive." By Colonel Malleson.
- "Warren Hastings." By Captain Trotter.
- "Lawrence." By Sir C. Aitchison. "Dalhousie." By Sir W. W. Hunter. Frowde.
- "The Growth of the Empire." By A. W. Jose. Murray.
- "The Building of the Empire." By A. T. Story. Chapman & Hall.
- "The Expansion of the British Empire." By W. H. Woodward. Cambridge University Press.
- Builders of Greater Britain. "Sir Walter Raleigh." By Martin S. Hume. "Admiral Phillip." By Louis Becke and Walter Jeffrey. Unwin.
- "The Great Company" (Hudson's Bay). By Beckles Willson. Smith, Elder.
- "Cabot's Discovery of North America." By G. E. Weare. Macqueen.
- "A History of Newfoundland." By D. W. Prowse.

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