HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

The Beginnings of English Colonisation

Of all those great movements which mark the beginning of what we call Modern Times, such as the Revival of Learning, the Reformation, and the development of strong monarchies ruling over national states, perhaps the most striking is the great series of discoveries which opened the New World and the distant East to the trade and settlement of Western Europe. During the Middle Ages the Mediterranean had been the highway of the world, and the Italian states became immensely wealthy, producing the greatest bankers, traders, and navigators in Europe. The new discoveries soon transferred both wealth and power to those nations which lived on the shores of the Atlantic, and made the Mediterranean little more than an inland lake. The old trade routes from India and the East, by caravan across the desert or by ship up the Red Sea, had been badly interrupted by the Turkish conquests, and merchants began to think of a new route to the East by which they might more safely import the familiar spices used in daily cookery. The revival of learning soon showed that the ancients knew more of geography than mediæval man, and, fired by the re-discovery of old maps, people began once more to speculate on the shape of the world, and the possibility of reaching the Indies by sailing towards the west.

The Portuguese, however, determined to try another route, and with the help of Italian seamen, and with Italian instruments and charts, they sought to re-open the way around Africa, which story said had been known in days of old. The coast of Africa itself was

Portuguese discoveries.

forbidding, and at first few dared to sail into the unknown tropics, but in 1419 Prince Henry the Navigator built his palace at Cape St. Vincent, whence he could overlook the sea, and spent his life encouraging his sailors in their task. Cape "No Further" was passed, and year after year ships came sailing back bringing reports of new lands discovered and new wonders seen. Though Prince Henry died long before the discoveries were completed, his energy had shown men the way, and his bold spirit drove them on until in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Storms, and frightened at the terrific gales he met, came back to tell of his success. Realising the importance of his discovery, the King of Portugal renamed the new land the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1495 sent Vasco da Gama, who passed the Cape, touched at Natal on Christmas Day, and reached India in May of the following year. Thus, after eighty years' courageous venture, the Portuguese had at last opened a sea route to India and the East, and for many years they held a monopoly of it.

Spanish discoveries.

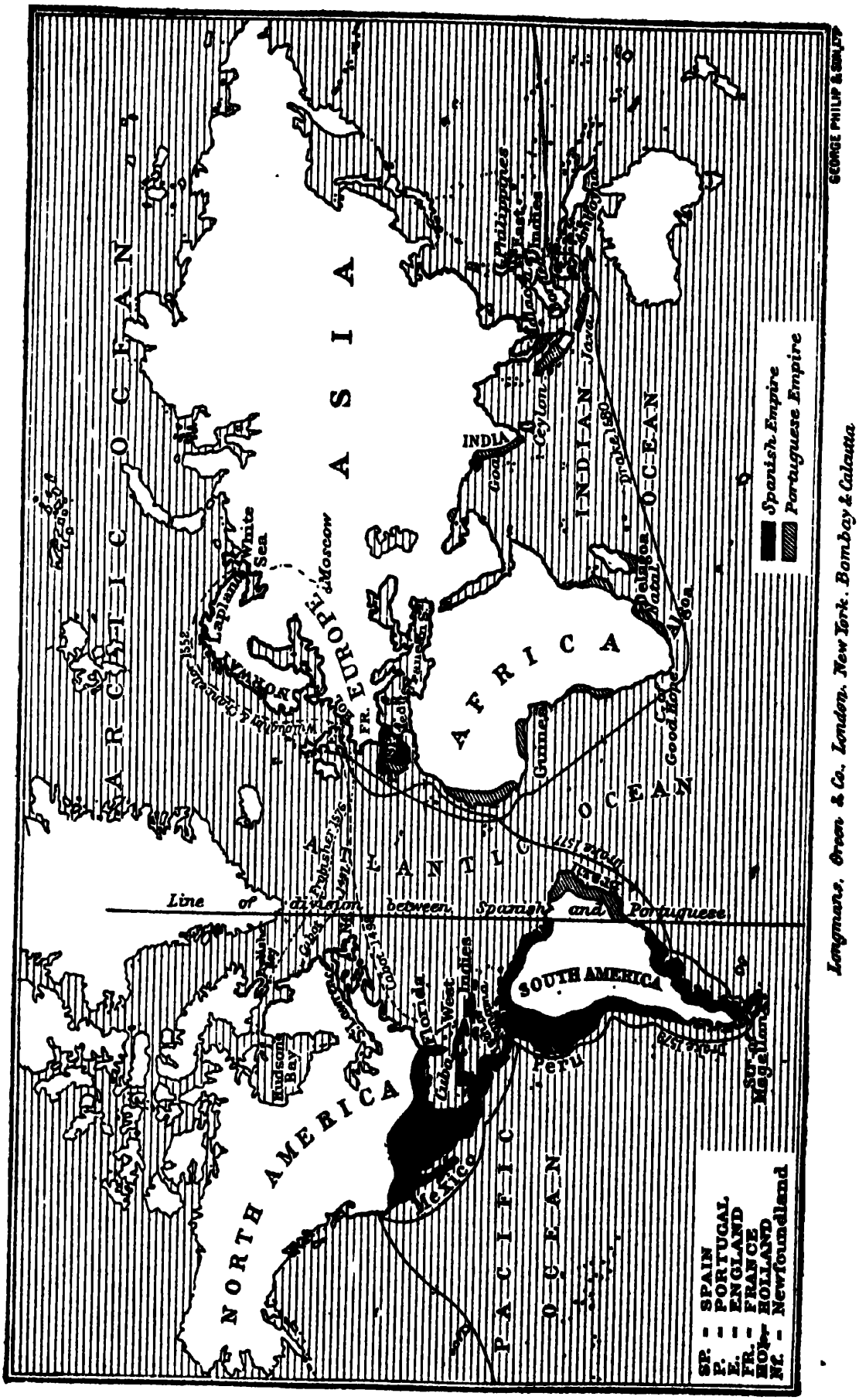
While the Portuguese were searching the coast of Africa the Spaniards tried another route. Old legend spoke of an island out in the Atlantic, and men began again to believe the old teaching that the world was round: they thought that by sailing westward they would ultimately reach India. Though not the only holder of these ideas, Christopher Columbus, an Italian, managed to persuade Ferdinand and Isabella to assist him: in 1492 he set sail with the double intention of converting the Grand Khan of China, and opening a western route to the East. Picking up the north-east trade wind, he stood across the Atlantic and reached the West Indies on October 12, 1492. In all his three voyages Columbus never reached the mainland of North America, though he discovered most of the West Indian islands and part of South America. He firmly believed that he had reached the East Indies, and died without knowing that he had really discovered a new continent. Later discoverers, however, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and found the South Sea (the Pacific), and were then reluctantly forced to realise that another great ocean lay between them and their long-sought goal.

Spain was not long in putting her new discoveries to use: she neglected the smaller outlying islands, but quickly settled Cuba and Hispaniola. Thence the Spaniards spread to the mainland, and fascinated by tales of wealth Cortes and a few comrades pressed on to Mexico City, and with the help of some native allies conquered the country, but he utterly destroyed the great city and its wonderful civilisation. Soon other Spaniards settled on the Isthmus, and another great leader, Pizarro, hearing of the riches possessed by the Incas of Peru, led a chosen band of comrades to the conquest of that mountainous country. From Peru Pizarro extended his sway southward to Chile, and later still some Spaniards settled on the eastern coast along the River Plate. Thus by the reign of Elizabeth the Spaniards had occupied the larger islands of the West Indies, Mexico, the Isthmus, the northern shore and the whole of the western coast of South America, though their power hardly stretched beyond the Andes. It was not till 1520 that Magellan discovered the Straits that still bear his name, and later the Spaniards forbade any ships to sail in by this back-door. Thus the usual route to Spanish America was by sea to Porto Bello, thence by land across the Isthmus, on a route nearly the same as that now taken by the Canal, to Panama, and so by sea once more.

Portugal and Spain both claimed the lands which they had discovered for themselves, and forbade any other peoples to sail to them at all. These claims were recognised by the Pope in 1493 when he issued a Bull dividing the world by a line running north and south one hundred leagues west of the Azores: thus the two nations started back to back; westward discoveries were to belong to Spain, eastward to Portugal. Next year the line was moved, by agreement, further west, and when in 1500 a Portuguese ship reached Brazil, that country was found to lie on the Portuguese side of the line. Thus Portugal gained a foothold in America. How far the Pope intended to bind other countries is not certain, though Spain and Portugal interpreted the Bull in that light and treated trespassers as mere pirates. But such preposterous claims were all in vain, and the northern nations soon

Papal Bull dividing the world. 1493.

THE WORLD IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



followed the earlier explorers: France, Holland, and England each began to take a share in the new trade and to lay the foundations of an overseas empire.

The Spaniards organised their empire in America with great care. Their main object was to obtain a vast supply of the precious metals, and they adopted a system of compulsory labour in the mines which soon destroyed the wretched Indians whom they forced to work there. The gold of Mexico and the silver from Potosi in Peru poured into the coffers of Spain, and enabled that country for a time to play a great part in the politics of Europe. The attacks of privateers soon forced the Spaniards to protect their shipping, and yearly convoys sailed from Spain—the Flota to Mexico, and the galleons to Carthagena and Porto Bello. Then was held the annual fair at Porto Bello, and the silver from Potosi, which had come on pack-mules across the Isthmus from Panama, was laded on the ships. The two fleets then met at Havana, and standing north picked up the anti-trade wind, sailing home to Spain by way of the Azores. The very regularity of these arrangements, and the clear way in which the prevailing winds marked out the great sea highways, made an attack on the Spanish plate-fleet not a very difficult achievement, and the riches of the New World sometimes found their way into other treasuries than those of the King of Spain.

Organisation of Spanish treasure-fleets.

While these great events were taking place, a change was coming over England which was soon to fit her to take her share in the spoils of the new discoveries. In 1487, when Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape, England was still a country of little account on the very outskirts of Europe. Her people were bold sailors and skilful fishermen, her richest industry was the woollen trade, but primarily England was an agricultural country, and her general prosperity had suffered much from a long series of civil wars. With the accession of Henry VII in 1485 these struggles came to an end, and under the Tudors England was soon to gain an efficient administrative system, and to learn once more the rule of law. Under the Tudors too there continued to grow that keen feeling of nationality which expressed itself so strongly in the

Elizabethan age. Though at first the Reformation threatened to split England in two, yet the feeling of nationalism triumphed and the Reformation gave a religious excuse to the growing desire for plundering the wealth of Spain. Thus nationalism and the reformed religion joined to urge England into a war with Spain.

The English Navy.

Under the watchful care of the Tudors the foundations of England's naval power were securely laid. In old days the royal ships were the private property of the King, and on Henry V's death were actually sold to pay his personal debts. Under the Tudors, however, the Navy was steadily improved, and though royal ships were still hired out to merchants for trading voyages, the ship of war became a special type of vessel. Henry VII built new ships and tried to buy others from the Spaniards, but it is to his son that the great improvement in the Navy was due. Henry VIII was genuinely interested in his fleet; he delighted to wear full naval rig with the officer's badge of rank, the golden whistle, and he took personal notice of the design and trials of his new ships. He brought over Italians to improve the building, he increased the size of men-of-war, and arranged for a bounty to encourage the building of merchantmen, then as always the true basis of real sea-power. Armament, too, underwent a change, and Henry favoured fewer and heavier guns instead of the many light and ineffective weapons which ships had carried heretofore. Henry also reorganised the administration of the Navy by creating a Navy Board in 1546, which was responsible for the administrative work under the Lord High Admiral. Though Elizabeth preferred diplomacy to the use of force, she maintained the strength of her fleet, and even arranged a compulsory form of insurance. The pay of the different ratings aboard ship was graduated, and a small proportion was deducted regularly and paid into the Chatham chest. From this fund widows and orphans, and also disabled seamen, could obtain some relief. The ships of this period were clumsy and very unlike a sailing ship of to-day. They had two or three masts, rigged with square sails, and a lateen sail on the aftermast. High fore and aft castles, and fighting tops on the masts, were forts from which the soldiers

fired at their enemy, while the heavy guns pounded the side of the enemy ship. In a sea-way the handling of these top-heavy ships was not easy, but the skill and courage of the sailors overcame great difficulties: the ships could not sail close to the wind, and if the winds were contrary often spent many weeks trying to beat against them. The ship was sailed by the master, who was the navigating officer, but she was commanded by the captain, often a soldier, and the fighting of the ship was done by him. By Elizabeth's reign the Navy was a powerful weapon, well gunned and manned, and ready to take its part in the destruction of the Armada and the subsequent fight against Spain.

In another way, too, England was changing: her seamen were beginning to push out on longer voyages, seeking new trade routes, while at home new trading companies were being formed to discover new countries and open trade with them. At first only small attempts were made; the Cabots sailed from Bristol with a patent from Henry VII and discovered land near Cape Breton Island. Thence began those fisheries which were such a nursery for English seamen. From Plymouth, too, sailed William Hawkins on a voyage to Guinea and Brazil. But Englishmen were haunted with the desire to find a route to the Indies for themselves, and so to emulate both Spaniards and Portuguese. They determined to seek for it in another direction, and so in 1553 a company was formed which sought for a North-East passage to India; after incredible hardships Chancellor reached Archangel, travelled by sleigh across the snow to Moscow, and arranged with the Czar to open up direct trade relations with Russia. On his return to England the Russia Company was formed, which for many years traded through Archangel, and later through the Baltic, when the Russian capture of Narva gave them a port on that sea. For a short time the Company even opened up a direct overland trade with the East. Besides its trading business the Russia Company did not forget its original function of discovery, and it encouraged Frobisher's attempt to find a North-West passage and Gilbert's proposed settlement of Newfoundland. Several other companies

New trading companies.

The Russia Company. 1553.

Levant Company. 1581.

soon followed. The Levant Company in 1581 began to trade with Persia through the Mediterranean, while, in attempting to open another route, this Company formed the East India Company, whose fame soon eclipsed that of its parent. These various trading companies each received a charter from the Crown granting them a monopoly of the right to trade within a certain area: often, however, they were troubled by "interlopers" or smugglers, who trafficked within the special zone, although they were not members of the Company.

East India Company. 1600.

Despite this trade activity along eastern routes, English interest was turning to America. The fabulous stories of Spanish wealth made men long to trade with those regions, or at least to plunder the Spanish treasure-ships, while the dreams of a western route to India still haunted men's minds for over a century. Explorers, traders, privateers, and would-be settlers are all found among the early English seamen, but the age of Elizabeth is essentially the age of the privateer. At first the English had been held back from western enterprise by many things: the religious strife at home was at first a hindrance, while the success of the eastward trade was sufficient to keep the merchants well employed. The Papal Bull was not without its influence, and Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain tended to confirm it. But the long line of creaking waggons laden with silver bullion from South America, which Philip sent to the Tower to reform the English coinage, stirred men's imagination, and, when Elizabeth became Queen, interest in American ventures grew quickly. Though she was forced to play a careful game, and at first to look with disfavour on her robber seamen, events pushed the Queen along the road of a breach with Spain. The Huguenots in France, and the Dutch fighting for religious and political independence against Spain, both looked to Elizabeth for help, and, almost in her own despite, she found herself the open champion of the Reformation, face to face with the power of Spain. The great challenge came in 1588, when the Armada sailed up the Channel to transport Spanish troops from the Low Countries for the invasion of England. The English fleet lay waiting in

The Armada. 1588.

Plymouth Sound until the Spaniards had passed by, and then harried the lumbering galleons all up the Channel until they anchored off Calais. There the English attacked the close-anchored lines with fire-ships, and terrified at their danger the Spanish captains cut their cables and stood out into the North Sea in grave disorder. "God blew, and they were scattered," says the Armada medal, and but few of the fleeing ships escaped around the rocky coasts of Scotland and so home to Spain. This great victory was the turning-point in the struggle with Spain: Englishmen now rather despised the power of their enemy, and the piratical raids into the West Indies became lawful expeditions, for open war between England and Spain continued until James I made peace in 1604.

The search for a new way to India led Martin Frobisher in 1576 to attempt a north-west route, but though he explored the shores of Labrador his only cheer was a find of spiders, "which, as many affirm, are signs of great store of gold." Two other voyages proved equally disappointing, but explorers did not readily give up the quest. Off Newfoundland the fisheries were growing, and Humphrey Gilbert planned a settlement there which was ultimately to spread southward and turn the Spaniard out of America, but it only ended in failure. Returning homeward in 1583, he stoutly refused to leave his ship, the *Squirrel*, and was lost at sea with all hands. Said Gilbert: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." Of such stuff were the Elizabethan seamen made.

Westward voyages: Martin Frobisher.

Humphrey Gilbert.

The keynote of the Elizabethan age is the heroic struggle with Spain, and of this struggle Francis Drake was the popular hero. A Devon man, around his life and doings there grew a tradition which caused every Spaniard to tremble in his shoes, while in Plymouth men still believe that in time of danger they will hear his drum, and that Drake will come again to save his country. From early days he took part in privateering expeditions to the West Indies, and when in 1573 he caught sight of the Pacific from the heights of Panama he knelt and prayed God "to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship upon that sea."

Francis Drake.

The chance came a few years later: setting sail from Plymouth in 1577, he reached the forbidden South Sea through the Straits of Magellan. Driven south and east by storms, he discovered Cape Horn, and then working back into the Pacific he captured the annual treasure-ship off Panama. He then returned to England round the Cape—the first Englishman to circumnavigate the world. Despite the protests of the Spanish Ambassador, the Queen smiled upon his enterprise and knighted him on his return. Drake was now the English champion: in 1587 he sailed boldly into Cadiz harbour and "singed the King of Spain's beard," by burning the store-ships assembled there. Next year he played an important part in the defeat of the Armada, and at last, in 1595, both Drake and his friend Hawkins died during a raid on the West Indies, and were buried at sea in Nombre de Dios Bay.

Courtier and scholar, a man of great ideas and wide sympathies, Sir Walter Raleigh is a different sort of man from Drake, but he is no less a typical Elizabethan. Though anxious to prosecute the war with Spain he realised that more could be done by imitating them in "planting" colonies than by mere buccaneering expeditions. So he obtained from the Queen permission to "discover barbarous countries, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, or inhabited by Christian people, to occupy and enjoy the same for ever." With careful forethought he sent two ships to reconnoitre, and next year (1585) the *Lyon* and the *Tiger* with five other ships took a party of emigrants to Virginia. The attempt, however, proved a failure; the governor spent his time exploring and prospecting for gold, while the "gentlemen" of the emigrants were disagreeably surprised at the nature of the country and the absence of "dainty food, soft beds of down or feathers." The settlers had been ill chosen, and as they got into trouble with the Indians they were only too willing for Drake to take them home next year. Raleigh's attention was soon after turned to South America. The rumour of the golden city of Manoa, and the possibility of founding a colony in the south, took Raleigh in 1594 on his first voyage to the New World. Pushing up the Orinoco river, Raleigh spent two months in exploring the

Walter Raleigh.

tropical forests, and on his return published a wonderful description of all he had seen. Raleigh's influence ended with the Queen's death: James threw him into prison for taking part in an intrigue against Cecil, and he was only released in 1616 in order to seek once more the golden city of Manoa. Returning from Guiana, weak with sickness and unsuccessful in his quest, the great Elizabethan was executed to satisfy the vengeance of the Spanish Ambassador.

Though there is no break between the reign of Elizabeth and that of James I, yet English enterprise takes on a new character; there were attempts, though unsuccessful, at colonising under Elizabeth, while the game of harrying the Spaniard went on yet for many a year, even after formal peace was made in 1604; but the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth give place to the more prosaic though no less important time of the early Stuarts. This new period is a time of serious colonial settlement and of definite attempts to develop trade as opposed to piracy. The older ideas of discovering a route to the Indies and of finding illimitable store of the precious metals still linger on, but as the colonists took to agriculture and their numbers increased, so the trading interests grew. Again, it was thought that the plantations would afford a refuge for the poor from England, who might win riches in a new land, though at times the steady drain of men from England to America made some thinkers anxious, for there were no accurate statistics in those days and the most alarming guesses were made as to the effect of emigration on the population. Nor must we forget the influence of the missionary ideas of the time, for though they produced little real missionary effort, men always felt that they had a duty to take Christianity to the natives, and this motive for colonisation is repeated in the various charters of the day.

New period: colonisation instead of piracy. 1603.

As Drake is the prophet of sea-power, so Raleigh is the apostle of careful and systematic colonisation. Men set themselves to think out the great problems of colonisation, and the influence of their new ideas is seen in a Dedication to Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, the great chronicler of Elizabethan seamen. Hakluyt explained that his object in

translating the French history of Florida was that Raleigh's colonists might be "forewarned and admonished as well to beware of the gross negligence in providing of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others' mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoid the like." Bacon too thought carefully about the matter, and in his essay *Of Plantations* lays down the best method of founding colonies. Those who undertake the enterprise must not look for an immediate return on their outlay, for at least twenty years are needed for the colonists to settle down. Emigrants must be chosen with skill. "It is a Shameful and Unblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of the People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you Plant. . . . For they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and do Mischiefe, and spend Victuals." The basis of successful colonisation, Bacon explains, is the development of agriculture. The government should be in the hands of a strong governor, with but few councillors, while the promoters of the colony in England should be a "temperate Number," and gentlemen rather than merchants, "for they looke ever to the present Gaine."

The plantations that were now sent out were generally organised by companies formed for the purpose, who obtained a grant of land and powers from the Crown. The Company financed the expeditions and in return looked to make profits from rents and other duties, as well as from the trade which they hoped to develop. Thus the growth of plantations is only another aspect of that trade activity which we have seen at work in the Russia or Levant Company. The colonising companies often came to loggerheads with their colonists, who had all the seventeenth-century Englishman's ideas of liberty and self-government, and objected to the autocratic methods of the Company. After a time some companies lost their charters, and thus the plantation became a "royal" colony, under the direct control of the Crown.

Despite his failure in Virginia, Raleigh had never despaired; "I shall yet see it an English nation," he declared. Fired by his ideas there were formed two companies of merchants in

1606: the London or Virginia Company, for settling the southern shores of North America, and the Plymouth Company, whose sphere lay further north. The London Company sent out its first fleet in 1607, and thus was founded Virginia, the first successful English colony in America. Settling on the River James, the colonists soon found themselves in trouble with the Indians, and in want of food. They were saved from utter disaster by Captain John Smith, a versatile soldier of fortune, who had fought and marched over half the continent of Europe, and who had now come to try his hand as a colonist. Enforcing discipline among the dispirited settlers, he made each man dig and plant foodstuffs while his energetic action saved them from destruction by the Indians. Though Smith soon returned to England and did not come back to Virginia again, he had undoubtedly saved the colony, and he continued to interest himself in the work of plantations and in voyages of discovery. By writing books and pamphlets, and by publishing "hints to settlers," he called the attention of Englishmen to the possibilities of colonial settlement, and emphasised the need for practical knowledge and experience in carrying out their schemes.

Virginia Company. 1606.

After Smith's departure the colony was still in a bad way: sickness and wars with the Indians, quarrels between the settlers and their martinet of a governor, and friction between them and the Company, who were not content to wait the twenty years stipulated by Bacon, all hindered development, while the constant intrigues of the Spanish Ambassador added to the troubles of the Company. At last in 1623 an inquiry was held, the Company's charter was cancelled, and thus Virginia became the first royal colony, the "old Dominion."

Virginia Coy. loses its charter. 1623.

Virginia was saved not by the loss of its charter and its transfer to the Crown, but by the cultivation of tobacco as a staple crop, and in a short time its planters became a wealthy aristocracy. At first the introduction of tobacco into England was regarded by most men with horror, and tobacco-smoking was loathed as opium-smoking is to-day. James I published a violent attack on smoking;

Tobacco.

"there cannot be a more base, and yet hurtful corruption in this countrey, than is the vile use or rather abuse of taking Tobacco," wrote the King. Another writer declared: "Men beganne to grow mad and crazed in the brain in that they would adventure to suck the smoke of a weed . . . at all times, feasting and fasting, in health as well as sicknesse, without regard held to persons, ages, sexes, times, temperatures, moist or dry, hot or cold." But men would smoke, despite the thunders of the moralists, and so the King made the best of a bad bargain, and clapped a heavy import duty on tobacco. A much heavier duty was put on foreign-grown tobacco, and its cultivation in England was strictly forbidden: thus colonial tobacco had a monopoly of the ever-growing English market, and the Crown made a very handsome revenue from the tax. The development of this staple crop had a great effect on the social organisation of Virginia: slaves were soon imported to clear the ground and to cultivate the tobacco plant. Huge plantations sprang up where the planter lived in almost mediæval state, surrounded by his slaves, and many miles from his nearest neighbours. Roads were bad, towns were few and straggling, schools there were hardly any: indeed, in 1671 Governor Berkeley wrote, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years." Political life was backward: under the Company the governor and his council ruled the colony, though in 1619 the governor obeyed instructions and summoned an assembly of elected burgesses. The royal governor, too, used to call assemblies regularly, but despite some quarrels there is no sign of that intense local energy and political independence which was such a marked feature of the New England colonies. Still, in this first colony of Englishmen beyond the seas, a "Parliament" had been called only twelve years after the first settlers had arrived; though its powers were slight and not even defined, its assembly is significant of the outlook of Englishmen in the seventeenth century. It was inconceivable that Englishmen should settle anywhere without having a share in their own government. This feeling has continued, and its development is one of the clues to the story of the British Empire.

Just north of Virginia was planted the colony of Maryland, founded in 1633 by Lord Baltimore by virtue of a charter from Charles I. The proprietor was a Roman Catholic, and though a policy of toleration was adopted, religious quarrels broke out which overthrew Baltimore's authority for a time, until it was restored in 1660. Maryland soon became a prosperous colony, growing tobacco like its southern neighbour.

The second company founded in 1606, the Plymouth Company, was given the right of settling on the northern shores of America, and it was hoped, as the name well shows, that capital would be subscribed in Plymouth and the other western outports. But money did not come in regularly, and even when the Company was reorganised in 1620 as the Council for New England, it did little more than organise fishing voyages, which proved a very useful speculation. Captain John Smith had popularised the name of New England, and was tireless in singing the praises of the country, but it needed a stronger force to start the colonisation of the New England shore. This was found in the growth of the Puritan movement, which started under Elizabeth as a protest against ceremonies and as an attempt at living a stricter life, but soon became such a revolutionary force that it called down on its head the thunders of Church and State. In the first half of the seventeenth century there began a great emigration of Puritans to America, where the new colonists hoped to develop a religious system after their own tastes, but with the growth of political troubles in England Puritan energy found another outlet, and the civil war ended in a Puritan revolution in England itself. The religious ideas of the Puritan colonists tinged their political outlook; they developed a very democratic system of government, and until Charles II took the matter in hand they were practically independent of the home country.

Plymouth Company. 1606.

Puritan movement.

The first colony in New England was founded by a body of Independents or Congregationalists, who had fled to Holland in the days of Elizabeth. Much to their distress they found that their children "by these occasions (and ye great licentiousness of youth

Foundation of New Plymouth. 1620.

in yt countrie) and ye manifold Temptations of the place, were drawne away by evill examples into extravagante, dangerous courses, getting ye raines off their neks and departing from their parents. Some became souldgers, others took upon them farr viages by Sea; and others some worse courses . . . so that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted." They therefore determined to remove bodily to America, and there to found a little community free from the defiling touch of the outside world. A few friends in England subscribed some money, and in 1620 the *Mayflower* sailed from Plymouth and landed the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth, near Cape Cod. The settlers found that they were within the jurisdiction of the New England Council, and so obtained a grant from them. More friends came to join them, and when a few years later the colonists paid off those English friends who had financed the voyage, there was settled at New Plymouth a small organised state, which owed obedience to no one in England except the general allegiance which they owed to the King as Englishmen. For some time they were left quite alone, and they remained a separate colony until absorbed by Massachusetts in 1691.

An event of more importance was the formation, by a number of Puritans in England, of the Massachusetts Company.

Massachusetts Company. 1629.

These men wished to emigrate, and obtained a grant of land from the New England Council, but they thought it wise also to get a charter from the King, by which they were incorporated into a Company. This Company was not the usual type of trading company, where merchants resident in England subscribed for purposes of trade or exploitation; most of the members of this Company were men who proposed actually to settle in the new land. As no restriction had been placed on the meetings of the Company, it was decided that the Company should migrate as a whole to Massachusetts, and a few years later the shares of any members who had remained in England were bought up by the colonists. Thus Massachusetts was like Plymouth, an independent settlement owing obedience to the King alone, but Massachusetts was in a very strong

position. It possessed a charter which guaranteed its right to self-government, and it quickly developed a democratic constitution. The governor was elected annually, and with him were chosen a number of assistants who acted as his council: the assembly at first consisted of all the inhabitants, but as the settlement developed such a meeting became unwieldy, and representatives were chosen by each township. A stream of newcomers continued to arrive until the beginning of the civil war, and by that time Massachusetts was becoming very strong, and even aggressive towards her smaller neighbours.

In New England the settlers lived in small townships, quite unlike the vast plantations of Virginia, for the northern climate was much like that of Old England, and unsuited to the growth of tropical plants. The newcomers had to hew their way through the great forests, and in the clearing around the settlement they grew much the same crops as they had grown at home. Each township was built of log-houses, and surrounded by a palisade for protection against the Indians: within was built the church and the village school. Thus New England was far ahead of Virginia in education, and within six years the colonists had founded Harvard College. Though the Puritans of Massachusetts had emigrated for religious freedom, such freedom was only meant for those who saw eye to eye with them in religious matters. Toleration was thought mere weakness, and the right of citizenship was soon restricted to those who were Church members. Any who disagreed with their religious ideas were quickly bundled out of the colony, and went off to found new settlements of their own: the Quakers especially received most ferocious treatment, being whipped and tortured for their religious beliefs. Massachusetts was thus an austere place, where people took life very seriously; men were fined if absent from church, while to import playing-cards was a serious offence. Work and worship were the two ends of life, and the country soon became a prosperous agricultural community. At first there was little commerce, for the colony had little to export, but Boston soon developed into a port, shipping wood and barrel-staves to Virginia and the West Indies, and

it quickly became one of the most important towns in America. New England produced very little that was needed by the Old Country except masts for shipbuilding, and thus there was never that economic bond which held Virginia and the West Indies so closely to the English markets.

Besides Massachusetts there were a number of little settlements in New England, some of which were absorbed by their stronger neighbours, while others managed to retain their independence, and finally became separate members of the United States. Connecticut was founded partly by sectaries flying from the persecution of Massachusetts, and partly by fresh settlers from the Puritan families of England. One of its townships, Saybrook, was to contain "such houses as may receive men of quality," and the story runs that the great Puritan leaders, Pym and Hampden, were planning to emigrate to America, but that the quarrel over the payment of ship-money turned their thoughts to other things. Connecticut produced a written constitution in which it adopted the institutions of Massachusetts, modified by the rule that a citizen need not be a Church member. This colony was important as an outpost against the Dutch settlement on the River Hudson. In 1662 it absorbed the small settlement of Newhaven. Providence and Rhode Island lay between Connecticut and New Plymouth, and were founded by religious outcasts from Massachusetts. They obtained a charter of incorporation in 1647, and maintained their policy of toleration, much to the chagrin of Massachusetts, who desired to enforce a general policy of rigid uniformity throughout New England. North of Massachusetts lay New Hampshire, a number of small settlements made at different times by merchants and promoters, but the colonists were so weak that, between 1642 and 1643, they were absorbed by the energetic government of Massachusetts. After the Restoration the King forced the larger colony to disgorge New Hampshire, which remained a separate colony thenceforth. Still further north was the last of the English

Other New England Colonies:

(1) Connecticut. 1631.

(2) Providence and Rhode Island. 1635.

(3) New Hampshire. 1635.

(4) Maine. 1623.

coast-line colonies, Maine, founded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1623; Gorges relied on a grant from the King, but other would-be proprietors disputed his title, claiming grants from the New England Council. Here, too, the weaker colony was practically absorbed by Massachusetts, and in 1668 it was definitely annexed by the larger colony. Thus the whole of the coast-line under the control of the New England Council was divided up into little settlements, or large areas awaiting effective colonisation: the Council had done but little to bring this about, and it was dissolved in 1635.

The New England settlements were at first weak and isolated; the thin fringe of townships along the coast or on the river banks were always exposed to sudden Indian raids, or to attacks from the French in Canada, or the Dutch at New Amsterdam. Some form of common effort was a necessity, but it was fear of interference from home that led to the first attempt at union in America. The growth of Archbishop Laud's power, and his known hostility to Puritans, were a source of constant alarm. In 1634 he had been appointed a commissioner for supervising the colonies, and next year an attempt was made to cancel Massachusetts' charter. The colonists grew even more fearful lest the political quarrel in England should spread to America. So in 1643 there was founded the United Colonies of New England, which consisted of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Newhaven, and New Plymouth. A written agreement was drawn up, and the Federation adopted a very independent attitude towards England. There were, however, local quarrels: Massachusetts in particular objected to paying so large a share of expenses, and yet having no larger vote. Though the commissioners continued to meet for some time, the real power of the Federation died out after the Restoration.

New England Federation. 1643.

Meanwhile Englishmen were planting colonies in that centre of the Spanish preserve, the West Indies. The old game of harrying the Spaniard began to give place to a new policy of settlement on the smaller islands, which the Spaniards had neglected in their haste for gold. An offshoot of the Virginia Company had been formed in 1615, to colonise the Somers

West Indies: (1) Somers Island.

Islands (Bermudas), which had been re-discovered by Sir George Somers, who was blown off his course when sailing to Virginia in 1609. The company forced their colonists to trade direct with them, and this caused much discontent; but the islands soon became a market-garden and exported honey, "cabidghoes," and other vegetables to the West Indies or America. The Providence Company, an off-

(2) Old Providence.

shoot of the Somers Company, was formed of Puritan gentlemen with Pym at their head, who tried to build up a colony on the island of Old Providence. The plantation, however, soon got into difficulties, and it was attacked by the Spaniards, who succeeded in capturing the island in 1641. The story of the Providence Company is really part of the great story of the Puritan migration; but a Puritan colony in the West Indies is almost an absurdity, for it could not there develop its typical form of township and local government.

The real interest of the West Indian colonisation belongs to the doings of independent traders and a royalist noble, Lord Carlisle. In 1623 some settlers led by

(3) Leeward Islands.

Thomas Warner, a Suffolk gentleman, landed on St. Christopher and agreed to divide the island with some Frenchmen who arrived soon after. From St. Christopher the English spread to Antigua and Nevis, while Montserrat was settled with Irishmen, and the negroes there speak with an Irish accent to this day. These four islands were called the Leeward Islands. In thus settling on the very outskirts of the Spanish preserves, the French and English felt themselves allied in a great adventure. They drew up a treaty for mutual help against the Spaniard, and agreed not to fight among themselves even if war broke out in Europe. With the Dutch, who were founding trading depots on the neighbouring islands and carrying on a flourishing trade with the Spanish Main, despite the Spaniards' vigilance, both French and English kept on excellent terms. At first almost all their trade was carried in Dutch ships, and Dutchmen began to import negro slaves to the islands. Indigo and tobacco were the first crops grown; and when there was the threat of a glut of tobacco the French and English

governors arranged to restrict their output. In 1617 the newly settled islands were granted by the King to Lord Carlisle, and to him also fell the island of Barbados, which had been already settled by Englishmen. Thus the West Indies became a proprietary colony, but owned by an individual instead of a company. Their wealth and importance were soon increased by the introduction of sugar from Brazil. The great storm which was brewing at home led men of every shade of opinion to emigrate to Barbados, and the island soon had plenty of labour. The local assembly passed a law forbidding the use of provoking terms such as Cavalier or Roundhead, and fining the offender a turkey, which had to be provided for a mutual feast of reconciliation. But the turkey did not succeed in keeping the peace, for after the King's execution Barbados proclaimed King Charles II, and published a Declaration of Independence. This bold defiance could not be overlooked by Parliament, which despatched an expedition under Ayscue to recall the island to obedience (1651). After some time an agreement was reached, and the fleet sailed on to force the Leeward Islands and then Virginia to recognise the Commonwealth. Barbados under a new governor had an uneventful time of great progress, while the labour-market was constantly improved, by Cromwell's policy of sending out captured royalists to work on the sugar plantations, and by the negro slaves brought by the Dutch traders. The success of Ayscue's expedition was followed very soon by a war with the Dutch. Holland was England's trade rival in both the East and West Indies, and Parliament was now itching to use the magnificent fleet which had been built up to defeat Rupert and to reconquer Barbados. A deliberate attack had already been made on the Dutch carrying trade by two Acts of Parliament. That of 1650, passed in connection with the rebellious attitude of Barbados and Virginia, had forbidden any foreign ship to trade with the American colonies. Next year the great Navigation Act was passed. The terms of this Act are most important. (1) Goods from Asia, Africa, or America must be imported into England in ships owned and manned by Englishmen. (2) Goods from

(4) Barbados.

Navigation Act. 1651.

Europe must be imported in English ships, or ships owned by the country in which the goods were made. (3) Foreign goods must be shipped to England direct from the country in which they were manufactured. (4) The English coasting trade was reserved for English shipping. This great law was a shrewd blow at the Dutch, for though they were not great manufacturers, they were the carriers of the world, and as far as England was concerned, this carrying trade was prohibited by the new Act. The Dutch protested in vain, and war broke out in 1652. The war was disastrous to both sides, despite the brilliant victories of Blake, the great soldier-sailor, and of the Dutchman Van Tromp. But the Dutch suffered worse, for England was able to strangle their trade by the hold she kept on the Channel. When peace was made in 1654 it was really a truce, for the great question of sea-power was still unsettled.

Dutch War. 1652-1654.

Though Cromwell's policy of maintaining a strong fleet, and keeping a squadron stationed in the Mediterranean, laid the firm foundations of Britain's sea-power, yet his policy in the West Indies was like a return to the Elizabethan system of buccaneering expeditions. Possessing a strong fleet, he could not bear to see it idle, and he dreamt of employing it on some great design against Spain in the West Indies. That England was at peace with Spain did not matter, the capture of Old Providence in 1641 was a sufficient excuse, and so in 1654 an expedition was secretly prepared and sent off on a "Westward design," under the command of General Venables and Admiral Penn, the father of the great Quaker. The scheme was ill-managed from the start; the soldiers were badly chosen, many of them being raw recruits, and when the expedition landed on Hispaniola it was soon routed by a handful of Spaniards. In despair the expedition fell on the small island of Jamaica, and as there were but few Spaniards in the place it was easily captured. Thus Cromwell's grandiose scheme gave the English another island in the Caribbean Sea, which for some time was a very doubtful gain, and it also led to a lengthy war with Spain. Once again English commerce lay open to the attacks of an enemy, and heavy taxation

Cromwell's Policy.

Capture of Jamaica. 1655.

in England meant grumbling and discontent. At sea the English fleets were gaining further successes, and the Navy was becoming a separate profession. The long period of active service under Cromwell shaped the traditions of that Navy which was to play an ever-increasing part in the development of the empire.

One other important development took place during the Protectorate, and that was the great increase in the power of the merchants. Their influence is seen in the framing of the Navigation Acts, and they were freely employed in the committees appointed at this period, for dealing with the affairs of America. Their papers and letters which still survive show the interest they took in colonial administration and the part they played in influencing appointments and general policy. These merchants admired the organisation and energy of the Dutch, and they were anxious to reorganise the governmental control of colonies and trade on Dutch lines. Their proposals gained the day after the Restoration.

Books.—Hakluyt's account of the great voyages can be obtained in the Everyman Series. There is an edition of selected voyages, edited by Payne and Beesley. Bacon's essay *Of Plantations* should be read by every one. C. P. Lucas, *The Beginnings of English Overseas Enterprise*, tells the story of the early trading companies. R. W. Jeffery, *The Thirteen Colonies of North America*, is a concise and readable account of the early colonies with illustrations. There are biographies of Drake, Raleigh, and Captain John Smith in the English Men of Action Series.

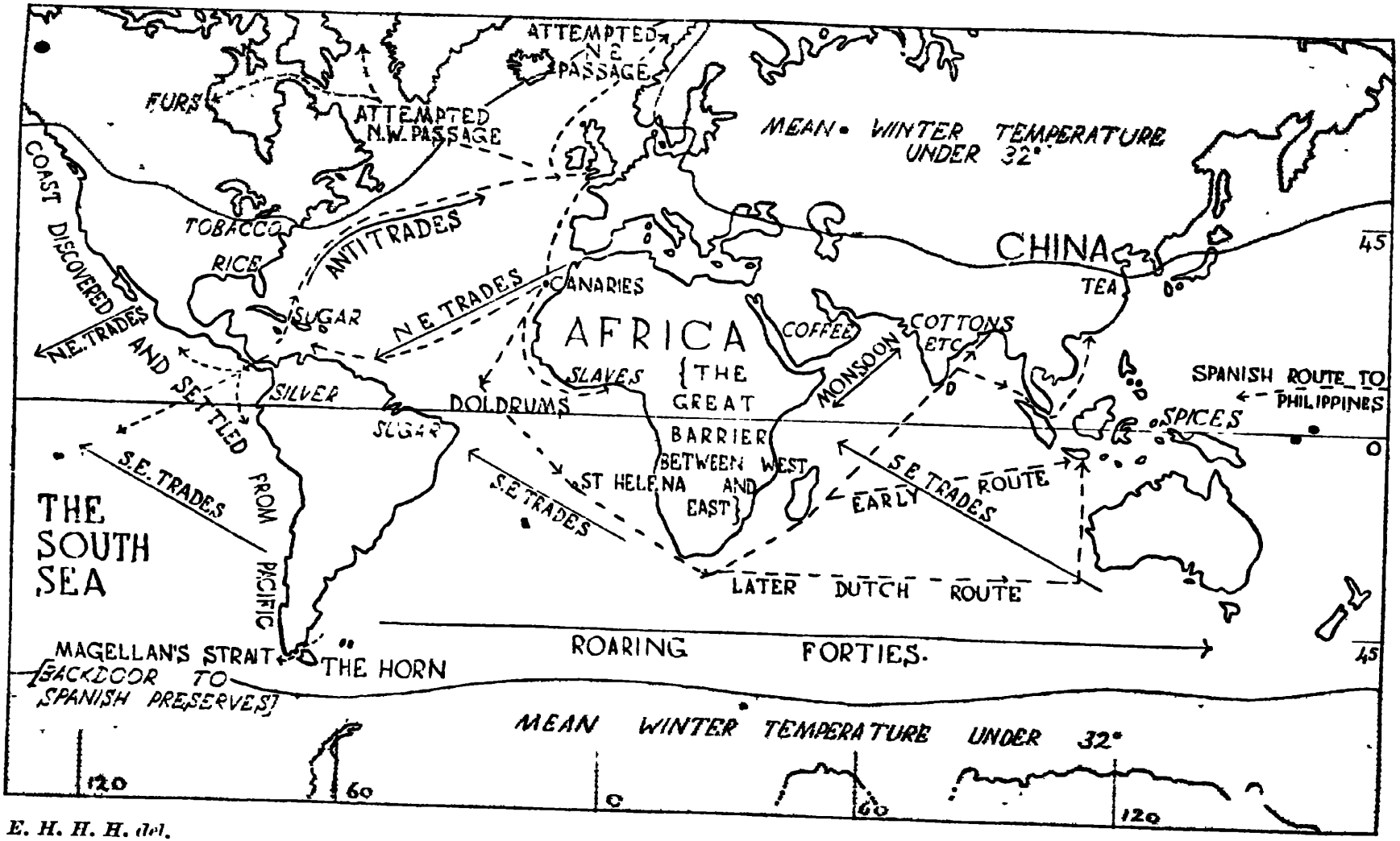
1492. Columbus first reaches America.
1495. Vasco da Gama reaches India by the Cape.
1577. Drake sails round the world.
1606. Virginia Company. [Loses Charter, 1623.]
1620. Pilgrim Fathers found New Plymouth.
1623. Leeward Islands settled by Warner.
1629. Massachusetts Company.
1655. Cromwell's capture of Jamaica.

CHAPTER II

The Organisation of the Old Empire, 1660–1688

THE reign of Charles II is crowded with picturesque events and fascinating mysteries, but amongst the intrigues of the secret Treaty of Dover, and the still unsolved riddles of the Popish Plot, we are apt to overlook the story of the colonies. The truth is that the Restoration period is one of the most important in the development of the Empire; in the twenty-eight years between the landing of Charles at Dover and the flight of his brother James, not only was the Empire enlarged beyond all knowledge, but the whole framework of the old Imperial system was deliberately built up. This organisation took three lines: a code of trade laws was devised to guide trade into those channels which seemed best to the thinkers of that day; secondly, the general control of the colonies was centralised in an efficient committee which established a careful office system; and, thirdly, a regular supply of labour was guaranteed to the colonies by means of a monopolist slave-trading company. This great outburst of colonial activity is due to several causes. During the troublesome days that were past there had been a constant stream of refugees to the West Indies: Barbados, that "little England," had been peopled by Roundhead and Royalist, and then by forced emigrants. This ready supply of labour came at a time when an improved method of sugar manufacture was introduced, and the Barbadian planter became fabulously wealthy. This increased the power of the merchants in England, so that they practically directed the economic and colonial policy of the Protector. Under the Restoration they retained this influence, and even increased it by persuading the King to follow the Dutch example and appoint prominent merchants to a Council of Trade. Though many of the Restoration statesmen were interested in the colonies, two gave special attention to colonial business

Development of the Empire. 1660-1688.



E. H. H. H. del.

Arrows show prevalent winds : dotted lines usual trade routes. The dark portion shows the cold area over which the average winter temperature is below freezing point.

Even while in exile Lord Clarendon had kept in touch with plantation affairs, and at the Restoration he found time to act as leading member of a special committee of the Privy Council for America: as one of the proprietors of the new colony of Carolina, and as the King's chief minister, Clarendon was closely in touch with the reorganisation of the Empire during the early years of Charles II. Lord Shaftesbury was one of the most far-sighted statesmen of his time, and until his fall in 1674 he played an increasing part in colonial affairs; his restless activity, his broad-minded ideas about the value of religious toleration, and his energy in organising colonial ventures such as the plantation of the Carolinas, have left their mark upon the history of the time. Besides these great men, there were a growing number of subordinate officials, the forerunners of our modern civil service, who took a most intelligent interest in their work; their memoranda and papers which they have left behind, and their carefully kept private note-books, show how eager they were to obtain information about the conditions in the colonies from every source.

Economic ideas of the period.

The growth of the colonies had led men to think more carefully about their value and the part they should play in the trade of the Mother Country. In those days the mere presence of a mass of precious metal in a country was regarded as very desirable, for gold alone, and not goods, was considered as true wealth. The economist of the day proposed to obtain this end by regulating the trade of the country in such a way as to "sell more to others yearly than we buy of them in value." Thus it was thought that the balance would be made up by the import of gold or silver, and so the country would grow rich. This is known as the Mercantilist system, in contrast to the idea of the Bullionist who would obtain his end by the direct regulation of the import and export of bullion, instead of by regulating trade. Though the mercantilist was feeling after a true theory of trade, his ideas were crude, and he missed the true explanation that metals too are a commodity, and that a constant inflow of the precious metals into one country would infallibly send up the price of all other commodities.

The desire to rival the Spaniard and discover rich mines had been an important cause of early colonisation; in Virginia it had been a case of "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, work gold, refine gold, and load gold." But the failure to find the precious metals forced the colonies to adopt the sounder plan of agriculture, and the mercantilists began to apply their idea of the balance of trade to the colonies. Colonies, they thought, were of no value if foreigners were allowed to trade with them; this would mean loss of wealth to England and decay of shipping. Nor were colonies useful if they produced the same things as the Mother Country, for then they would not form a market for English goods, and might even compete with England itself. Those colonies were best which grew things not obtainable in England; thus the tropical colonies were the most favoured—the West Indies for their sugar, and Virginia for its tobacco. The New England colonies were regarded as rivals, while the East India trade was looked upon with suspicion as it brought in "luxuries," and tended to drain out gold instead of goods in exchange. On the basis of these theories were built up the Navigation Laws; and under this system the colonies were controlled until the early nineteenth century, when men's ideas of the laws of wealth had undergone a complete change and the whole system was swept away.

Cromwell had attempted to exclude the Dutch from the carrying trade, but now a regular code of trade laws was drawn up. The ideal was a self-supporting Empire, the colonies producing the raw materials, and England manufacturing all necessary goods, supplying the colonies and exporting the surplus to Europe. The Act of 1651 was reinforced by the great Navigation Act of 1660, and the new Enumeration clause named a number of commodities, such as sugar, indigo, tobacco, and later rice, which could only be shipped direct to England. These enumerated commodities were just those tropical products which England needed either for her own consumption or for re-export to the Continent at a large profit. Thus England became the mart for colonial produce, and in 1663, by the Staple Act, she was made the depôt

The organisation of the Empire. A. The Navigation Code.

from which all goods were shipped to the colonies, for, with few exceptions, nothing might be sent thither which was not laded in an English port. Finally, in 1673, the plantation duties were imposed, by which goods shipped from one colony to another paid on export the same duty which they would have paid if imported into England. This Act was designed to prevent the smuggling of enumerated goods to foreign markets. In addition to these laws all colonial goods paid an import duty in England, but were protected against foreign competition by high tariffs.

Under the navigation system both Scotland and, to a large extent, Ireland, were excluded from the benefits of plantation trade, and the Scotch Parliament soon took action by way of reprisals. It passed a Navigation Act excluding Englishmen from the Scottish coasting trade, and in 1695 tried to form a colony of its own at Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama. The Scots hoped to gain a large share in the trade with India, by way of the Pacific, but the Company was ill-managed, the settlers were thinned by disease and by attacks of the Spaniards, and in 1700 the Company collapsed. Stung by this failure, and by their exclusion from English colonial trade, the Scotch Parliament passed the Act of Security in 1703, refusing to recognise George I as Anne's successor unless they were granted the same rights of trade as Englishmen. A scare ensued, the frontier fortresses were garrisoned, and it looked as if the quarrel might come to blows, but after some negotiation the Act of Union (1707) was adopted. Thus two separate kingdoms, united only by the chance that they had the same king, became the United Kingdom with a common flag, a common Parliament, and common rights of trade.

The plantations, however, were treated differently, for "English" was specially defined as including colonial, and under the protection of the Navigation Laws colonial, and especially New England, shipping developed very fast. At first the Act of 1660 was strongly criticised. Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbados, complained that the ports of the Leeward Islands, hitherto dependent upon the Dutch, were destitute of shipping, while the Barbados Assembly protested

against the plantation duties, explaining "how impracticable it was for them (Parliament) to lay a tax on those that had no members in their House." Though frigates were stationed at American ports, and an elaborate customs system organised, there was always smuggling, but it must be remembered that the navigation system had two sides. It has been denounced as a tyrannical system which hampered colonial trade in the interests of England, but in its original form it actually encouraged colonial trade, though along certain routes. The inclusion of colonial shipping, the virtual monopoly of the home market, and the protection given to the colonies by the English fleet, must be weighed against the disadvantages of trading in special ships and to English ports. For England the system meant the partial exclusion of the Dutch from the colonial carrying-trade, and a great increase in shipping, But security as well as profit was in men's minds, and the Navigation Laws were designed to give England a strong fleet, and so to secure to her the mastery of the seas. In this they were successful. The system was the expression of the economic theories of the day, and as such it was accepted, with some grumbling, by the colonists. In the next century fresh restrictions were imposed which limited colonial manufactures, but this was no part of the original scheme.

B. Administrative organisation.

The development of a special administrative department for the control of plantation business again reflects the intimate relation between trade and colonisation. The merchants persuaded Clarendon to establish two councils, one for trade and one for plantations, but although these councils comprised merchants and sea-captains, as well as the great noblemen of the day, they soon proved unwieldy. After some further experiments, there came, in 1670, Shaftesbury's Council of ten paid members, of whom Evelyn was one, and Locke the secretary. Maps, charts, globes, a small library of books, a number of carefully kept official registers, and frequent reports from the colonial governors, all mark the activity of this Council and the energy of Shaftesbury, and its efficiency is proved by the fact that the old Council of Trade was soon amalgamated with it. In 1674, after four years of hard work, the Council was dissolved on

Shaftesbury's fall, and by its dissolution the needy King saved £8000 a year in salaries and expenses. The control of the plantations now fell into the hands of a committee of the Privy Council, the "Lords of Trade," who had all along kept a general eye on colonial affairs; their labours were great, but their efficiency was largely hampered by the King's chronic lack of money, and by his secret machinations with France.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations. 1675-1696.

Finally, in 1696, colonial matters were given to a "Board of Trade and Plantations." These different bodies maintained an increasing hold over the royal governors, drafting their instructions, receiving their reports, and ordering their behaviour on all occasions. Attempts were made to gain independent information by demanding regular despatches from the local assemblies, but these bodies objected to letter-writing. Colonial business was pushed in committee by merchants who were interested in trade, or by planters sent home on special missions, and the custom gradually arose of appointing a paid agent to conduct the business of a colony. The Board of Trade encouraged this policy, but the various colonies were always chary of putting their hands in their pockets, and they sometimes combined to appoint a joint representative or even refused to employ a regular agent at all. The increase of imperial control is seen in attempts at influencing colonial legislation; the Lords of Trade examined the Acts of the colonial assemblies and recommended the King to pass or annul the different laws. The interests of the merchants in England were often opposed to those of the planters, and the views of men in London had great weight with the Lords of Trade. An attempt, however, to dictate legislation from England, and to force a code of ready-made laws on Jamaica was vigorously resisted and failed, and the custom remained that governors gave their assent to a colonial law, but that the King had still a right of veto, and this right was frequently exercised.

C. The Slave Trade.

One of the great problems of early colonisation is the question of labour, and Virginia and the West Indies soon felt the need of a regular supply of labourers who were capable of working in the hot climate. This demand was supplied by the organisation of the slave trade

Before 1660 the few slaves imported were usually brought by the Dutch, but the economic ideas of the day could not see the Dutchman gaining wealth from selling slaves to the colonies, and shipping in return sugar and tobacco to Europe. The merchants determined to form companies of their own, and after the failure of a couple of ventures, in one of which the King himself lost money, there was floated in 1671 the Royal African Company, which successfully established a regular slave trade between the West Coast of Africa and the West Indies. Its great vellum-bound books, stamped with the crest of the golden elephant, contain a story of misery and cruelty which we to-day can scarcely realise, but the men of the seventeenth century saw nothing wrong in the trade—negroes were looked upon as beasts of burden, and though there are isolated protests against ill-treatment in the plantations, those who had money readily subscribed, and the King, as well as the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, was among the shareholders. The mercantilists' ideal circle of exchange is seen in the slave trade. The outward ship carried a special cargo of manufactured goods likely to appeal to the native—beads, ironwork, and such like. Working down the coast of Africa, the skipper called at one of the Company's forts, and bought his slaves from the Arab traders; then standing north, he picked up the north-east trade wind, and so across to the West Indies—the notorious "middle passage," during which the human cargo was usually kept stifling below, shackled to iron bars, so that the average loss in some years was about 30 per cent. of the slaves. In the West Indies the slaves were traded for sugar, which was brought back to England to be refined and sold, or the balance re-exported at a good profit to the Continent. The Company was given a monopoly of this lucrative human traffic, but there was continual trouble with the interlopers, who were able to undersell the Company, since they had no standing charge to pay for forts and guard-boats. At the time men were careless enough of the evil which they did, but all unconsciously the Royal African Company was sowing the seeds of a crop of troubles in the West Indies, and in the future Southern States, that are by no means over even in the present day.

This was a time of colonial development for other countries, as well as for England. The Dutch had trading posts in both Indies; the Spice Islands were claimed by them as a monopoly, while their few islands in the West Indies were but depôts from which they absorbed most of the trade from the English and French settlements there: at first they had almost a monopoly of the slave trade, while their colony of New Amsterdam on the Hudson was a shop from which they traded with the English colonies on either hand, and with the French in Canada. But the Dutch were traders rather than planters: they sought "to secure the sole commerce of the Places, and with the people, which they conquer, not by clearing, breaking up of the grounds, and planting, as the English have done. . . ." The commercial jealousy between Dutch and English had not been appeased by Cromwell's war, and the navigation system was aimed directly at the Dutch carrying-trade, while the rival slave traders on the African coast soon fell out and came to blows. Thus war broke out in 1665 and the Dutch lost New Amsterdam, but French help saved them, while the plague and fire combined to fight against the English. At last, in 1667, De Ruyter managed to raid the fleet lying up in the Medway, while peace negotiations were actually on foot. The Treaty of Breda arranged for a mutual restoration of conquests, but left England with New Amsterdam. A few years later, in 1672, the secret negotiations between Charles and Louis led to a joint attack on the Dutch, but Parliament, suspicious of the alliance with the great Roman Catholic power, forced Charles to withdraw from the struggle, thus leaving France and Holland to fight the matter out. As English trade and shipping increased, so her old rivalry with Holland was giving place to a new fear of France.

Other colonial powers: Holland.

The end of the civil wars in France had given unity at home, while in Colbert the young King Louis XIV had a great minister who fully realised the importance of colonies, and determined to develop all their resources. He hedged French commerce round with a series of restrictive laws, much like the English navigation system, and set himself to win the carrying trade of French colonies

France.

for French shipping. He promoted great trading companies, giving them the monopoly of trade in different areas, often finding capital for them from the coffers of the State. He encouraged shipbuilding by every means in his power. Thus the French East India Company entered into competition with the English Company, and began to build up such a strong position that it soon became a question which should control the Eastern trade. In America the French had two groups of colonies. The West Indian islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique had fallen into the hands of individual proprietors, but Colbert floated a West India Company, which encouraged sugar-growing and succeeded in transferring the trade from Dutch to French shipping. In the north the French had early explored and settled in Acadie and along the shores of the St. Lawrence. Quebec was founded in 1608, and fired by the wish to find a way along the river and thus to China, Champlain had pushed westward and thus discovered the Great Lakes, leaving a memory of his hopes in the name of La Chine Rapids. In 1664 Colbert founded the great "Company of the West," which was given a monopoly of trading privileges on the whole of the mainland of America, but the high officials of Canada were still nominated by the King, who also appointed a General-in-Chief for all the French possessions in the New World. A great outburst of activity and exploration now took place: under Governor Frontenac, a brave Jesuit named Marquette found his way to the Mississippi, and, hoping it would lead him to the South Sea, began to sail down the river. When, however, his compass told him that he would arrive at the Gulf of Mexico, he turned back, fearing to fall into Spanish hands. A few years later, La Salle with a small party succeeded in reaching the mouth of the river, and, realising the great possibilities of his discovery, hastened home to France to get permission to found a colony. Louis, who was at enmity with Spain, was pleased with the idea, and so in 1684 Louisiana was founded at the mouth of the great river. The colony, however, was ill-fated, and what with disease and Indian murders, this first attempt at a colony proved a failure.

West Indian Colonies.

Canada.

Louisiana. 1684.

The French system in Canada was that of extreme centralisation: officials appointed from home ruled the people according to directions received from the royal ministers, and there was nothing to correspond to the local government of the English colonies, or to their very independent attitude towards the home authorities. As trappers and woodmen the French colonists had a hard life, earning their living as fur-traders, and frequently intermarrying with their friends the Indians, so that there soon grew up a race of French-Canadian half-breeds. The Jesuits came early to Canada, and as missionaries, teachers, explorers, and map-makers played a very important part in its development.

The growth of this French Empire in America, and the grandiose schemes of Louis XIV in Europe, altered the balance of power and made Englishmen think of France as the great rival. Spain, England's old bugbear, was falling into the background; Holland, her recent rival, was being outstripped; and in England there grew up a new policy of seeking alliance with either of these powers against the ambitions of France. At first this policy had but few supporters, and during the Stuart reigns it was nullified by the royal friendship with Louis; but when William of Orange became King of England the old hostility between Dutch and English was merged in a common hostility to the increasing power of France.

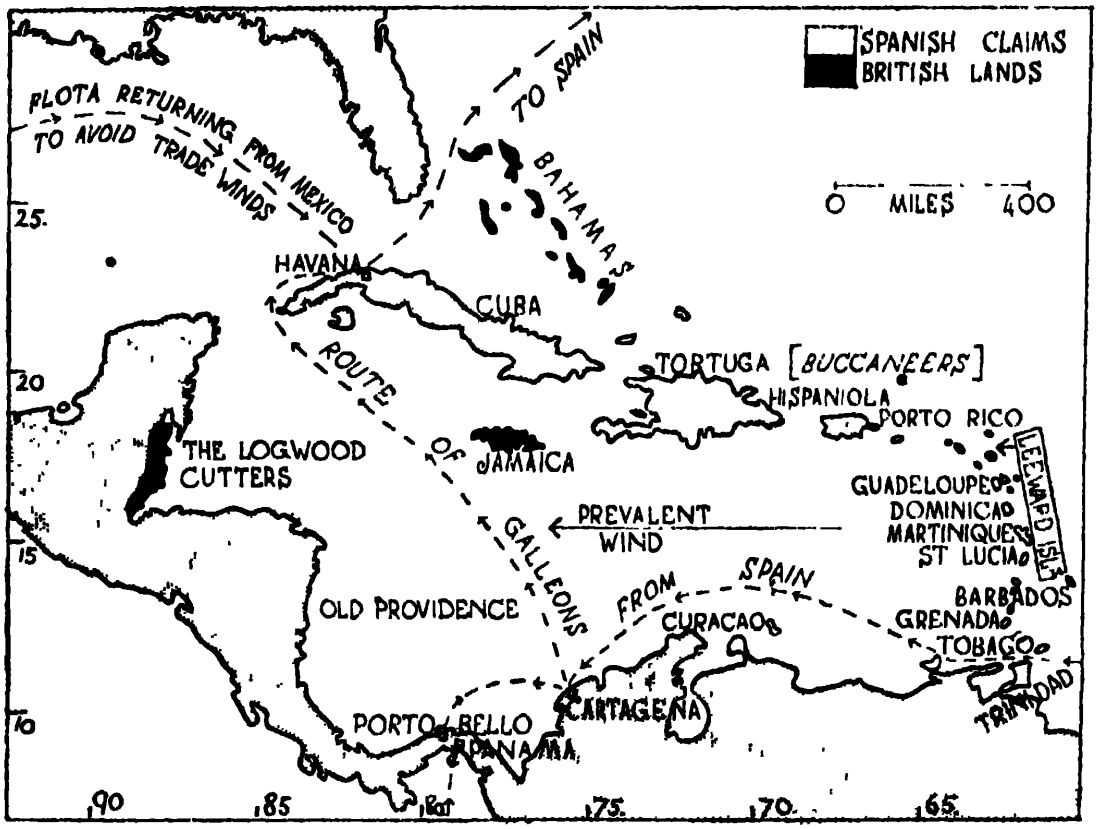
The friction between England and France in America during Charles' reign was greatest in the West Indies, but as Canada grew more important so the quarrel developed on the mainland too. The change in the balance of power in the West Indies was early realised by an English governor there, who wrote in 1664, "The question is whether His Majesty or the King of France will be the King of the West Indies, for the King of Spain cannot hold them long." Things had greatly changed since the days of the treaty for the mutual defence of St. Christopher against the Spaniard, and all that the local governors could do was to promise each other that if news of the outbreak of war arrived from Europe, they would not commence hostilities without due notice. When in 1666 the French came to the aid of the Dutch, they captured the

War with France: Peace of Breda. 1667.

English part of St. Christopher, and their delay in handing it back, as promised by the Treaty of Breda, only increased the mutual ill-feeling.

The sugar-planters of the Leeward Islands suspected that their rivals, the planters of Barbados, were not too friendly towards them, and so in 1671 the four northern islands were cut off from Barbados and formed into the separate government of the Leeward Islands. Their new governor, a witty

THE WEST INDIES ABOUT 1660.



E. H. H. del.

The Logwood cutters were at this time only squatters on Spanish territory.

Irishman, Sir William Stapleton, ruled them for many years, and protected them alike from Dutch ships and from the raids of Carib Indians. He was devoutly thankful when England withdrew from helping the French in the second Dutch war; he hated even to hear of a French victory, for "it gave them but fresh occasion for vapouring." Meanwhile, Cromwell's favourite colony of Jamaica had received a royal governor, and, strengthened with settlers from Barbados, was rapidly

becoming an important place. On the coast of Honduras, English squatters were busily engaged in cutting logwood with the help of friendly Indians, and the export of these woods for making dyes grew steadily, despite the Spanish opposition. These squatters were not a formal colony with a governor, and never became so until the nineteenth century. More troublesome to the Spaniards, and indeed to traders in general, were the buccaneers. These picturesque ruffians were dare-devil sailors of all nations, but chiefly French and English, who made Tortuga and the north-west of Hispaniola their headquarters; there they kept great herds of cattle, and there they "buccanned" their meat; thence with stores aboard they sailed away to capture ships, or hold the Spanish towns to ransom. Pirates in fact, they usually managed to shelter themselves behind letters of marque, for some power was generally at war, and as the buccaneers were always ready to sell their swords, commissions were easily obtained, but seldom called in again. For a time the buccaneers were encouraged from Jamaica: Port Royal became an open harbour, and the island was flooded with pieces of eight and other Spanish coins. That stout old blackguard, Sir Henry Morgan, the famous Jamaican buccaneer who marched across the Isthmus and sacked the town of Panama, was knighted by Charles and made Governor of Jamaica. Soon, however, the English Government realised that honest trade was more profitable than playing the pirate, and the new Governor of Jamaica was ordered to hang all buccaneers. Thus gradually the successors of great sea-kings such as Drake and Hawkins sank lower still and became mere pirates, and for many years the seas of the West Indies were haunted by these pests. Cruel and callous as were most of the buccaneers, yet they had a bravery all their own; in quite small ships they made amazing voyages, and in battle feared no odds. They even pushed into the sacred preserve of the Pacific, and made the Indian seas a useful hunting ground.

The Buccaneers.

Barbados was at this time the richest of all the West Indian colonies: at the Restoration it had, together with the Leeward Islands, voted a perpetual export duty of 4½ per cent. in return for the cancelling of the proprietor's rights. Thus

the islands became a royal colony, and, despite the duty, their trade flourished greatly. The Sugar Islands, as the West Indies were called, were very popular in England, and offered a continual market to the slave traders, though the planter was always more ready to buy on credit than to pay over his casks of sugar. Soon, too, a system of indentured labour sprang up: English men and women sold their services for a number of years in return for their passage and a gratuity after four years' service. This system had the advantage that it helped poor people to emigrate, but it was abused by masters who overworked and defrauded their servants, and in England by crimps or "spirits," who seized upon unsuspecting people in the street or on the seashore, and sold them forcibly into slavery beyond the seas. Strong steps were taken to put down this villainy, and Virginia and the Sugar Islands complained loud and long of the difficulty of obtaining labour. Still another form of labour was employed. The agent of St. Christopher suggested that it would be better to send criminals to work in the plantations than to let them rot in English gaols. After lengthy negotiations, and much money spent in "presents," a number of prisoners were sent out to work as indentured servants, with a promise of freedom after eight years, provided they never returned to England. Such transportation had already played its part in colonising Ireland and Virginia.

The planters crushed and boiled their canes, and the coarse brown Muscovado sugar which they made was then shipped home to England to be refined. The molasses, like thick treacle, was also shipped to Bristol or New England to be made into rum. The English sugar-refiners continually opposed the attempts of the planters to refine their own sugar, and were generally successful. The sugar industry was very wealthy, since the English merchant sold his sugar on the Continent cheaper than could the Portuguese, and this trade created a powerful sugar interest in England, but the growing competition of the French islands was soon to make the English merchants very uneasy.

The Sugar Islands grew wealthy during Charles' reign, but on the mainland even larger changes took place. Here

the colonising activity of the time found its vent in the settling of several new plantations. For some time Englishmen had looked with desire on the land south of Virginia which was vaguely called Florida. During Cromwell's time some merchants who had a scheme for colonisation succeeded in persuading a native to come home to England, where he was dignified with the title of Ambassador, but the plan fell through. Now, in 1663, Charles granted the land to a number of proprietors, of whom Clarendon and Ashley (Lord Shaftesbury) were the chief. The proprietors were entitled to grant religious liberty "because it may happen that some of the people cannot in their private opinions conform to the public exercise according to the Church of England." In this justification of toleration we may perhaps see the influence of Shaftesbury, who always stood for religious freedom, though the normal instructions to royal governors at this time order freedom of worship for private individuals. It seems that several settlements were intended, but two only were planted, those of North and South Carolina. The former, which was settled first, drew its men largely from Barbados, despite the protest of the Governor, who declared it was but taking money out of one pocket and putting it into the other. On the whole the settlers were a poor lot, and the colony, shut in by swamp and forest from its neighbours, long remained in a backward state. The southern colony was more of a success, but, despite better selected emigrants and good governors, the country still grew slowly, for the hot climate made the breaking up of the land a slow and arduous task. It was not until the introduction of slave labour and the concentration on rice as a staple crop that Carolina really prospered. Then it became the typical aristocratic slave-owning state; rice was enumerated, and from the port of Charlestown a steady supply was shipped to England. If the Carolinas were not immediately a great success, this was not due to any lack of thought or interest on the part of the proprietors. The philosopher Locke had drawn up a careful, if somewhat fantastic constitution, in which queer names like "cacique" and "landgrave" appear; but this constitution was found impracticable, and the Carolinas developed the

New Plantations: Carolina.

normal colonial institutions. Shaftesbury himself paid great attention to his colony, and his papers, which are still preserved, show his interest in every detail of its administration.

Further north, the capture of New Amsterdam from the Dutch gave England the land between Maryland and the New England colonies, and from this territory the "middle" colonies were created. The conquest meant the removal of a constant threat to the peace and security of New England, and enabled the navigation system to be better enforced, but though England secured a continuous line of coastal colonies from Maine to South Carolina, this did not really improve communications between the various colonies, for roads were very bad, and for many years the easiest way to get from colony to colony was still by ship. The Dutch with their usual aptitude for seizing upon strategic positions had settled on the Hudson, and now that great river highway to Canada was in English hands, for trade or war as the case might be. By the capture of this Dutch plantation the English were faced for the first time with the problem of ruling another European people, a problem which was often to occur again in the development of the Empire.[1] The King granted the land to his brother the Duke of York as proprietor, and his governor did not call an assembly till 1683. When James succeeded to the throne New York became a royal colony, and naturally remained so after 1688. The population of New York was very mixed, for the religious freedom permitted by the Dutch, and their permission for residents to trade, had drawn men of all nations, and it was said that eighteen tongues could be heard at New Amsterdam. This mixture of nationalities meant that the new settlement must be wide and comprehensive. The Dutch were left in possession of their lands, and only called upon to pay a small fee; religious liberty was likewise granted, each township was to have a church, and the choice of denomination was left to the inhabitants. Under this generous system the Dutch quickly settled down, and despite trouble with the Indians, who were egged on by the French, New York soon became a flourishing colony and what Governor Nicholls hoped it would be, "a

The Middle Colonies: (1) New York. 1664.

[1] The number of Spaniards in Jamaica had been but small.

School of better religion and obedience to God and the King than was to be found in New England."

(2) The Jerseys.

The southern lands of the Dutch colony as far as the Delaware were granted by the Duke of York to his friends Carteret and Berkeley, and called New Jersey in memory of the Duke's stay in the Channel Isles during his exile. Several experiments in colonising were made, and a number of Quakers bought a share in the proprietary rights and settled fellow Quakers there, where they might be free from the persecution they had suffered in Massachusetts, or from the disabilities they were under at home. But this experiment was not enough for William Penn, son of the admiral who had taken Jamaica, a famous Quaker and a man of the highest ideals, though limited sometimes in his practical outlook. In 1681 he received from the King a grant of land on the Delaware river on which to found a colony. The King's advisers had learnt wisdom from past troubles, and determined to keep a tight hold upon this new proprietary colony, especially in matters of trade. The royal charter provided that the King's customs officials should be present in the colony, and that the proprietor should always keep a responsible agent in London ready to answer for the colony. In founding this new colony Penn did not wish to make a settlement for Quakers alone, but a place where his ideal of colonisation should be carried out, where all men who acknowledged a God might come and live free from forms and interference, and where the relations between the colonists and the Indians should be on an honest footing. Penn drew up a constitution for his colony, with a large council and still larger assembly, both to be elected by the colonists, and with some modifications this became the constitution under which the colony was governed. In his laws Penn insisted on honest treatment for the natives; crimes against them were to be tried by a mixed jury of natives and colonists, while elaborate precautions were taken to prevent their being cheated in trade. Penn saw in the Indian not a bloodthirsty savage to be destroyed, or at best to be regarded with mistrust, but a brother man who also knew of God, though he worshipped Him under different forms. On his first visit Penn founded the city of Philadelphia

(3) Pennsylvania. 1681.

(or Brotherly Love), and so apt was the choice of a site that by 1681 he was able to grant his city a charter of incorporation. "Of all the many places I have seen in the world," wrote Penn, in 1683, "I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to have been appointed for a Town." Penn's colony did not start with quite a clean slate, for there had been earlier settlers, Swedes, and then their conquerors the Dutch; these people lived chiefly in the land south of the Dela- (4) Delaware. ware, which had been granted to Penn by the Duke of York. These "territories" caused Penn much trouble, for the inhabitants quarrelled frequently with the men of Pennsylvania, and finally demanded a separate assembly: this Penn granted to them, and later they broke away entirely, so becoming the separate colony of Delaware.

Pennsylvania flourished quickly, and so many settlers came that Penn soon found it difficult to keep to his ideal of a colony; his rules for dealings with the Indians were often ignored, while quarrels soon arose with Penn himself. Men began to forget what he had done for the colony, to dispute over the question of the payment of quit rents, to quarrel with his governor and the other officials. Thus Penn's latter years were years of trouble and contention, and the high ideals with which he had set out were found most difficult of achievement. In 1689 Penn lost his rights owing to his friendship with James, and for a short time Pennsylvania was joined to New York, but Penn was soon back in favour, and the old system was restored.

Still further north two settlements were organised which were to play an important part in the relations of French and English in America. The French claimed all the coastline north of Maine, but their settlement of Acadie had been captured in the war of 1666; though it was returned by the Treaty of Breda, England retained a right to Nova Scotia. A clearer knowledge of geography soon showed that Nova Scotia was really a part of Acadie, and so the English claim was valueless except as a pawn in the diplomatic game. Newfoundland with its fogs and fisheries was more important, for along its shore had gradually grown up a small settlement of Englishmen, who traded with the fishing-fleets that came there every summer, and even began to Newfoundland.

fish on their own account. It was proposed to send out a governor to organise a regular plantation, but this suggestion was vigorously opposed by Sir Josiah Child, a famous mercantilist writer. He argued that a governor would mean more expenses, taxes, and so an increase in the cost of fish, while such a colony would compete in the fishery, trade exclusively with New England, and thus not benefit England at all. But facts were harder than theories, the men were there and would not leave, and so a governor was sent out. The French, however, retained the right to fish and had vague claims on the island, which resulted in frequent disputes and a spirit of misunderstanding which has only been cleared away by the Entente Agreement of 1904.

The French made much of their fur trade in Canada, and the English wished to gain a footing there, so in 1670 the King granted to Prince Rupert and a number of other adventurers a monopoly of trade with the northernmost parts of America. Thus was founded the Hudson's Bay Company, who traded by summer through Hudson's Strait with Rupertsland. Here they established a few trading-forts, and hardy trappers set out to pit their skill against their quarry. At the outset vast tracts of virgin forest shut them off from the French, but the claims of both nations were very vague, and their trappers and explorers were soon to meet and to come into bitter conflict.

Hudson's Bay Company. 1670.

The relations between the restored monarchy and the southern colonies were good, for Virginia and Maryland were largely royalist in sympathy, but the New England Federation had treated Cromwell's government in a very independent manner, and were loth to come to heel. They had even set up a mint and coined money of their own. These "Boston shillings" with their device of an oak tree and "God my Help" as their legend, were badly needed for purposes of exchange, for in the whole of America there was so little coin that goods were bought and sold by barter, and in the South sugar and tobacco were used as the normal measures of value; thus the new coins quickly spread to the other colonies, and to the West Indies. This assumption of the royal prerogative was very objectionable to the King, but despite protests the mint went

on. In other matters, too, New England was unaccommodating, the omission of the royal name in legal processes, and the extensive evasion of the Navigation Laws all caused complaint. So in 1664 Clarendon sent out commissioners to try to remedy matters, but they were treated in a most discourteous manner, and it was only the outbreak of the Dutch war, and an opportune present of masts and tar for the Royal Navy that averted the King's wrath for the moment. After the war things went from bad to worse; Massachusetts deliberately annexed Maine, although it was known that the King was inquiring into various claims to that colony, and for several years the Lords of Trade tried to arrange for greater control over the executive of this practically independent colony. Finally, in despair, legal proceedings were begun, and in 1683 Massachusetts forfeited its charter. The New England Confederation itself had been gradually weakened, and it finally broke np in the following year.

Massachusetts loses its Charter. 1683.

The Council of Plantations had early recommended that all proprietary rights be acquired by the Crown, and that no further proprietary colonies be created. This far-seeing recommendation was not carried out, but it was not merely favouritism which led the King to create new proprietary governments. It was a method of securing private energy and capital for colonising ventures which the Crown was unable or indisposed to undertake directly; but the evils of proprietary governments, whether the proprietors were companies or individuals, became more and more evident; Massachusetts is an extreme case, but the reservations in the grant of Pennsylvania show which way the wind was blowing. During the reign of James II there grew up a policy of centralising control in America and of attempting to secure co-operation between the colonies, both in matters of customs and of joint defence against the Indians. This policy is no mere expression of arbitrary instincts on the part of the King, but a practical attempt to solve a practical problem. The Lords of Trade had come to the conclusion that it would be best to unite all colonies north of Maryland under a common governor. In 1686, Edmund Andros, who had already been Governor of

Attempt to unite colonies under Andros.

New York, was sent out as Governor of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts; by 1688, all colonies north of Pennsylvania were under his control, and plans were in hand for cancelling the other proprietary charters. The Revolution of 1688 drove James from his throne, and Andros, a still more hated man, from his control of America: thus the scheme fell through, and things reverted to the old condition of separate colonies with separate interests and governments.

The fall of Governor Andros is of great importance for the future development of America. Two schemes of union had now been tried and had failed. The New England Federation represents voluntary union from below, and it failed partly because of mutual jealousies, and partly because of the hostility of the home government to its independent attitude. Andros' governorship represents union from above, forced on the colonies by the King, and its failure was due partly to colonial feelings of liberty and sectional independence, but largely to the fall of James in England. The great problem was now shelved indefinitely until Grenville took the matter up in a new form, and only succeeded in precipitating the War of Independence. Had the Andros policy been successful, the future development of America must have been very different.

If we review the British Empire at the Revolution we are able to appreciate the importance of the reign of Charles II in colonial history. We see a well-organised central administration in constant touch and control of the colonies, a carefully devised system of trade legislation expressing the economic ideas of the day, and attempting to build up the wealth of the country by regulating the trade of the world, a wealthy company bringing a continual supply of slave labour to the colonies, and exploiting the riches of tropical soil by their means. This is the framework of empire. In America we find a continuous line of colonies along the Atlantic sea-board, from Maine in the North to Carolina in the South, with outposts at Newfoundland and Rupertsland. In the West Indies there are three groups: Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and Barbados, all flourishing on a monopoly of slave-grown sugar; the Bahamas and the Bermudas are still of small account. In the East,

the great East India Company is firmly established with its factories at the three Presidency towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, while the tea supply of England depends on the Company's annual voyages to China. So rich is the Company that a violent attack on its monopoly is already preparing among the jealous merchants who are not in the privileged clique. Thus the reign of Charles II saw the empire extended, consolidated, and organised ready for the struggles of the eighteenth century.

Books.—See note to Chapter I. John Masefield, *On the Spanish Main*, is a picturesque account of the buccaneering days.

1660. The Navigation Act. [1663. Staple Act. 1673. Plantation Duties Act.]
1663. Carolina founded.
1664. New Amsterdam captured: it becomes New York.
1670. Hudson's Bay Company founded.
1671. Royal African Company founded.
1681. William Penn founds Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER III

The Development of America and the Struggle with France [1688–1763]

The most picturesque aspect of English history in the eighteenth century is the long struggle with France, which was fought out in India, on the rivers and backwoods of America, and on all the seas of the world. The story of the struggle is told in vivid fashion by Seeley in his famous book *The Expansion of England*, but there is another side of colonial history which must not be forgotten, or else the War of Independence comes as a sudden shock which seems quite unconnected with all that went before. In fact, the long period of apparent quiet before the passing of the Stamp Act was filled with a continuous series of small quarrels between the colonies and the Mother Country which are the true

preface to that great struggle. Though these two points of view are separated in the telling, it must always be remembered that they were closely interwoven; thus it was the fear of the French power in America which prevented the colonial quarrels from coming to an open rupture until after 1763, while a few years later the French made use of a domestic quarrel between England and her colonies to interfere and win back some of the prestige which they had lost in the Seven Years' War. Then was formed that long friendship between France and the United States which has so influenced the development of both countries, and which has been cemented yet more firmly by joint sacrifices in the European War.

Eighteenth-century characteristics.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century colonial affairs were in the hands of the Board of Trade, which was created in 1696 and took over plantation business from the Lords of Trade. Although William III had been greatly affronted at Parliament's attempt to nominate the members of the Board, yet throughout the century Parliament was constantly enlarging its control over colonial affairs: in the seventeenth century a member who raised the question of America had been told that he was out of order, but things soon became very different. In 1763 the terms of the Peace of Paris were hotly debated in the Commons, while a few years later the whole question of American taxation was thrashed out in the House. The Board of Trade was a consultative body, and had little executive authority of its own. The chief power lay in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, who was responsible for colonial matters, and if he was not interested the Board of Trade would report in vain. The lengthy period of Walpole's ascendancy, when Newcastle was Secretary of State from 1724 to 1748, was a time when colonial problems were ignored; Walpole prided himself on leaving things alone, while Newcastle's ignorance of colonial matters became a by-word. This vicious system of letting matters slide only heaped up trouble for the future: the Board of Trade pursued a consistent and, on the whole, a statesmanlike policy, but its frequent reports were simply laid aside, and its advice neglected.

Board of Trade. 1696.

Thus, although the first half of the century might seem a time of peace when the old disputes between England and the colonies had disappeared, there was all the time going on beneath the surface that fermentation which was to break out in the War of Independence. Thus Walpole rather than Grenville should be held responsible for that disaster.

The early colonists took with them from England the idea of self-government, and, unlike the colonies of other nations, quickly developed a system of popular government by means of a governor, council, and elected assembly. The theories of political freedom, which had bulked so large in Englishmen's minds during the stirring days of the seventeenth century, had apparently triumphed with the successful Revolution of 1688. The colonists were English too, and it was only natural that they should have similar feelings, and the struggles between governor and local assembly in the colonies are a reflection of similar struggles between King and Parliament in England. The colonists were rather suspicious of control by England, and of their governor as an English agent. Thus one of the hardest fought disputes was over the question of the governor's salary: in most of the colonies there was a permanent fund for this payment, and the Board of Trade tried to force New York and Massachusetts to make similar arrangements. These two colonies, however, paid their governor every year, and valued this custom as they were enabled to control him by threatening to cut off his salary. This struggle ended in success for the colonists, for though the Board directed the governor to refuse all "presents," as they were pleased to call the annual payments of salary, the assembly remained firm and would not be frightened by talk of a Stamp Act, or threats of Imperial legislation. So the governors went unpaid, and the Board had to give way. Another cause of friction was connected with the appointment of judges. These officers were appointed and paid locally, but the Board wished to alter the wording of their commissions to prevent the local assemblies from influencing the course of justice. The assemblies threatened to refuse payment if this was done, and it

Disputes between colonies and Board of Trade.

(1) Governor's salary.

(2) Judiciary.

was not till the death of George II in 1760 made all the old commissions void that the Board was able to gain its point. This honest attempt by the Board to secure clean justice for America was afterwards cited in the Declaration of Independence as an instance of cruel oppression and arbitrary interference with local rights. Yet another cause of irritation was the King's power to veto colonial legislation. Although this power had been exercised from early days, and was recognised as part of the royal prerogative, yet in many cases it caused discontent, and the colonists attempted to defeat it by means of "tacking" and such parliamentary tricks. Defence was always an important problem for people who had treacherous Indians as near neighbours, but the local jealousies of the colonies prevented common action. In time of peace no regular troops were stationed in America, each colony had to rely upon its militia, and the Assembly was quick to resent English attempts to control this local citizen force. The practice of giving a governor a commission to command the militia of several adjoining colonies was usually met with protests and opposition, while the joint campaigns of Imperial and colonial troops were often the cause of further ill-feeling. The open scorn of colonial officers for regular generals, who were unused to the tactics of backwoods fighting, was repaid by a contempt for colonial dress and colonial soldiers which deeply offended the military pride of the colonists. Though competent officers such as Howe and Wolfe admired the skill of the militia and even made their troops adopt the local dress and tactics, these joint expeditions usually ended in mutual misunderstanding.

(3) Veto on legislation.

(4) Control of militia.

Still another cause of friction is to be found in the navigation system, though the ill-feeling which it caused must not be over-emphasised. The system of Charles II had been accepted with but little grumbling, and though there was always some smuggling it does not appear to have been very great. In two directions, however, the original system was altered. As the New England colonies grew they soon began to develop small industries of their own, first to supply local demands, and then with a view to export. Thus, beaver hats

were made, wool was grown and manufactured locally, and a little iron was mined and smelted. This development was watched with anxiety by English manufacturers, who foresaw not only the loss of colonial markets, but also actual competition in other countries. (5) Navigation system extended.

A series of restrictive Acts were passed, which practically prohibited these manufactures, but, though these measures doubtless caused some inconvenience and loss of money to a few, they were not a general cause of ill-feeling. In another way, too, the navigation system was extended: a large trade in molasses had sprung up between the French West Indies and the northern colonies, especially New York. The molasses were distilled in the colonies and re-exported as rum. This trade was regarded with suspicion by the English planters, who declared that it was ruining the West Indies, and, after much agitation, they procured the passing of the Molasses Act (1733), which forbade this trade. Had this Act been enforced it would have caused very great discontent, for molasses from the English islands cost more, and, indeed, all the English islands, so it was alleged, were unable to produce sufficient molasses to meet the demand of the northern colonies. For practical purposes the Act was a dead letter: a vast amount of smuggling went on and was openly winked at.

Despite all these disputes between the colonies and the home country, it would be wrong to think that the different colonies co-operated in their protests, or that colonists felt any community of interest with the men of the next colony. This was far from the case; indeed, antagonism between the various colonies was often much sharper than feeling against the governor or Board of Trade. A fruitful cause of trouble was the frequent boundary disputes between adjacent colonies: the original grants had often been very vague, and, as the colonies grew, the question of accurate frontiers became important. It was often a problem how far westward a colony extended, and this was no empty question, for westward lay the Indians, and the hardy pioneers who pushed into the woods for Indian trade were often anxious to escape authority and to deny the jurisdiction of the colony. But the local

Inter-colonial disputes.

(1) Boundary disputes.

government had to keep a watchful eye on such men, lest a private quarrel with the Indians should lead to sudden war and rapine all along the frontier. Boundary disputes were often bitter, and the settlers of Maryland and Pennsylvania actually came to blows. Trouble, too, occurred between Virginia and North Carolina, for the Virginian assembly refused to allow tobacco to be imported from their southern neighbour, on the grounds that it was inferior stuff and would ruin the reputation of Virginian tobacco. They policed their frontier, but the home government forced them to give way.

(2) Defence against Indians.

These local quarrels were most fatal in the case of Indian affairs, for the follies of one colony might ruin the good understanding between another colony and its savage neighbours. Indeed, the Indians could hardly understand how the different colonies all belonged to the same nation, and compared them very unfavourably with Canada and its centralised government. The Quakers of Pennsylvania would not fight, and many later settlers sheltered themselves under the plea of conscience: the Dutch of New York were suspected of trading with the enemy, while Washington complained most bitterly of the supineness of his Virginian fellow-colonists after Braddock's defeat in 1755.

This lack of co-operation was due to several causes. The colonies had been founded at different times by different types of people: the Puritan of New England felt little in common with the planter of Virginia. Various other nationalities, too, were incorporated in the English colonies—Dutch at New York, Swedes in Delaware, Moravians, Huguenots, Highlanders—and this prevented a ready amalgamation. Even the economic interests of the colonies were very different. The more southerly the colony, the more it depended upon England: while, from the very first, Massachusetts could almost do without England at all, and for periods was practically independent: South Carolina, on the other hand, with its staple crop of rice, was, for practical purposes, nearer to England than to New York. Above all, the lack of easy communications, good roads and bridges, prevented the colonies from drawing together; men went from

Causes of disputes.

colony to colony by sea, and although some sort of post was established, it might take as much as seven weeks for a letter to get from Boston to Virginia.[1]

This keen local jealousy is typical of the colonies in the eighteenth century, and nothing was more distasteful to them than attempts to unite them under a common authority. The Board of Trade, however, realised that the crux of the problem of defence was this local disunion, and that the proprietary and charter colonies were the centres of discontent and opposition to the home government. Its general policy was, therefore, to do away with these anomalies, and to force all the colonies into the common mould of the royal colony—as a step to something further. "The independency they thirst after is now so notorious," wrote the Board in 1700, "that it has been thought fit that those considerations, together with other objections against those colonies, should be laid before Parliament, and a Bill has been brought into the House of Lords for resuming the right of government in those colonies to the Crown." Nothing, however, came of the matter, and despite the frequent recommendations of the Board the question was always shelved. In 1721, however, the Board produced a definite scheme for union: they proposed the appointment of a Lord-Lieutenant for America, who was to have in constant attendance two councillors from each colony. This scheme also came to nothing, and it was only the fear of a French war in 1754 that led to the famous Albany Conference. Deputies from the different colonies had met at Albany, a frontier town in New York, on several previous occasions, to deal jointly with Indian business, but the Conference of 1754 is of great importance because it also discussed the problem of union. The Conference voted that a union was absolutely necessary for security and defence, and drew up a plan for a "President-General" appointed by the Crown, and an annual council elected by the local assemblies, to sit at

Policy of Board of Trade.

Abolition of proprietary colonies.

Union.

Albany Conference, 1754.

[1] See the vivid description in Doyle: *The Colonies under the House of Hanover*, Chap. I.

Philadelphia. This council was to have power over new settlements, military, naval, and Indian affairs, and the right of levying taxes. Though accepted by the Conference, the colonial assemblies would have nothing to do with the plan. Connecticut declared that it was "a very extraordinary thing, and against the rights and privileges of Englishmen," while Governor Shirley of Virginia thought "their different constitutions, situations, circumstances, and tempers . . . an invincible obstacle to their agreement upon any one plan in every article, or, if they should ever happen to agree upon one, to their duly carrying it into execution." Only twenty-two years after this conference these same colonies signed the Declaration of Independence. If we ask what had brought about so great a change in so short a time we can see two causes. First, the Seven Years' War, which had removed the continual menace of the French, had taught the colonial militia its powers, and had left an undeserved slur on British arms; and next, the attempt to solve these very problems which Walpole had burked.

The West Indies: Economic changes.

In the West Indies too there were constitutional struggles between the assemblies and their governors, but a gradual change was taking place in the population of the islands, which made them so dependent upon England that any chance of a violent quarrel was out of the question. The regular importation of slaves soon had an effect which those who first organised the trade never foresaw; the number of blacks in the islands grew apace while the whites increased but slowly, and after a time actually diminished. Thus in Jamaica, the most important island during the eighteenth century, the negroes in 1739 outnumbered the whites by nearly ten to one, and this danger quickly alarmed the planters. They saw the possibility of a slave-revolt, and they feared the attack of French or Spaniards, for the slaves could not serve in the local militia, and might even help the enemy. In an attempt to remedy matters laws were passed requiring each planter to keep one white servant to every so many slaves, but it was cheaper to pay the fine imposed than to comply with the law, and these Acts quickly became nothing more than a

Slaves outnumber whites.

normal method of local taxation. Other economic causes were also at work. In the first rush to secure sugar fortunes some land had been cultivated that was scarcely worth the expense; it was quickly exhausted and either abandoned or sold to larger planters. It was cheaper to work huge plantations with large gangs of slaves, and so the small planter who worked with two or three slaves and a few indentured servants soon disappeared. The inflow of white men practically stopped, as it was increasingly difficult to get indentured servants. Thus, by the middle of the century, the Sugar Islands consisted of large plantations owned by a few wealthy planters, who were often absentees living in London or Bristol, and working their plantations by means of local managers and overseers. The whites who still lived in the islands formed a little society with their parish churches, their local assemblies, and in Barbados with a weekly newspaper composed of essays, letters, gazettes from England, and local news. This white society was fashionable and hospitable. A writer of 1740 praises the planters of St. Christopher: "I can't enough commend their generosity; they used us well: and when we were about to depart, expressed the same concern, as if we had been their long and intimate Acquaintance." Below were the slaves, vastly outnumbering their masters and often treated very harshly, for they were regarded as scarcely human, and certainly not as fit objects for Christianity. It was not until the arrival of the Moravians and the Wesleyans about the middle of the century that anything was done for the negro slaves. A few, however, gained their freedom, through the gift of kindly masters, and there grew up a class of half-castes whose position in the economy of the islands was not always pleasant. At times the slaves escaped; those from the Leeward Islands generally fled to the Caribs at Dominica, whence by inter-marriage there sprang up a fierce and implacable race of savages; in Jamaica the escaped maroons took to the mountains, and long and bloodthirsty wars had to be waged against them. Despite these changes in the West Indies, the merchants and planters who lived in England remained a powerful factor in political circles. This sugar interest secured the passing of the Molasses Act to check French competition,

Absentee proprietors.

and when in 1763 the terms of the Peace of Paris were being discussed, it was seriously proposed to accept Guadeloupe, one of the French Sugar Islands, instead of Canada. This suggestion shows how valuable the Sugar Islands were considered, but it fell through because the sugar interest feared competition from the plantations of Guadeloupe, if annexation brought that island within the sacred circle of the navigation system.

The French exploited their islands with great energy: their plantations on St. Domingo, where previously the buccaneers had kept their herds of cattle, were very successful, and owing to the fertility of their islands and the good treatment of their slaves, the French were able to undersell the English, and to take from them much of the continental sugar trade. This competition was always a great annoyance to England, and in every European war an English fleet was despatched to the West Indies to seize or destroy the French plantations.

French competition.

The great struggle between England and France which runs all through the eighteenth century began definitely with the accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1688. At first the European wars have merely an echo in America; colonists fought because the home countries were at war, but as the plantations grew there soon arose disputes between the two nations in America, and then there was often fighting in the colonies long before war had broken out in Europe. Thus both in America and India hostilities had begun between the French and English some time before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. On the mainland of America the French held besides Acadie, Canada, which comprised their settlements along the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the Lakes, with hunting posts further inland, and their new colony of Louisiana with vague claims to the Mississippi valley. The New England colonies were much exposed to the danger of raids by Indians encouraged by Jesuit missionaries, but New York was really the key to the situation. The River Hudson formed then, as it does to-day, the great highway to Canada. From the frontier town of Albany the trader or general could chose between two routes: he could go west along the Mohawk and so to Lake

The struggle with France.

Routes to Canada.

Ontario, or north by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu river to Montreal. There was a third route to Canada, by sea up the St. Lawrence, but that was a difficult voyage, hampered by fogs and the shallows of the river, and quite impossible in winter because of the ice. Further south, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia backed on the Alleghany mountains, and had untrustworthy Indians for their neighbours; when the French began to spread to the Ohio valley, another route lay open to attack, and armies pushed westward across the Alleghanies. The strategy of the American wars depends on these four highways.

The two wars against Louis XIV saw fighting in America as well as Europe: "King William's war" was largely a tale of Indian raids and massacres, marked by the successful capture of Acadie from the French, and by the mismanagement and failure of an attempt on Quebec. The Peace of Ryswick (1697) was a restoration of the *status quo*, but the war is important as it saw the first conference at Albany to arrange for common action in defence. The War of the Spanish Succession, or "Queen Anne's war" as it was called in the colonies, is very important for colonial development. Though most of the fighting took place in Europe, the great victories of Marlborough were really the guarantee that France should not control Spain, and absorb her whole colonial empire. The home government was too busy with the war in Europe to pay much attention to America, though Vetch, the Massachusetts agent, already dreamt of ousting the French from America, so that "Her Majesty shall be sole Empress of the vast North American continent." In 1710 British and colonial troops took Port Royal in Acadie, and in the following year the Tories, who were now in power, hoping to eclipse the victories of Marlborough, sent five thousand troops to America. The story of their doings is not a happy one; quarrels arose with the colonies about the question of billeting, while a joint expedition on land by Lake Champlain, and on sea up the St. Lawrence, ended in disaster and the wreck of the fleet. In 1713, however, the Peace of Utrecht proved of great advantage to the

Queen Anne's war. 1702–1713.

Peace of Utrecht. 1713.

AMERICA IN 1713.

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colonies and to English merchants. In the West Indies, where the French portion of St. Christopher had twice been captured by the English, the whole of the island was now resigned to England. Acadie too became English, though the French retained Cape Breton Island and certain fishing rights off Newfoundland—a fruitful scource of future trouble and dispute. Lastly, England gained the right to send one ship-load of goods each year to Spanish America, while the Asiento permitted her to supply the Spaniards with slaves; but this successful breach in the ring of Spanish trade monopoly was quickly widened by smugglers, and soon led to yet another war.

The Peace of Utrecht was rather a starting-point for further quarrels than a settlement of past disputes. It did not decide the essential question who was to be the dominant power in America; it did not even settle the problems with which it was supposed to deal. "The ancient bounds" of Acadie were hotly disputed, and the very name of the country meant different things to French and English. The feeling of antagonism is shown by the outburst of fort-building on both sides. The French, deprived of Acadie, built the strong harbour and fort of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, which served alike as a threat to New England and as a protection to "the river that leads to New France." As long as Louisbourg remained hidden away amongst its fogs in the north, the English colonists could never feel secure, and their first thought in any war was to seize that place. On the mainland too the French began that system of regular fortification which in time threatened to hem in the English completely. In 1720 they built Fort Niagara. Burnet, the energetic governor of New York, replied by building Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario at the end of the Mohawk route from Albany, and when his assembly refused to vote the money he paid for it himself. "I have this spring," he wrote in 1727, "sent up workmen to build a stone house of strength at a place called Oswego, at the mouth of the Onnondaga river, where our principal trade with the far nations is carried on. I have obtained the consent of the Six Nations to build it." The French determined to control the

Fresh rivalries. Fort-building: (1) Louisbourg.

(2) Niagara, 1720. Oswego, 1727. Crown Point, 1731.

other route at least, and owing to disputes between the English colonies, were able in 1731 to seize and fortify Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and so to bar that highway to Canada.

At the other end of the colonies, too, the English secured their power. Here the last colony of South Carolina lay open to attack by the Spaniards in Florida, and since Spain had been co-operating with France, and quarrels were arising from the Asiento, the danger of war was no idle dream. Hence the proposals for a new colony were readily received, and in 1732 Georgia was founded by General Oglethorpe. The charter granted the right of government to the proprietors for twenty-one years, after which time it was to revert to the Crown, and this actually occurred in 1753. Oglethorpe's scheme in founding Georgia was twofold: he intended to erect a series of fortified posts at good defensible points within his territory, and so secure himself from Spanish attack. He also planned to people his colony with debtors and others whom he took from the prisons in England, and to whom he gave an opportunity of starting life anew in Georgia. For this philanthropic work Parliament voted a small grant, and thus Georgia was the only American colony to be founded with the aid of public funds. To ensure that his "assisted emigrants" actually worked and so redeemed their character, Oglethorpe provided that no slaves should be imported: estates were to descend from father to son, and plans were made for small compact settlements, easy to defend. As time went on, the proprietors, anxious to strengthen their colony, admitted bodies of Highlanders and German Moravians, who were planted in small villages. Thus the ideal of a pauper reformatory was gradually lost to sight, and the settlers soon began to grumble because they had no slaves. The proprietors declared that negroes were "a baneful commodity, which, it is well known by sad experience, has brought our neighbour Colonies to the Brink of Ruin, by driving out their White Inhabitants, who were their Glory and Strength, to make room for Black, who are now become the Terror of their unadvised Masters." After a time the rule of exclusion could be maintained no longer, and Georgia became a slave-owning colony.[c] Quarrels too arose with Carolina over the question of traders'

(3) Georgia. 1732.

rights and the treatment of Indians. In one way, however, the colony was a success: it had been founded as an outpost against the Spaniards, and when war came Oglethorpe was able to give a very good account of himself indeed. His victory at Frederica in 1742 saved the colony from the Spaniards.

Thus the years following the Peace of Utrecht were a time when French and English watched each other anxiously, waiting for the next struggle: this was soon to come. The treaty by which the English were allowed to ship one cargo of goods annually to Spanish America soon became a mere cloak for wholesale smuggling: the Spanish coastguards and patrol-ships did their best to stop this illegal trade, and in many a rough-and-tumble skirmish blood was shed. At home there was an increasing cry for war, which Walpole steadily refused, until in 1739 he had to give way. The "War of Jenkin's Ear" is well named if we recognise that ear in its bottle of spirits as a symbol of trade and sea-power for which the war was really fought. At home the struggle was soon merged in the War of the Austrian Succession, and once again England and France had come to blows. In the West Indies Admiral Vernon sacked Porto Bello in 1739, but failed two years later to capture Carthagena, while Anson in the *Centurion*, sent into the Pacific to plunder the Spaniard, found himself forced, like Drake of old, to return home by sailing round the world. Though most of his men were enfeebled with sickness, he captured the Manilla treasure-galleon, and reached England with his prize in tow, after nearly four years' absence (1741–1744). Soon after France had joined in the struggle, the English scored a great success in America, In 1745 Shirley, the energetic governor of Massachusetts, persuaded his assembly to make an attempt on Louisbourg. Pepperell, a local merchant, was made general, and with a small force composed only of colonial militia, but supported by a British fleet, he made a dash on what the French considered an impregnable fortress. Dragging his heavy guns on rough sleighs across the mud of the foreshore, he set up his batteries, and soon succeeded in forcing the astonished and unprepared garrison to surrender. This striking victory greatly

War of Jenkin's Ear. 1739–1748.

elated the colonists and gave them much self-confidence in their arms, and their chagrin can well be imagined when in 1748, at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louisbourg was restored to the French in exchange for Madras. It is true that Parliament voted a large sum to the colony as compensation for its expenses, but the blow to their military pride was not to be healed by a mere gift of money.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. 1748.

As far as America and India are concerned, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was hardly even a truce: there was almost continuous fighting until 1763, and some of the greatest battles were fought overseas when England and France were nominally at peace in Europe. In America the trouble centred in two places, Acadie and the Ohio Valley. The boundaries of Acadie had never been satisfactorily defined: commissioners were appointed under the Peace of 1748 to settle this question, but they only succeeded in disagreeing; the forts of Beauséjour and St. Lawrence glowered at each other across the narrow neck which joined Acadie to the mainland, while the old French inhabitants proved a doubtful factor in the situation. Immediately after the Peace, the English Government had built Halifax (1749) on the south-eastern side of Acadie, as a port and fortress to act as a check on Louisbourg. The French inhabitants, who still dwelt among their pleasant orchards on the western coast, had persistently refused to take the oath of allegiance and had posed as "neutrals" during the recent war. They were constantly set against their English masters by French agents, and some even joined in bands to murder the soldiers of the garrison. At last in 1755, with the certainty of another war with France before his eyes, the English governor decided that something must be done: the Acadians were ordered to take the oath within a certain time, and as they did not comply, they were secretly surrounded by night and deported from the colony, being allowed to settle wherever they willed. This action, however necessary it may have seemed at the time, has left a blot on the story of the English in Nova Scotia.

Acadie (Nova Scotia).

The real clash, however, came in the Ohio Valley. The French had claimed this country because of La Salle's

discovery of the Mississippi long ago in 1682, and now, just as Virginian traders were forming the Ohio Company to push across the Alleghanies and exploit the territories of the Ohio, the French governor of Canada determined to reinforce his claims. At times the Mississippi still washes up the leaden plates buried by his prospecting party. "Year 1749 in the reign of Louis XV, King of France," ran the inscription, "we have buried this plate . . . as a mark of the renewal of possession which we had formerly taken of the aforesaid river Ohio, and all its feeders, and all territory upon both sides of the aforesaid streams as former Kings of France have enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed, and which they have maintained by force of arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle." These sweeping claims were but empty words unless some definite steps were taken to hold the land so claimed, and so in 1752 Duquesne, the new governor, built the fort of Lebœuf, and two years later caught the English napping by building Fort Duquesne on the Ohio forks, the very spot already chosen by Washington for an English fort. This action was a challenge which could not be overlooked. The question was whether the English colonies were to be hemmed in between the Alleghanies and the sea and remain a mere strip of coastwise settlement, while the French established their hold on the Ohio and the Mississippi, thus linking Canada to Louisiana, or whether they were to expel the French from the Ohio and secure freedom to expand westward as they developed. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia saw the situation and promptly sent George Washington, a promising young colonel of militia, to protest: a mistake was made, blood was shed, and nothing could now expel the French but force. Though both countries were at peace, each sent reinforcements, and General Braddock, with three regular regiments and four hundred militia, slowly cut a road through the backwoods of Virginia to attack Fort Duquesne. Crossing the river in the summer sunlight, with drums rolling and colours flying, he was suddenly attacked by the French backwoodsmen and their Indian allies. His troops, though crack regiments, were not used to wood fighting, their serried ranks of scarlet uniforms offered a target which none

The Ohio Valley.

could miss, and they were shot down in confusion. Braddock fell and was buried in the forest, his troops retired on Philadelphia, and Washington, with a handful of militia, was left to protect the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, ablaze with the fires of Indian massacres.

Meanwhile, in Europe war was openly declared, and England ranged herself on the side of Prussia against the joint attacks of France and Russia. This outbreak of the Seven Years' War did not at once improve affairs in America, for the English generals sent there were by no means skilful in their art. The French, however, gave the command of Canada to Montcalm, a brave and capable soldier who found himself sadly handicapped by the red tape of his government and the dishonesty of the Intendant Bigot. The weakness of the French at sea also proved a great drawback, as reinforcements and supplies were hard to send, and when most needed seldom came.

Seven Years' War. 1756–1763.

In 1756 the English lost Oswego on Lake Ontario, while in the following year the arrival of Lord Loudon with eight thousand men from Ireland did not have the desired result. He concentrated all his forces in an ill-planned attack on Louisbourg, which ended in disaster, and while he was employing the colonial militia there the French captured Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake Champlain. Montcalm was greatly to blame for not keeping his Indian allies in hand, and their massacre of the English prisoners made the catchword, "Remember Fort William Henry," a bloody war-cry for the rest of the campaign.

In England, the accession of Pitt to power in June, 1757, changed the whole conduct of affairs: his choice of young and brilliant generals infused new life into the colonial campaigns, while his European policy was no less successful. By means of a rigid blockade he prevented the French from sending their ships across the seas, and he eventually brought their fleets to action. His policy of conquering America on the fields of Germany was accomplished both by giving heavy subsidies to Frederick of Prussia and by supporting him with English troops. This policy, and his frequent raids upon the coast of France,

Pitt's policy. June, 1757–Sept., 1761.

kept a large number of French troops at home in Europe which might have been employed across the seas. During Pitt's short years of office he raised England to such a pitch of glory and success as never has been known before or since: as Horace Walpole said, it was necessary to inquire each morning what fresh success had been achieved, for fear of missing the news of some great victory.

In America the change was quickly felt. In July of 1758 Louisbourg fell to a joint attack led by General Amherst and by Admiral Boscawen; while Forbes, despite his fatal sickness, pushed over the Alleghanies to Fort Duquesne only to find it abandoned, as Montcalm had been forced to concentrate his men for the defence of Canada. The abandoned post was re-named Fort Pitt in honour of the national hero, and the name of Pittsburg still recalls the days when the smoky city was only a fort wrapped in the silent forest. Pitt's men had been successful: there was only one failure, for Abercromby had not been recalled. Pushing up the Hudson with fifteen thousand troops to attack the French fort of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, he caught Montcalm and three thousand men sheltering in a temporary stockade. Abercromby flung his men to certain death in a frontal attack, and suffered a cruel defeat, leaving Montcalm wondering at the madness of a soldier who neglected his artillery in such a case.

Amherst captures Louisbourg. 1758.

Next year a triple attack was planned on Canada itself. Amherst was to take Ticonderoga and push on up the Richelieu river, Prideaux was to re-build Oswego and capture Niagara, while Wolfe was to sail up the St. Lawrence and besiege Quebec, where the other generals were to join him. The operations were successful, though Amherst's deliberate movements made him too late to join Wolfe as planned, and so the whole success of the attack on Quebec depended upon Wolfe's courage and ingenuity. While sick in bed, with winter coming on, and after he had failed in an attack on the impregnable Beauport lines, Wolfe held a council of war and adopted a plan which only genius would dare to undertake. He sailed on up the river, and, dropping down in boats by night, succeeded in

Wolfe captures Quebec. 1759.

scaling the cliffs above the city. Next morning Montcalm saw an army drawn up above the city, and was forced to leave his trenches and give battle in the open. The victory cost both generals their lives, but ended in the surrender of the city. Matters were still precarious, for a small British force was left to winter in Quebec while the fleet went home. Everything now depended on which side first received reinforcements in the New Year. The English command of the sea really settled the question, and with the arrival of a fleet and the junction of Amherst's troops, the army was able to march on Montreal and to receive the surrender of the whole of Canada.

Fall of Montreal. End of campaign. 1760.

England owed her great victories in the Seven Years' War, and, indeed, all her successes in the wars of the eighteenth century, to her command of the sea. This sea-power was no sudden growth, but was due to the long training of the Navy, the improvement of administration, and the development of sound theories of strategy in the grouping of fleets and of the fighting tactics of ships in action. The union of the two sea-powers of England and Holland in 1688 led to victories from which the English gained much more than their allies, while by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 England's sea-power was still further strengthened. Gibraltar and Minorca gave her firm bases for her Mediterranean fleet, while the Asiento was an important trading concession. "Before that war England was one of the Sea-Powers; after it she became the Sea-Power without any exception." The long peace under Walpole was only possible because of the supremacy of English fleets at sea, but this same time saw a decline in the efficiency of the Navy. A bad type of ship was built, old officers retained command, and there developed a cautious type of tactics that made the early years of the War of Jenkin's Ear anything but famous in the annals of the Navy. That war, however, brought better men to the front: Anson was an inspiring commander, daring in action, and sound in theory. Soon after his famous voyage round the world, which he accomplished despite incredible hardships, he was appointed to the Admiralty, and he soon put matters in a better state.

Sea-power.

In war, the first duty of the English fleet was to retain command of the narrow seas and to prevent invasion, or landings in Scotland or Ireland. To do this a system of blockade was gradually developed, both to prevent French fleets slipping from their ports, and to force them to action; for, while there was still "a fleet in being," it was capable of doing infinite damage. The two great harbours of Brest and Toulon were usually blockaded, the former by fleets based on the Western Channel ports, the latter from Minorca or Gibraltar; but westerly gales might blow off the blockading squadrons, who had to run for shelter, and when the wind changed it was a race, the French fleet trying to get away to sea before the English appeared. Lastly, the English Navy had to send fleets to India and America, not merely for protection, but to join with local militia and regular troops against the French colonies. Anson's reforms at the Admiralty included a new build of ship, new uniforms for the officers, the choice of young and energetic admirals, and the issue of a new set of fighting instructions, which made it a capital offence to neglect to help a comrade's ship in action.

Anson's work bore fruit in the Seven Years' War. The decisive year was 1759, when French fleets lay blockaded at Brest and Toulon, waiting the opportunity to join for an invasion of Ireland. From Toulon the French escaped, but were brought to action by Boscawen, who sailed from Gibraltar and defeated them off Lagos in Portugal. Meanwhile, Hawke had been blown off Brest by an autumn gale from the west, and, when he managed to beat back, found the French had sailed south to Quiberon Bay. With a winter night fast closing in, and a rising gale blowing him on to a lee shore, he boldly followed them in between the rocks and shallows of that dangerous anchorage. There he gained a famous victory, breaking the naval power of France for the rest of the war, and thus securing English conquests in India and America. The lessons of sea-power were well learnt in the Seven Years' War, and though political jobbery and discontent again impaired the efficiency of the Navy, they were never wholly forgotten. Through the evil time of the War of American Independence,

Battle of Quiberon Bay. 1759.

it was still the Navy that saved England from ruin, and she has never since lost that command of the sea which she gained so securely in the glorious days of the eighteenth century.

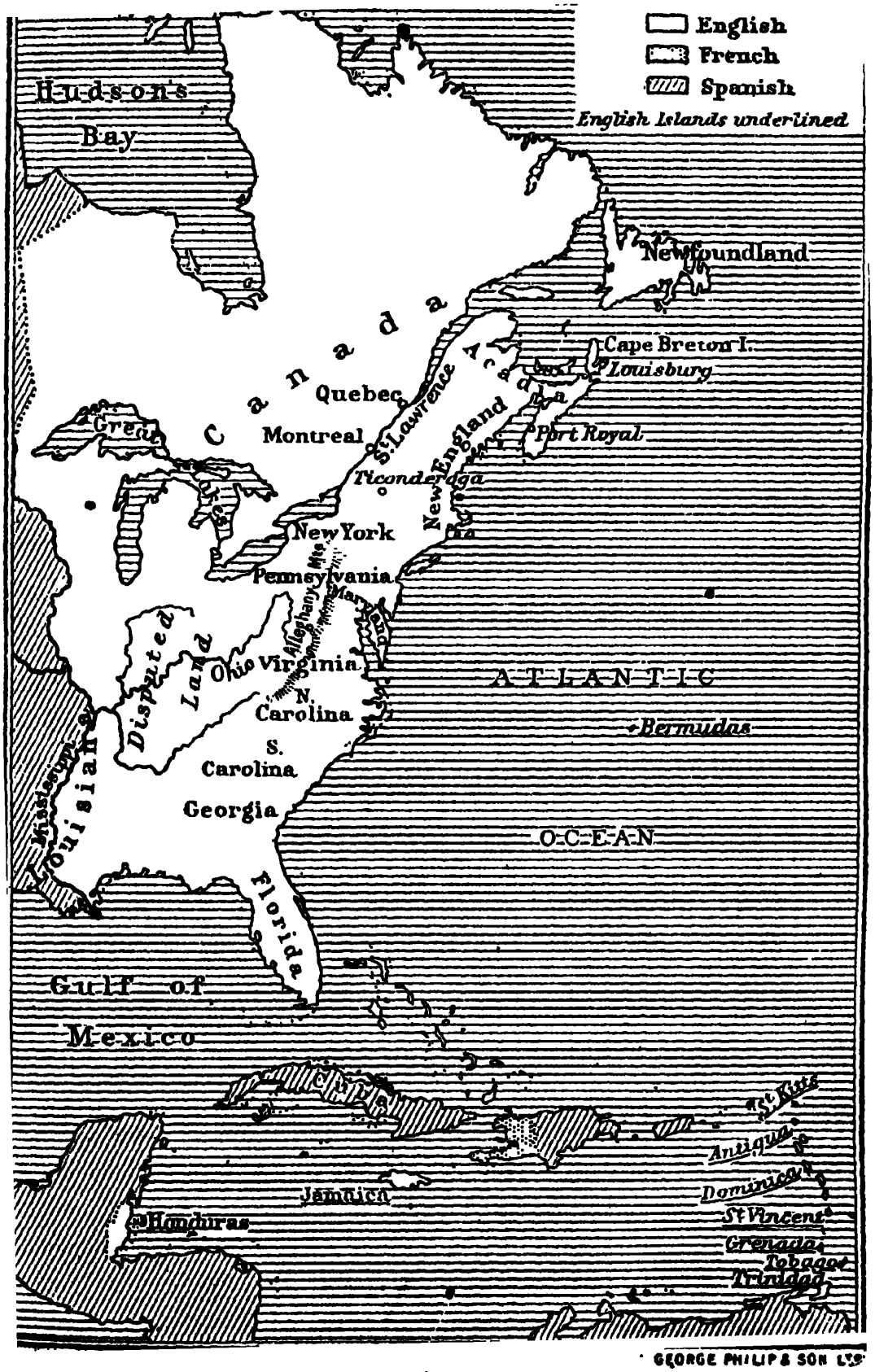
The Peace of Paris in 1763 expelled the French entirely from the mainland of America, thus confirming the great victories in Canada. Spain, who had, to her own misfortune, entered the war in 1761, surrendered Florida to England, and received in return the vague French claims beyond the Mississippi. In the West Indies, where English fleets had captured most of the French colonies, the larger islands were restored, but Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, which had long been a source of dispute, were kept by England, and she also had confirmed her right to cut log-wood in Honduras. In the East, where Clive had captured the French settlements, these places were returned, but a limit was placed on the number of troops which the French might keep in Pondicherry. Thus it was hoped to limit their ambitious plans in India.

Peace of Paris. 1763.

The effects of this great settlement were far-reaching. For France they meant the complete ruin of her vast schemes in the West, and her monarchy received a blow from which it never properly recovered, while she conceived a hatred of England which was long in dying out. In America, the removal of the French menace meant the removal of the firmest guarantee of colonial loyalty. "The death of Wolfe upon the plains of Abraham meant not only the conquest of Canada, but the birth of the United States of America." For Canada, too, the Peace of Paris was the opening of a new era: England found herself faced by the problem of governing a conquered body of Europeans, but by sympathetic statesmanship she was able to deal with problems at least as difficult as those she failed to solve in her own colonies. For England, the Peace marked the zenith of her power, which was soon so rudely to be shaken.

BOOKS.—J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, should be read by every one. C. M. Andrews, *The Old Colonial Period*, is a brilliant little book, describing the internal condition of the colonies. The first chapter of J. A. Doyle: *The Colonies under the House of Hanover* ives a good picture of colonies at this period. A. G. Bradley, *The*

AMERICA IN 1763.



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Fight with France for North America, is a picturesque account of the great struggle. *Anson's Voyage round the World* is published in the Everyman series, with an interesting introduction by John Masefield. Those who wish to study the subject more thoroughly should read W. H. Lecky, *The History of England in the XVIIIth Century.*

1696. Board of Trade founded.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht. Asiento agreement.
1732. Georgia founded.
1739–1748. War of Jenkin's Ear.
1756–1763. Seven Years' War.

CHAPTER IV

The East India Company as a Trading Venture [1600–1763]

So far we have traced the growth of English colonisation in America, and the struggle with the French; now we must turn to India and see the beginnings of a similar struggle there. The story of the English in India is the story of how a trading company acquired such vast political power that the Government was forced step by step to take over its responsibilities. When the English first came to India they found themselves face to face with an ancient people, highly civilised, and governed by an ill-organised and despotic state. Thus at first the Company was quite content to busy itself with trade alone, and it was not until about 1760, when the Mogul Empire was fast breaking up, that the English began to gain political power.

Portuguese monopoly. XVI Century.

The English were not the first to exploit the Eastern traffic: the Portuguese explorers had found the way to India, and for the whole of the sixteenth century they enjoyed a virtual monopoly of this lucrative trade. In the Spice Islands, beyond the Straits of Malacca, they had their settlements, while on the coasts of India their chief factory was at Goa, a place which they still

hold: the present Portuguese colonies on the coast of Africa are a reminder of their greatness in days long past. But the Portuguese were vigorous crusaders rather than cunning traders, and their cruel treatment of the natives and piratical plundering of merchant ships often hindered their trade. They freely intermarried with the Indians, and lost some of their former vigour. The Portuguese had other interests besides India, and the attempt to develop the sugar industry in their new found colony of Brazil absorbed much of their energy, and thus their settlements in the East could offer little resistance to the increasing number of foreign traders.

The Portuguese monopoly ended with the sixteenth century, when the Dutch and English appeared together as keen rivals for the Eastern trade. In 1600, after much discussion, the East India Company was formed in London and granted a charter by Elizabeth. The attempt of English merchants to open a trade with the East had led to the formation of several companies; the Russia Company, then the Levant Company, and now this new venture which was to make the voyage round the Cape, thus showing in a practical way the scorn of Protestant England for Papal authority. The royal charter gave the Company a monopoly of the Eastern trade for fifteen years, and allowed them to export a certain amount of coin every voyage. This unusual privilege of exporting coin was looked upon with grave suspicion, and formed a convenient method of attack for the Company's enemies. The first fleet sailed in 1601, with a cargo consisting chiefly of coin, glass, cutlery, and so on, and after trading successfully with the Spice Islands, returned in 1603 laden with a valuable cargo, and paid a dividend of about 95 per cent. Two further voyages were made to the Spice Islands, and it was not till 1608 that, during the third voyage, India proper was visited.

English and Dutch as rivals. XVII Century.

East India Company. 1600.

The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain had been helped, to a certain extent, by Elizabeth; but now the English recognised in them a formidable rival to their trade and growing sea-power. Dutch traders had visited India a few years before the English; their great East India Company was

founded in 1602 and backed with all the influence of the State. The Portuguese Crown had been joined to Spain in 1580, and the Dutch seized the opportunity of attacking the Portuguese in India with the greatest energy, driving them out of the Spice Islands and capturing their trade. But the Hollanders were determined to keep the Spice Islands for themselves, and they opposed the English traders by every means in their power. In 1619 an arrangement was made between England and Holland, by which James agreed that his subjects should only retain one fortified post in the Spice Islands, but though they were nominally allowed to trade in other places, the Dutch still put every obstacle in their way. A few years later, in 1623, the judicial murder of the English Company's servants at Amboyna, by the Dutch, led to a great outcry in England: the matter was referred to arbitration and dragged on for many years until in 1653 a small sum was awarded to the English as compensation. Amboyna, however, settled one thing; the Spice Islands became a Dutch preserve, and the spice trade a Dutch monopoly, and the Dutch wars of Cromwell and Charles II failed to alter this decision. Thus the East India Company, which had already begun to traffic with India, was forced to rely on that trade more than ever.

Dutch and English struggle for Spice Islands.

India itself is a huge triangle, shut in on the north by the Himalayas, and surrounded on east and west by the sea. Though in modern times the Europeans reached India by sea, from the earliest days invasion after invasion poured through the passes of the North-West frontier, for the great mountain ranges were a much less formidable barrier than they seemed. Thus when the English reached the East they found the whole of Northern India ruled by the Grand Mogul, with his capital at Delhi, while in the south were other Mohammedan states. This Mohammedan Empire was a military despotism of Afghan rulers, which had been founded by Baber in 1526, and extended and organised by his successors. It was but the last of a series of empires established by invaders from the north. The majority of the Indians were Hindus by religion and they were then, as now, rigidly divided by the system of caste, connected with the trade or

Mogul Empire. 1526.

employment of the individual, and upheld by the strictest religious rules. The sacred caste of Brahmins were the interpreters of the religious laws, and it was to their advantage to emphasise the caste system and their own superiority. Intermarriage was strictly forbidden, no man could rise from one caste to another, and so the civilisation of India became fixed, and altered little for many hundreds of years. Great towns there were but few, though manufactures such as the making of silks, cotton fabrics, and jewellery were carried on by village craftsmen. Most of the Indians were peasants, dwelling in their village communities and waging a constant warfare against famine on the one hand, and the jungle on the other: it was of but little importance to them that empires rose and fell above their heads.

Such was India when the English first came to it, and it was early decided to send a man "of pregnant understanding, well-spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comelie personage," as envoy to the Mogul. Sir Thomas Roe was chosen for this important mission, and lived at the Mogul's court for three years (1615-1618), and obtained permission for the establishment of factories. Roe strongly advised the Company to avoid interference in local politics, a game at which both Dutch and Portuguese were only too ready to play. "It is the beggaring of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territories, that he keeps soldiers that spend it, yet his garrisons are mean. He never profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantation here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best; yet their dead payes consume all their gain. Let this be received as a rule that if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for without controversey it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India." Similar objections to the waste of money on forts were often repeated: a pamphleteer of 1698 declares rather glibly, "Nothing can be more ridiculous than to have Forts there to secure the Trade of the Coasts of 10,000 Miles; as if we should have a Fort at Archangel to secure the Trade to Turky." With one disastrous exception, the Company

Sir T. Roe's dispatch.

followed Roe's advice for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and during that time it became by far the richest and most influential trading company in England, if not in the world.

The first English settlement on the mainland was at Surat, which was founded in 1613, and for a time became the chief English settlement in the East; by 1640 Fort St. George had been founded on the south-east or Coromandel coast, and under its protection grew up the town of Madras with its separate quarters for natives and Europeans. Further north in 1651 the English had settled on the wealthy delta of the Ganges at Hughli, near-by to rival settlements of the Dutch and Portuguese, and it was not until 1690, after an unsuccessful war with the Mogul, that Calcutta was founded. On the western coast, Bombay, the dowry given by Portugal to Charles II with his wife Catherine of Braganza, was handed over to the Company, and soon took the place of Surat as the chief western town. Thus by the end of the century we find the three "Presidency" towns, Bombay, Fort St. George (Madras), and Fort William (Calcutta), firmly established with their governors and councils, controlling the trade and organisation of the other English settlements within their area. Though the Company was becoming more and more interested in trade with India, it had other stations and other trade as well. The earliest factory at Bantam in Sumatra was long an important post, and controlled Madras until 1653, while a factory was established in Persia and coffee was imported from Mocha and other Arabian ports, despite the Arab pirates. Further eastward, stations were established in Cochin China and Tonquin, and though these were later abandoned, trade was carried on with China for its tea, and with Japan.

English Settlements: Surat. 1613.

Fort St. George (Madras). 1640.

Fort William (Calcutta). 1690.

Bombay. 1662.

The trading companies of mediæval England, such as the Staplers and the Merchant Adventurers, had been "regulated" companies, in which each member traded individually provided he kept the rules of his company. But the trading companies of Elizabeth, faced by the

Financial development.

new problems of distant voyages and by the need of obtaining capital from outside the narrow ring of merchants, began to trade upon a joint-stock basis. At first subscriptions were raised from members for each particular voyage, and when the fleet returned the capital was repaid and the profits divided. The East India Company soon found that this system also had its disadvantages, and it became customary to carry over capital from voyage to voyage, and thus permanent clerks and traders could be retained in the East. After being much troubled by "interlopers" and a rival firm, which had circulated base coin in India, the Company received a new charter from Cromwell in 1657, and was reorganised as a joint-stock company of the modern sort: its shares were sold at the Exchange, and dividends declared from time to time.

The affairs of the Company were ably managed by a governor and committee-men annually elected by the shareholders and these officials endeavoured, though not always with success, to keep a tight hold over their employees in the East. The "factories" were much like colleges, with common chapel and dining-hall, and the governor had large disciplinary powers over the junior members. As time went on the factories grew, hospitals, warehouses, and other buildings sprang up, and the whole were amply fortified. The Company's servants were but poorly paid, and generally made up for this by private trade, a practice the Company often tried in vain to suppress. From the letter-books of the Company we can gain amusing sidelights on the life of the English in the East. At times they tried to make up for their weary exile from home by various amusements, which brought down sharp reproofs upon their heads from the vigilant directors. Madras was reproved in 1721 for its gambling mania. "It is with great concern we hear the Itch of gaming hath spread itself over Madras, that even the gentlewomen play for great sums, and that Captain Seaton makes a trade of it to the stripping of several of the young men there." The factory of Bencoolen received a severe reprimand for the immoderate drinking of its staff. "It is a wonder to us," wrote the directors, "that any of you

Factory organisation.

live six months to an end, or that there are not more quarrellings and duellings among you, if half the liquors he charged were guzzled down." The latter then recounts "the monstrous expense of July . . . seventy-four dozen and a half of wine, of which 8 dozen and 5 were double bottles, and 50 dozen and 5 single bottles of French claret, 24½ dozen of Burton ale and Pale Beer, two pipes and 42 gallons of Madeira wine, six flasks of Shyrash, 274 bottles of Toddy, three leagers (casks) and ¾ of Batavia Arrack, and 164 gallons of Goa."[1] As this is alleged to have been drunk by nineteen people, it seems, perhaps, fairer to believe that the steward was forging his accounts.

The trading fleets.

The Company's ships sailed together in fleets from the Thames, well armed and equipped to meet an enemy if necessary. Calling at St. Helena, that sea-tavern of the Company which played for them the same part as the Cape did for the Dutch, they stood away for the south, and usually took six months to reach the Indies. A writer of 1750 estimated that three-quarters of the outward cargoes consisted of precious metal, and the rest of lead, iron, guns, powder, clothes, and such like. In return they brought two classes of goods: pepper, tea, coffee, and some spices, which could not be grown in England, and silks and cotton goods, which the mercantilist statesman regarded with great distrust.

Attack on Company in England.

Soon after the accession of William III, the East India Company fell on evil days. Between 1686 and 1690, a deliberate attempt to gain political power in India had failed disastrously, and peace had only been obtained by promising an indemnity to Aurungzeb, the Mogul Emperor. Now in England, the vast wealth of the Company stirred the jealousy of those merchants who were not members to oppose the renewal of the charter. It was only by spending fabulous sums in bribery that Sir Josiah Child, the energetic governor of the Company, succeeded in obtaining a new charter in 1693, but the victory was short-lived. The opponents joined with the Whigs, who were now in power, and succeeded in their plans. The attack on the

[1] Quoted in Roberts: *India*.

Company was made along three lines. The economist of the day objected to the export of silver, and also to many of the goods imported by the Company. "The consumption among ourselves of the wrought silks, Bengals, and printed Callicoes of India," he declared, "is prejudicial to this Nation, and not only carries out our Mony, but hinders our silk and woollen Manufacturers at home." The only part of the trade he approved was the import of such tropical goods as could not be grown in England, and he wished that the Dutch monopoly of the spice trade could be broken down. The Company was stoutly defended by Sir Josiah Child, in his *Discourse of Trade*. "It will not be denied by the honourable East India Company, but they import more goods into England than they export, and that to purchase the same, they carry out quantities of gold and silver annually; yet no man that understands anything of the Trade of the World will affirm that England loses by that Trade." The balance of trade, he explains, must be looked at from a wider point of view, for besides the strong fleet the Company maintains, and the annual import of saltpetre (necessary for gunpowder), a large amount of the objectionable imports are re-exported to the Continent and sold at a huge profit. At the moment this defence did not carry much weight, and the Company's trade was long regarded with suspicion, but Child's opinion gradually gained ground, and in 1750 a merchant, writing of the East Indian Trade, declares "notwithstanding the many specious arguments that have been used to the contrary, I must consider it a general benefit to the nation." Another line of attack was on the narrow monopoly of the Company: it was proposed to meet this by issuing new shares, and so allowing the discontented outsiders to obtain a share of the trade, but this was vigorously opposed by Child. Others again wished to reorganise the Company on a "regulated" basis, so that each member could trade for himself.

Reply in Child's "Discourse of Trade."

In 1698, when the Government was hard put to it to raise money, a charter was granted to a New Company in return for a loan of £2,000,000: the charter of the Old Company was not immediately revoked, and thus for several years there

were two companies trading to India. Such a state of affairs could not last long; in the East there was constant quarrelling between the companies' servants, while the competition led to a serious rise in prices of Indian goods, a development that neither company could regard with satisfaction. In England the strife between the two companies was so keen that it overshadowed the division into political parties and split the country into two camps: William was most anxious to heal this dispute and at last in 1702 the two companies were amalgamated. The failure of the New Company is easy to understand. It was burdened with a vast loan it had been forced to find for the Government, it had little or no experience in Eastern trading, and it had no old-established factories or well-trained body of merchants and servants in the East. The very merchants it employed were discharged servants of the Old Company, and proved dishonest or incapable, and their bungling diplomacy failed to get the hoped-for privileges from the Mogul. The United Company became stronger than ever; its new charter granted it very large powers, while at home it was backed by the Government and the whole of the City.

The New Company. 1698.

Union. 1702.

For nearly forty years after the union of the two companies, there is little exciting to tell of the East India Company, but though this was a period of quiet growth and development for the Company, it saw the break-up of the Mogul Empire, and the need for a new policy on the part of the Europeans. After the death of the great Emperor Aurungzeb in 1707, the Mogul power soon became little more than a name: emperor succeeded emperor at the will of a general or powerful minister, but the actual control over his vast dominions was very small. In an attempt to assert his authority in Southern India, Aurungzeb had destroyed two powerful Mohammedan states, and so the Deccan became the hunting-ground for adventurers. The decay of the Mogul Empire was hastened by the growth of the power of the Mahrattas, a confederacy of Hindu princes of Central India, who rose in revolt against the Mohammedan

Break-up of Old System. 1700–1744.

(1) Decay of Mogul Empire.

(2) Rise of Mahrattas.

power at Delhi. Led by Shivaji (1627–1680), a great soldier prince, the "mountain rats of the Deccan" ate the heart out of the Mogul Empire. Ranging far and wide, they levied blackmail or destroyed all settled government, and soon the Mahratta states formed a great wedge across Central India, cutting off the northern parts of the Mogul Empire from the Deccan. After Shivaji's death the power passed to the Brahmin minister, the Peshwa, and under the rule of the Peshwas the Mahratta power still grew, until it was finally checked by the victories of Wellesley and Hastings early in the nineteenth century. As the Mogul's power declined, so his deputies, the nawabs, became more powerful. In South India the Nizam of Hyderabad was actually an independent sovereign, though he owed nominal allegiance to the Mogul, the Carnatic under its nawab was officially subordinate to the Nizam, while in the north-east the Nawab of Bengal was almost independent also.

(3) Growth of independent kingdoms.

This change in the balance of power affected the position of the English factories; although their trade increased steadily so that an annual dividend of 10 per cent. was usually declared, it seemed that they might soon have to fight to retain their position. While all these troubles were going on in India, the sea-coast settlements strengthened themselves by building more fortifications and by obtaining new grants of recognition and privileges from the successive Moguls, or from the local nawabs. The Company had an armed force consisting chiefly of Sepoys, which was steadily growing, while at Bombay the governor was forced to maintain a large force and a navy to protect himself and his trade against the constant peril from the pirates.

(4) Growth of English power.

It was, however, the spread of the French quarrel to India that put an end to this period of peaceful trade development. At first French and English had lived peaceably together in India: there was trade enough for both, and the wars in Europe did not spread to India, though on the seas men regarded each other as enemies. Indeed, the early French attempts in India were not very successful, and

(5) The French.

caused but little anxiety to the English. The French companies were largely State-controlled concerns, and they lacked the healthy activity of private enterprise, which had been the basis of the English Company. Even the East India Company started by Colbert was not a great success; it was practically ruined by the European policy of Louis XIV, for his continual wars with the Dutch (1672–1713) made peaceful trade impossible. The fortunes of the Company fell so low that from 1708 to 1720 it was forced to let all its privileges to some other merchants. After 1720 it was reorganised, and, owing to a policy of peace in Europe, its trade increased very rapidly. When the War of the Austrian Succession was threatening in Europe, the French Company tried to negotiate for neutrality in India, but the scheme broke down, and so, in 1744, the struggle between French and English spread also to the East.

French power in India. 1744.

The French power in India might at the moment appear very strong, but it was not as firmly founded as the English. The French had suffered a number of serious checks, and even now their great prosperity was but of recent date. Their Company was practically a department of State: its officials and directors were appointed by the King: its shareholders took no part in the control of the Company, but received dividends at a fixed rate guaranteed them by the State. In India its chief settlement, Pondicherry, was as fine a town as its neighbour, Madras, but the other settlements were not nearly so important as the English factories, while the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius (Isle de France), though a useful sea-base for attacking India, were sometimes used as a convenient refuge for French fleets, which should have remained off the Indian coast.

The War of the Austrian Succession. 1744–1748.

La Bourdonnais, the French governor of Mauritius, had planned to attack the English settlements as soon as war broke out, but he got tired of waiting and sent his fleet home. Thus, it was not till 1746 that he arrived off Pondicherry, and concerted plans with its governor, Dupleix, to seize Madras. The English fleet left Madras to defend itself, and it was soon

surrendered to La Bourdonnais, who astounded Dupleix by restoring it to the English in return for a heavy indemnity. Dupleix was furious, and, after a gale had driven La Bourdonnais to Mauritius, he denounced the treaty, marched upon Madras, and seized it once again. Soon after, a strong English fleet arrived and besieged Pondicherry in vain, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Madras to the English in exchange for Louisbourg: the wealthy factory seemed of much greater value to the English merchants than the fog-bound harbour on Cape Breton Island.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. 1748.

Dupleix was a man of wide ideas and a vivid imagination, and, despite this temporary check, he schemed to extend the power of France until she was supreme in the whole of India. His plan was to interfere in the quarrels and disputes of the local nawabs, and thus gain influence by supporting a successful candidate: the very policy against which Sir Thomas Roe had warned the English Company at the beginning of its career. Dupleix's policy soon forced the English of Madras to play a similar game, and thus, though France and England were nominally at peace, they soon found themselves face to face on Indian battlefields, much to the displeasure of the directors of both companies at home, who saw trade profits being rapidly eaten up by useless and expensive wars.

Dupleix's schemes.

Dupleix soon found an opportunity to put his plans into practice. He championed the claims of Chunda Sahib to the Carnatic and Muzzuffir Jung to the Deccan, and soon succeeded, despite English opposition, in conquering the Carnatic for his nominee; by 1750 he was hailed as Suzerain of Southern India, and began to build a city to commemorate his victories. Meanwhile Dupleix proclaimed Muzzuffir Jung Subadar (or Viceroy) of the Deccan, and sent him off with the French soldier, Bussy, to seize his capital of Hyderabad. Here Bussy stayed for several years organising and drilling a native army, and bolstering up the authority of a new Subadar, whom he had created on Muzuffir Jung's death. Thus by 1751 it seemed that Dupleix's schemes were all successful, and that the French power had far surpassed the English in Southern

India. It was soon seen, however, on how unstable a basis that power really stood. While Dupleix was besieging Trichinopoly in 1751, Robert Clive, then a captain in the Company's army, setting out from Madras with one hundred men, seized Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. This forced Dupleix to send some of his troops northward to try to regain this important fortress, but Clive with his scanty garrison succeeded in defeating them. After this reverse fortune never smiled on him again, and, in 1754, he was recalled by the French Company, who had become thoroughly alarmed at his policy and the emptiness of their treasury. Meanwhile, the two rival companies came to an agreement, by which they both undertook to renounce a policy of conquest, but the terms of this treaty were never really carried out, and it was but an unmeaning truce for a few years until the outbreak of war in 1756. The romantic story of Dupleix, his recall by the Company, and his death in poverty and neglect, have coloured the whole of this period of Indian history. But a careful examination of the facts shows that the French success was more apparent than real: the Company's treasury was exhausted, Dupleix was a man who never knew when to stop, and the French influence at the native courts might easily have been overturned by a domestic revolution.

Clive captures Arcot. 1751.

Dupleix recalled.

The Seven Years' War was a time of victory for the English in India as well as in America, but in India, too, it started with successes for the enemy. When the French commander Lally, the son of an Irish Jacobite, landed at Pondicherry early in 1758, he found the English at a disadvantage, for the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Daula, and the massacre of the "Black Hole" (1756), had forced the governor of Madras to send Clive and his best troops to Bengal. Thus Lally quickly captured Fort St. David, but after some indecisive actions with the British fleet, the French admiral retired to Mauritius, and Lally was left unsupported at sea. His attempt to besiege Madras was a failure, for he could only blockade it by land, but it was not till 1760 that the tide definitely turned in favour of the English. In the Indian campaign, no less than

Seven Years' War.