the Canadian, sea-power was a decisive factor, and Hawke's victory at Quiberon (Nov. 1759) cut off the last hope of French help from home. Despite his protests, Bussy had been ordered to throw up his work at Hyderabad and join Lally with what troops he could, and, in January, 1760, their united forces were defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash, just north of Pondicherry. The fall of that fortress was now only a matter of time; it was surrendered just a year later, and with its surrender fell French power in India.

Wandewash. 1760.

The Peace of Paris in 1763 gave the English the Northern Circars, a strip of land on the east coast: Pondicherry went back to the French, but the number of troops they might keep there was strictly limited, and in future disputes Pondicherry was always an easy prey to an English force. Though the Peace still left the French some factories in India, and did not expel them as completely from the East as from America, yet it marks decisively the failure of Dupleix's great dream. On several later occasions the French were still to find means of stirring up trouble for the English in India, but it was generally by means of alliance with native rulers, and the loan of French officers to train and organise their armies, rather than by great expeditions of French troops. The English command of the sea made it increasingly difficult for the French to send fleets to the East in time of war.

Peace of Paris. 1763.

BOOKS.—P. E. Roberts, *India: History to the end of the East India Company* [Vol. VII. of Lucas' "Historical Geography"] is a readable text-book which deals with social and economic as well as political matters. Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, 1756–1858, is a series of interesting documents with a valuable explanatory introduction. More advanced reading will be found in W. W. Hunter, *History of British India*.

1495. **The Portuguese in India: Goa becomes their port.**
1600. **E. I. C. formed (first voyage, 1601–1603).**
1623. **Massacre of Amboyna: English practically excluded from Spice Islands.**

1701–1708. United Company formed by amalgamation.
1744–1748. War of Austrian Succession spreads to India. 1746. French capture Madras.
1756–1763. Seven Years' War.

CHAPTER V

The Independence of America, 1763–1783

THE War of American Independence is a great turning-point in the history of the Empire, for then the earliest English colonies broke away in anger from the Mother Country and set up an independent state, which for many years remained a hostile and suspicious critic of Britain and all her doings. For a long time this feeling coloured all the writings about the origin of the United States. In America, political orators and "patriot" historians magnified the doings of the Fathers of the Revolution, and painted Britain as a brutal tyrant, while in England Whig writers threw all the blame on North, and refused to see that their party had any share in the responsibility for the disaster. Now, however, such feelings are dying away, and we can examine the story with less prejudice and a clearer understanding.

"As to the English colonies, one essential point should be known; it is that they are never taxed. . . . She should have taxed them from the foundation; I have certain advice that all the colonies would take fire at being taxed now." This shrewd remark was made by Montcalm in 1757, and its truth was proved immediately after the Seven Years' War. Pitt, the Great Commoner, had organised victory all over the world, until the jealousy of the new King, George III, thrust him from office in 1761: Bute, the King's friend, forced through the unpopular Peace of Paris and then resigned. To George Grenville, the new Prime Minister, was left the thankless task of reconstructing the Empire and reorganising the finances.

An expert financier, an honest and indefatigable worker, Grenville was hampered by a legal type of mind which sometimes prevented him from taking a really broad view of affairs. He lectured the King upon his duty, and George, who objected to these discourses and disliked Grenville personally, got rid of him as soon as he could find a substitute. But before he went, Grenville had done irreparable harm.

In every part of the Empire Grenville was faced with difficult problems. In India the conquests of Clive were followed by gross scandals in the government of Bengal, and in 1765 Clive was sent out again to put an end to the evil state of affairs. The government of the conquered province of Canada had to be organised by a royal proclamation, though this settlement was only a temporary expedient. But the most important problem was that of the American colonies, who were engaged immediately after the war in a bloody struggle with the Indians, led by their chief Pontiac, who rightly foresaw that the expulsion of the French meant that the Redskins could no longer hold the balance of power between the Europeans, and would soon be squeezed out by the white man.

George Grenville and Imperial problems.

Of the three great problems which had led to so much friction between the colonies and the Mother Country—the organisation of the administrative system, the control of trade, and the defence of America—Grenville tackled the two last, but in his mind they were closely connected. He saw that the Navigation Laws were but little observed; the cost of collection was far greater than the value of the customs revenue, and smuggling was rife. Grenville determined to alter this, for to his orderly mind it was absurd to retain laws on the statute-book unless they were enforced, and so with infinite care he studied the problem in all its bearings, and worked through the numerous Acts of Parliament. He began to tighten up the whole system, sending absentee officials back to their posts, and in 1764 passed the Sugar Act, lowering the duty on molasses, so that smuggling should be unprofitable. Grenville's policy was very unpopular

Sugar Act, 1764.

in America, and it was shrewdly observed that it was "this new invention of collecting taxes which makes them burdensome"; but Parliament had always regulated the trade of the plantations, and the Americans grumbled and paid. It needed something further to give a handle to their discontent.

The defence of the Empire by sea was secured by the Navy, to whose upkeep the colonies paid nothing, but by land the colonial militia was the only force in time of peace, and the Indian war had shown how exposed the colonies were to attack. Grenville thought that a standing army should be maintained in America for defence against the Indians, or against French attempts at revenge. Only a small part of the cost of this army could be met from the customs revenue, and Grenville proposed that England should pay a third of the balance, and that the rest should be raised in America. He suggested that this should be done by means of a stamp duty, but left the colonies a year in which they might propose an alternative. As this was not done, the Stamp Act was passed in 1765. By this measure government stamps had to be bought and placed on all newspapers, documents, and many other things, much as an excise stamp is placed on patent medicines to-day. This Act raised a storm of objection in America, and all the discontent at the reinforcement of the trade regulations vented itself in an outcry against the stamps. A congress of representatives from the various colonies was held at New York, and the Act was denounced, while riots were organised, offices burnt, and the hated stamps destroyed. This opposition found its echo in England, where Pitt, who had been ill when the Act was passed, came down to the House and denounced the policy. "If I could have endured to be carried in my bed," he declared, "so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it."

Stamp Act, 1765.

Meanwhile, Grenville had left office, and largely owing to Pitt's efforts the Stamp Act was repealed by the new ministry, but in its place was passed the Declaratory Act, which stated

that Parliament had the right to tax America. For the moment, the clamour died down; few saw the danger of the Declaratory Act, while the citizens of Charlestown in South Carolina erected a statue, which still stands, to Pitt, "who gloriously exerted himself in defending the freedom of Americans, the true sons of England." Grenville's policy then had failed, and a serious crisis had only been averted by the Repeal. A wit declared that Grenville lost America because, unlike his predecessors, he read the American despatches, but the Whig neglect of colonial problems during the first half of the century was partly responsible for the catastrophe that was yet to come.

Stamp Act repealed. Declaratory Act, 1766.

Legally Parliament was quite within its rights in taxing the colonies, despite Pitt's unhistorical argument that it possessed the legislative, but not the taxative powers, and despite the other contention which admitted the right of taxation for the control of trade, but not for raising a revenue. Though claims to "rights" and "liberty" were bandied to and fro, the real question was one of expediency and of constitutional development. Just as in the seventeenth century Parliament fought against the King, so now the Americans were striving against Parliament for rights which were really usurpations, and in each case the side of liberty won the day. The Americans flung in the teeth of Parliament those very phrases which Parliament itself had used as a rallying-cry against the King. Thus we should think of the Americans rather as champions of a more liberal form of government than as "rebels." Our chief regret must be that the contest could not be settled without the bloodshed of civil war, and the hatred which it left behind.

It is one of the ironics of history that the Act which finally led the Americans to fight was actually passed under the shadow of Pitt's authority. Called on to form a ministry on the basis of reconciliation, Pitt had no sooner accomplished his task than he retired to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham. This action of the Great Commoner seemed to throw a blight over affairs: he himself fell sick of a mysterious disease, and was quite unable to attend to business, while his patchwork

ministry, deprived of his supervision and lacking the influence of his great name, soon broke up. But before the ministry fell, Charles Townshend, a brilliant but unreliable opportunist, had passed his fatal Act. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he boasted coolly that he would raise a revenue from America, and in 1767 laid an import duty on various goods arriving at American ports—a duty so ill-devised that it was actually found to operate largely to the disadvantage of English goods. The discontent aroused by the Stamp Act was small compared with the opposition to these fresh duties imposed for the avowed purpose of raising a revenue, but the trouble had to be faced by a new ministry.

Charles Townshend's Act, 1767.

The accession of Lord North to power in 1770 marked the triumph of the King's attempt to break the grip of the Whig oligarchy, and to set up instead his own personal rule; thus during North's government the Crown possessed a direct power and influence which it had never enjoyed since the Revolution of 1688. Though the American disaster has thrown a cloud over North's ministry, yet his government was responsible for several great constructional reforms. Besides attempting to check the worst abuses in Parliamentary elections, it was responsible for passing the great charter of the French-Canadian liberties (Quebec Act, 1774), while it sought to solve the Indian problem by the Regulating Act, but in dealing with America North found himself in an impossible position. To repeal all the duties would have been the heroic measure, and some there were who pleaded for this course, but this would acknowledge the weakness of Parliament before violence and mob rule; on the other hand, to retain the duties meant yet further trouble in America. North desired a policy of compromise, but he was met by the obstinacy of the King, and, as time went on, by the anger of the country against the Americans and their deeds of violence.

North's ministry. 1770-1782.

North attempted to solve the difficulty by repealing all the duties except that on tea, which was retained on principle, but as usual half-measures pleased neither party. Though the tea duty was modified so that the Americans could buy their tea much cheaper than people in England, they would have none of it,

Duties repealed. Tea duty modified. 1770.

and organised opposition continued until, in 1773, a party of New Englanders, disguised as Redskins, boarded an East Indiaman in Boston harbour, and tumbled all the tea-chests overboard. In England feeling flamed up: the East India Company demanded compensation for their property, and North took the fatal step of attempting compulsion, in the hope of coercing Massachusetts by economic pressure. The Port of Boston was closed, the Massachusetts charter was suspended, while a law was passed removing certain trials from the courts of the colony. At the same time, though not connected with these penal measures, was passed the Quebec Act.[1] This last Act was very unpopular among the Americans, for they saw in it an attempt to rob them of those lands between the Ohio and the Mississippi which had been won from the French in the Seven Years' War, and they feared to see the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

Boston tea-party. 1773.

Acts of repression. 1774.

The Americans were not slow to act in reply: so far opposition had been chiefly local, now it was reorganised and became national. Corresponding societies had been set up in the different colonies, and now a congress was summoned to Philadelphia, which was attended by delegates from all the colonies except Georgia. Here was drawn up a formal Declaration of Rights, which stated that Englishmen did not lose their "natural rights" by going overseas, and enumerated the various Acts to which objection was taken. But the Congress went further than mere platitudes; a Non-Importation agreement was made, by which each colony undertook not to trade with Britain in any way, and arrangements were completed to boycott any trader who tried to make an exorbitant profit out of the resultant shortage of British goods. Thus the Americans had now a central Parliament which had organised an executive to carry out its decisions: this American Parliament had proclaimed economic war on Britain, and the Parliament at Westminster quickly replied to the measures of the upstart by extending the Boston Port Act to other colonies also.

Philadelphia Congress. 1774.

The step from economic war to actual fighting was a

[1] See later, p. 94.

short one. In America radical orators had been inflaming the people by fiery speeches; the Massachusetts militia had been embodied in October, 1774, and Boston was flooded with royal troops. The first blood was shed early next year, when General Gage sent a small force from Boston to destroy some colonial stores at Concord. In a skirmish there, and at Lexington on the road, the colonial militia bore themselves well, and the fight at Bunker's Hill in June, when Howe drove the militia from some fortifications they had seized, cost the royal troops very dear, and showed that the Americans were a formidable foe. Gage was recalled, and Howe found himself practically besieged in Boston. In March next year he withdrew to Halifax, and the capital of New England was in the hands of the Revolutionary government. Meanwhile, Congress had met in May, and had sent Richard Penn with the Olive Branch Petition to the King, but no answer was received. More practical steps were taken when they voted a united or continental army, and chose the experienced George Washington as its commander. In one venture the Americans were less successful, for an autumn raid on Canada was foiled by the loyalty of the French inhabitants and the skill of Governor Carleton, who successfully defended Quebec. Matters quickly drifted towards a crisis: there was actual war, though no formal revolution, and the moderate party in America were continually protesting their desire for a settlement by compromise, though their terms were constantly advancing. A pamphlet by Tom Paine, entitled "Common-Sense," which pointed out to the colonies that the logical result of their actions was to declare that they were separate states, had a great effect on American opinion, and Howe's evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, showed the weakness and vacillation of the British. At last, in July, the extreme party won the day, and Congress issued the "Declaration of Independence," while the moderates, who were ready enough to clamour against taxation, swung round at this fateful step, and enrolled in battalions to fight for union. The issue was now clear-cut, and the war began in earnest.

Bunker's Hill. June, 1775.

Declaration of Independence. July, 1776.

Through all this difficult time, and even after the Declaration of Independence, there were not wanting men in England to protest against the fatal policy of taxation, and the still more fatal policy of war. Burke turned pen and tongue to the service of reconciliation, pouring scorn on the Declaratory Act, and urging the uselessness and folly of provoking civil war for the sake of the unremunerative tea duties. Chatham, too, strove in vain for a more far-sighted policy. "My Lords," he had warned the House, "you cannot conquer America." Yet Chatham protested against independence, and when France came into the war his old fervour awoke once more, and he made a final appeal for unity. Decrepit and old before his time, swathed in flannel and leaning on his crutches, he made his last speech. He mumbled and stuttered, a piteous sight to all, but now and again he burst forth in all the energy of conviction. "I am old and infirm, have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave. I have risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country, perhaps never again to speak in this House"; thus with grim foresight he began, and then went on to urge his country never to give way before France. "Let us at least make one effort, and if we must fall, let us fall like men." A little later, springing up to reply, he fell forward in a fit, and with Chatham's death there disappeared the last faint chance of reconciliation with America.

Chatham's last speech. 7th April, 1778.

The evacuation of Boston left New England to the Americans, and after the failure of the raid on Canada New York became the centre of colonial resistance. It was, therefore, determined to attack this city; thither Howe sailed with his troops from Halifax, and there he was reinforced by soldiers from Carolina, and by an English fleet under the command of his brother which had sailed from home. In September, Washington was driven from New York and forced to retire southward, but Howe's neglect to follow up his victory gave Washington time to re-make his army. For next year's operations an elaborate plan was drawn up by Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of State for America. He determined to cut off New England from the southern colonies by a great

The War.

New York captured by Howe. 1776.

campaign along the Hudson Valley. Howe was to move north from New York, while two armies from Canada were to join him, one marching south up the Richelieu river to Lake Champlain, the other by the Mohawk route from Lake Ontario. These careful plans went all awry, and it is said that by some careless oversight Howe never received the necessary orders. In any case, Howe went off on a campaign of his own in the middle colonies, succeeded in capturing Philadelphia, from which Congress had fled in fear the previous year, and then so flagrantly neglected to push on and crush Washington that men suspected his loyalty and good faith. Meanwhile, Burgoyne came down from Canada, took the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point upon Lake Champlain, but looked in vain for the armies which were to meet him. The western force had already been defeated, while Clinton at New York had so few men that he could barely secure his own safety. Burgoyne found himself attacked on all sides, and was surrounded at Saratoga and forced to capitulate.

Howe captures Philadelphia. Sept. 1777.

Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga. 1777.

This great victory of the Americans was really the turning-point of the war. France had already helped them secretly, now she openly recognised their independence and declared war on England. The entry of France into the war changed the whole balance of power. Britain was now forced to look to her control of the sea, and when Spain (1779), and then Holland (1780), joined the enemy, she found herself fighting for very existence. There was even a threat of further trouble, for the armed neutrality of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and later Prussia and Austria, stood for resistance to the British claims at sea. French fleets and troops came to the help of the Americans, French power interfered in India and stirred up the independent rulers against the Company. In America, Britain found herself able to do much less on the mainland, for all her communications there depended on the sea, and she was forced instead to secure the safety of the West Indies. In 1780, however, orders were received in New York for a big expedition to be sent to the southern colonies. Lord Cornwallis landed with five thousand

France joins the war. Feb. 1778.

troops, as well as loyalists, and recaptured Charlestown from the Americans. He determined to march northward into Virginia, and thus to attack Washington from the south. But he received no help from Clinton at New York, and was forced to take shelter at Yorktown. Here he was blockaded by Washington and anxiously scanned the horizon for Clinton's sails, but the ships which actually arrived were the forerunners of a French fleet under de Grasse. There was nothing left for Cornwallis to do but surrender.

Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, Oct. 1781.

The capitulation of Yorktown marks the end of the land campaign, but fifteen months were yet to elapse before peace was signed. During this time the courage and hard work of the British fleets, keeping the seas under the most difficult conditions, maintained the traditions of the Navy, and formed a pleasing contrast to the ill-fortune of the land campaigns. Despite some French successes in the West Indies, Rodney's great victory over the French fleet at The Saints, off Martinique, gave him once more control of the sea, and he was able to retake most of the French conquests. In Europe, the gallant defence of Gibraltar against the joint attack of France and Spain held that post secure, though Minorca was lost. The British naval successes really prevented the Peace Treaty from being more humiliating than it actually was.

Rodney's victory off The Saints. April, 1782.

Thus Britain's failure was chiefly due to her temporary loss of the command of the seas. Faced by a league of the chief sea-powers of Europe, her Navy was yet able to re-establish its superiority, but the damage had already been done, and the American colonies had won their independence. On land Britain's defeat was due to bad generals, and to the bad strategy which was adopted. Instead of concentrating and striking the enemy at his most vulnerable point, the British attempted to hold a long line of towns, between which the only effective communications were by sea. In her choice of generals Britain was equally unfortunate. Lord Howe was especially to blame for not following up his successes and destroying Washington's army at New York in 1776, and again in Pennsylvania in the

Reasons for British failure.

following year. There was lack of co-operation, too, between Howe and Burgoyne at Saratoga, and again between Clinton and Cornwallis in 1781, which ended in Yorktown. The truth seems to be that most of the generals were thoroughly disgusted with their task, and that to natural incapacity was added the lack of a desire to crush the enemy. But when all this is admitted, tribute must be paid to the genius of Washington. His name and his deeds have become a legend, but his true greatness lay in his power to hold together an ill-disciplined body of militia during times of disaster, and to mould such troops into a formidable army. But though it is true that good generalship on the British side might have made a very different story, yet the result of the war can hardly be regretted. Had the Americans been held against their will, they could have been nothing but an evil to the Empire. The war itself was a disaster, but not its result.

Peace of Versailles. 1783.

The Peace of Versailles, which ended the war, altered somewhat the terms of the Treaty of Paris. (1) The independence of the United States was recognised, and their territory extended to the Mississippi, while beyond that the land was claimed by Spain. (2) Spain received back Florida from England. (3) Canada was restricted to the north of a line drawn from the Great Lakes to the eastern coast, though future disputes arose as to the exact trace of this line: thus the Ohio lands fell to the States.

The Peace of Versailles is the low-water mark of British power and prestige in the eighteenth century; though her Navy had saved her from utter disaster, and she was soon to re-establish her sea-power yet more firmly, Britain came out of the war disillusioned. The new office of Secretary for American Affairs, created in 1768, was abolished in 1782, and colonies gradually went out of fashion. Those that still remained were bandied from office to office until, in 1801, the newly created Secretary for War became responsible for the colonies also; but this increase of centralisation and unsympathetic control soon led to further quarrels, though the new problems were to be solved without another civil war.

The War of Independence was the forerunner of great

revolutionary movements in Europe, and it was the beginning of a series of revolts among the colonies of the other European powers: during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars the French island of Hayti and the American colonies of Spain revolted and finally secured their independence. Thus Turgot's saying, that colonies were like fruit and would drop off when ripe, seemed amply justified. France got but little from the war except a barren revenge, and a bankruptcy which accelerated the forces of the Revolution, while American phrases and American examples had great influence on the early days of the French Revolution.

If we would appreciate the effects of the war on Canada, we must see what had been happening there since the Peace of 1763, for events in Canada played an important part in the development of the quarrel between Britain and America. After the capture of Quebec, Canada was governed by military rule, but it was obvious that some arrangements would have to be made for its future. There were three great questions to be decided. The Canadians were Roman Catholics, living under the laws of France, and they had long claimed, and but recently fought for, the Indian territories of the Ohio Valley. Now Canada had been conquered, what was to be the official religion of the country, what law was to be administered in Canada, and to whom were the disputed Ohio lands to belong? In 1764, the year after the Peace, a proclamation came into force establishing a government for Canada. The province of Quebec was formed, excluding the Ohio territories, and the governor was given power to call an assembly, but as Roman Catholics were excluded from this assembly it would have been composed of a few hangers-on of the British rule, and the Governor very wisely refrained from summoning such a body. At the same time elaborate and expensive arrangements were made for administering the Ohio territories, and a set of rules was laid down for the honest treatment of the Indians. These arrangements greatly annoyed the colonists of Virginia, who had fought in the Seven Years' War for the right of exploiting the Ohio lands, but they were still more angry at the next step.

Canada. Proclamation of 1764.

Governor Carleton realised that there could be no security

in Canada until the great outstanding questions had been faced, and so he worked for a definite settlement. Thanks to his efforts the Quebec Act was passed in 1774, and became the basis of the reconciliation between the French of Canada and their British conquerors. (1) The province of Quebec was extended, and was now to include the Ohio Valley. (2) The Roman Catholic Church, which had been promised protection by the terms of the surrender of Canada, was now finally guaranteed. (3) The French civil law was confirmed as the law of the land. (4) The English criminal law, which had been administered since the conquest of Canada, was continued because, harsh as were its punishments, they were more certain and more moderate than those of the French law. Though there was no arrangement for calling an assembly this is not surprising: in England at this time Roman Catholics had neither the right to vote, nor to sit in Parliament, and any assembly in Canada which excluded Roman Catholics would be but a farce. The French in Canada accepted the Quebec Act as a veritable charter of liberties, for under its working they were better off than under the old French regime, and their loyalty stood the test both of the American invasion of 1775, and of those difficult years when French fleets were off the coasts of America, and French troops fighting British on the mainland itself. To the American colonists, however, the Act was a hateful measure. They feared the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, and they were furious at the Ohio arrangement. Thus the Quebec Act became one of the counts against Britain in the Declaration of Independence, and the British Government was accused of "establishing an arbitrary government in Canada," for the Sons of Liberty could understand no liberty but their own.

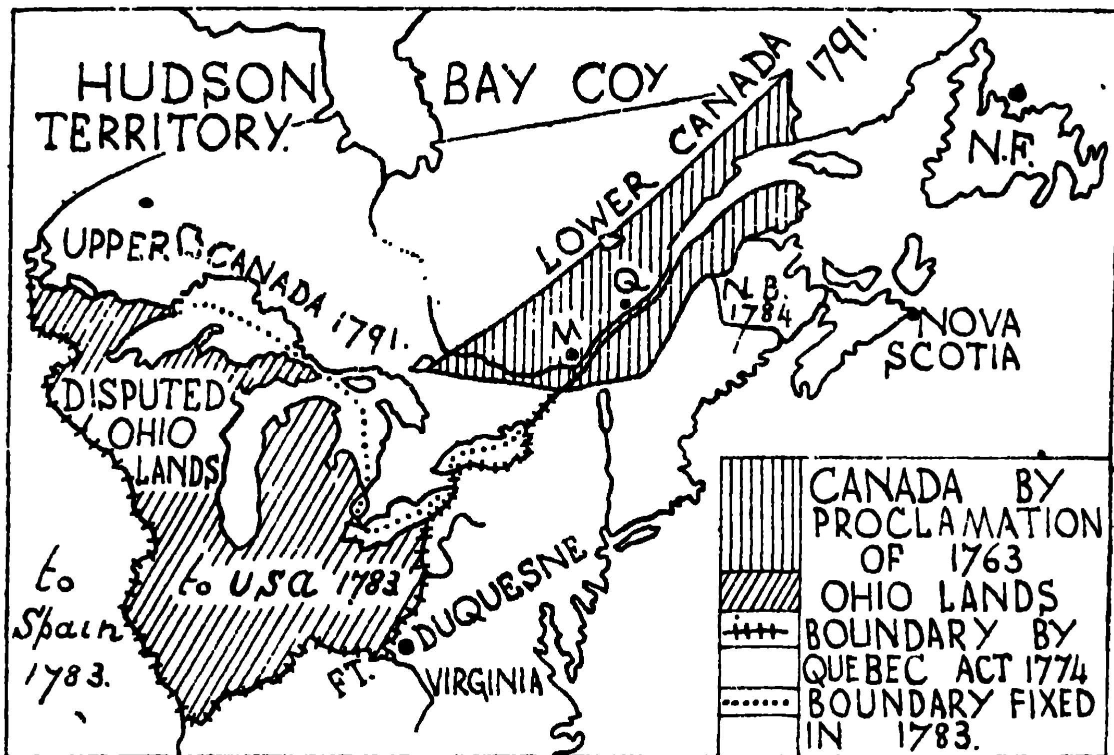
Quebec Act, 1774.

French-Canadian loyalty.

As we have seen, the Treaty of Versailles gave the Ohio lands to the States, and with them the infinite possibilities of westward expansion. The policy of limiting Canada to the parallel of the Great Lakes has gone on steadily ever since, until the boundary between Canada and the United States is now a straight line stretching from the Lakes to the Pacific. On the other hand, the "arbitrary government" remained for

many years, and its essential points, the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, and the French civil law, are still in force in the province of Quebec. But the war did more for Canada. A great body of loyalist refugees left their homes in the old colonies and settled in Canada, thus adding an English element to balance the French in Quebec. These Americans had fought in Loyalist battalions for the cause of union, and when that cause was lost it was provided in the Treaty that there should be no further confiscations, and that the Loyalists should have a year in which to make their arrangements to

THE BOUNDARIES OF CANADA.



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emigrate. These terms were not kept, and a veritable persecution of these luckless men broke out, the hatred and ill-feeling of civil war venting itself on the first victims. Thus it was with bitter feelings that the United Empire Loyalists left the States: the majority, about 25,000, went by sea and settled in Nova Scotia and along the shores of the mainland. Others, some 10,000 in all, went by a much more difficult way through the backwoods and up the rivers, and settled in the land between Lakes Huron and Ontario. Here they founded Kingston, in

The British Empire Loyalists.

memory of their loyalty, and soon after English or Upper Canada was made a separate province from French or Lower Canada (Quebec). Thus the migration of the United Empire Loyalists became the nucleus of another set of English colonies on the mainland, but it did still more. It sowed the seeds of hatred and mistrust between Canada and the United States, which were a fruitful cause of friction for many years to come. Men do not quickly forget their wrongs.

BOOKS.—There is as yet no handy account of this period. Burke's *Letters and Speeches on American Affairs*, should be read, and also the Declaration of Independence (printed in W. Macdonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History*). *The Life of George Washington*, by J. H. Harrison [Heroes of the Nations], is a useful biography. Lecky's Chapters XI to XV deal with this period.

1765. Stamp Act.
1767. Chatham's ministry. Townshend's duties.
1776. Howe evacuates Boston. July: Declaration of Independence. Howe captures New York.
1777. Howe captures Philadelphia, but Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga.
1778. France joins America.
1783. Peace of Versailles.

CHAPTER VI

The Great French War, 1793–1815

AFTER ten years of peace Britain found herself in 1793 face to face with her old enemy once more, and the last act in the great eighteenth-century rivalry between Britain and France began. For some twenty years there was almost continuous war between the two countries, and during that time Britain established such a control over the seas of the world as had never been seen before, and the power she then gained has been maintained ever since.

Thus, as a result of the war, Britain's Navy became the police force of the world. It was the Navy which attacked and

destroyed the power of the piratical Dey of Algiers, and freed his Christian slaves in 1816. It was the all-compelling threat of British sea-power which gave force to the Monroe doctrine, and prevented the reactionary powers of Europe from re-establishing the authority of Spain over her revolted colonies (1823). Thus the republics of South America owe their freedom to the British Navy. Again, it was the Navy that suppressed the slave trade, that hunted out the last remnant of the pirates in the East Indies, that examined, sounded, and charted the seas of the world, and thus made the ocean highways safe and easy for the traffic of every nation, securing, in the truest sense of the phrase, the freedom of the seas.

The great war with France decided finally that Britain was to be the predominant power beyond the seas, for French ambitions on the continent hindered her then, as they have before and since, in developing a great colonial empire. The control of the seas gave Britain almost every French possession, and though most of them were returned at the final settlement, some were retained by the conquerors. Thus the British Empire was enlarged during the war by conquests from France, from Spain, and from Holland, though the value of some of these new acquisitions was hardly realised at the time, for few could guess that the little trading-station at the Cape would grow into the Union of South Africa. In India, Britain gained her largest territories during the war, for when French schemes stirred up native rulers against the British power, the energetic and far-seeing Wellesley carried out a policy of annexation and alliance.

At first the French Revolution was welcomed by Englishmen. The Whigs saw in the movement an attempt to imitate their Glorious Revolution of 1688, and various clubs were formed in England to teach the principles of freedom. But feeling quickly began to change, the execution of the King caused a thrill of horror through the country, while the French invasion of Belgium and the opening of the River Scheldt to free navigation alarmed the jealous British merchants, who feared that the great waterway would absorb their trade. Thus the two countries soon found themselves at war, and Britain began that struggle against

revolutionary France which was soon to become a great crusade against the military ambitions of Napoleon. Pitt was a peace minister who found himself with a war on his hands, and he fought it on land by building up alliances among the European nations against the common enemy, and by using the Navy to its full extent at sea.

When the war began the British Navy was in good condition: it had done well in the American War despite great odds, and the lessons then learnt had not been forgotten. The ships were well built, and the new practice of sheathing the hull with copper had improved their speed. Anson had developed the 74 as the typical man-of-war, but an increasing number of three-deckers were now built. The fast-sailing frigates were the scouts of the fleet, and it was their duty to form a screen and to gain information about the enemy. Some of the senior officers were old and over-cautious, but there was a group of brilliant commanders, some such as Nelson still only captains, whose names were soon to become world-famous. The crews were not so satisfactory, for voluntary enlistment was supplemented by the press-gang, and even by the shipping of criminals, and this, combined with a harsh system of discipline, actually led to mutiny in 1797. But at heart the men were sound, and it was only the bravery and self-sacrifice of the crews that made the great victories possible. On the other hand, the French navy had suffered seriously from the Revolution ; the dockyards were inefficient, discipline was bad, and many of the officers had been guillotined. Thus at first the French were heavily handicapped, though the energy of patriotism reorganised their navy, and the struggle was soon an even one.

State of the Navy.

At the beginning of the war, fleets were sent to the West Indies, to the Mediterranean, and to watch the coasts of France. No very close blockade was kept, but Howe caught a large French fleet returning from the West Indies with a convoy of grain ships. Meeting them on the "Glorious First of June," he attacked them vigorously and won the first great sea victory of the war. Hoping to avoid the fleet, the French made several schemes for the invasion of Ireland, but they were

Howe's victory. 1st June, 1794.

frustrated by the constant pressure of the Navy. In the Mediterranean the indecision of the British commander, and the entrance of Spain into the war on the side of France, had forced the fleet to withdraw (1796), but next year two great victories were won. These victories were badly needed, for 1797 was the critical year for Britain. Austria, her only ally, had signed the Peace of Campo Formio; discontent and the threat of bankruptcy in England, rebellion in Ireland, and mutiny in the fleet at the Nore, all combined to make a very black outlook. But in February, Sir John Jervis, aided by the brilliant disobedience of Nelson, had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent. At the Nore the mutiny died out, and the fleet sailed to reinfore the blockading squadron off the Texel, and to defeat the Dutch at Camperdown.

A critical year. 1797.

Meanwhile the Mediterranean was left open to the French, and Napoleon's teeming mind dreamt of an Eastern Empire built up with Egypt as its base. A vast armament was prepared at Toulon, and when Nelson's small blockading squadron was blown off, Napoleon slipped out and made for Egypt. Nelson was reinforced and hunted his quarry up and down the Mediterranean, at last bringing them to bay at Aboukir. "We have just been witnesses, my dear Friends, of a Naval combat, the most bloody and unfortunate that for many ages has taken place. As yet we know not all the circumstances; but those we are already acquainted with are frightful in the extreme." Thus wrote a French officer describing the Battle of the Nile in a private letter which was captured at sea by the *Bellerophon*, and he was right in his judgment, for Nelson's destruction of the French fleet cut off Napoleon from his base, forcing him to return to France as best he could, and to leave his army in Egypt to its fate. After this disaster France was almost impotent at sea, but on land she was still terrible, and on reaching France, Napoleon soon broke up Pitt's second coalition by his victories at Marengo and Hohenlinden. The result was the Peace of Amiens, by the terms of which Britain surrendered all her overseas gains except Trinidad and Ceylon (1801).

Battle of the Nile. 1st August, 1798.

The Peace, however, was only a truce: it really settled

nothing, and it still left Napoleon free to mature his great plans and to work out his "destiny." Thus by 1803 war had broken out again, and Britain began by a strict blockade of all the enemy's ports. Napoleon, who had crowned himself Emperor at Paris in 1804, determined to strike at his persistent foe by invasion. On the cliffs at Boulogne, near where the huts of a British rest-camp were to stand during the Great War of 1914, sprang up the tents and bivouacs of the Army of England which Napoleon had destined for the capture of London. The flotilla of flat-bottomed boats could not cross the Channel until he obtained the command of the sea, and so Napoleon planned for his admirals to break out of their ports, meet in the West Indies, and then make for the Channel. But plans on paper often fail in practice, and though Villeneuve escaped from Toulon in March, he found no colleagues at Martinique, and was forced to return homeward. Meanwhile, Nelson had hunted him across the Atlantic, and was hard on his heels again. Villeneuve made for the mouth of the Channel, but there he was headed off by an inconclusive action with Calder, and turned southward. On 21st October Nelson found him in Trafalgar Bay, and after a great struggle captured eighteen of his thirty-three ships. Still others were taken a day or two later.

Trafalgar. 18th October, 1805.

The victory of Trafalgar frustrated Napoleon's invasion schemes, and gave to Britain an almost undisputed command of the sea. For the rest of the war British fleets could sail where they willed, while the fact that the Peninsular War could be carried on is the measure of British sea-power. Privateers might prey upon her shipping, and Napoleon's Continental System might attempt to starve out her goods, but her trade by sea more than doubled. At a distance British fleets acted with equal security, and soon almost every colony belonging to her enemies was in her hands. It was a fitting end to the war that Napoleon should surrender himself to the captain of the *Bellerophon*. In the final settlement which was made at Vienna, when the diplomats of the conquering nations met to rearrange the map of Europe, Britain retained as her share of the spoils some of the colonies she had seized. Thus St. Lucia, Tobago, and Guiana in the West

Indies fell to her, with Malta, the Cape, and Mauritius, all three important as ports on the route to India.

The old Empire had broken up with the American War of Independence, but in the years between the Peace of Versailles in 1783 and the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 there were laid the foundations of a new Empire from which the dominions of to-day were destined to arise. These beginnings were not very promising, and no one could foresee what great developments the future had in store. In Canada the British were represented by refugees, who fled from the anger of their fellow-colonists, now stout republicans of the United States: New South Wales was but a convict-station, while the Cape was merely a "sea-tavern" on the route to India, which the British captured from the Dutch. It was the day of small things.

The founding of the New Empire.

CANADA

The influx of British Empire Loyalists from the United States led to new problems in Canada, for the new-comers soon began to agitate for a change in the system of government which had been established by the Quebec Act in 1774. They asked for exemption from the French system of land tenure, and they naturally wished for a government by council and assembly, such as they had been accustomed to live under in the old colonies. In 1791 William Pitt the younger passed his Canada Act, by which the province of Quebec was divided into two, Upper Canada consisting of the land where the loyalists had settled near the Niagara river, and Lower Canada comprising Quebec and Montreal, where the population was chiefly French. In each province there was to be an elected assembly, and Pitt hoped "the division would remove the differences of opinion which had arisen between the old and new inhabitants, since each province would have the right of enacting laws desired in its own house of assembly." In the maritime provinces a similar division had already taken place, and the loyalists or "blue-noses" on the mainland were separated from the old province of Nova Scotia, and formed into the province of New Brunswick (1784).

Pitt's Canada Act, 1791.

The new colonists had hardly time to settle down, to fell their trees and build their farmsteads in Upper Canada, and to plough their lands or start their fisheries in the maritime provinces, before a new trouble was upon them. The interference of both France and Great Britain with the trade of the United States, during the long struggle of the Napoleonic wars, had caused endless recrimination, but finally the crisis was reached: Britain was supreme at sea, and against her the States declared war. For Canada this war was an incalculable disaster, and the evil done was not limited to the burning of towns, or the destruction of villages by frontier raids, for the war left behind it a bitter feeling of hatred between the Canadians and the Americans which hampered their good relations long into the century. The loyalists had already fought for the Empire and lost their farms and homes; once again as old men they turned out to fight the same enemy, and to save their new won homes from his grasp. Such men, when they saw their farms go up in flames, and their families turned out into the cold of a bitter winter, could not soon forget what they had suffered. The maritime provinces were never attacked, and indeed flourished by supplying the needs of British ships, while even Lower Canada felt the war but slightly, since the routes by which it could be reached were few and difficult. The brunt of the war fell upon Upper Canada, whose open frontier could easily be crossed: here for three years small forces of Americans campaigned against Canadians, villages were sacked, forts taken and recaptured, but the invaders found it an impossible task to compel the surrender of the province. Finally, in 1814 peace was made, and the colonists turned to repair the ravages of the war and to face those internal problems of government which were soon to bring the troubles of Canada into prominence once more.

War with United States. 1812-1814.

Australia

The first colonisation of Australia was directly due to the War of Independence. The American colonies had, from time to time, received batches of convicts who had been pardoned on

condition that they were transported for life. Although these men hardly made the most desirable colonists, yet in a new country where labour was scarce and an absolute necessity for development, they were tolerated, if not always welcomed. Bound as indentured labourers to work for a term of years, they were able in due course to work out their time, and so receive their freedom. After the Declaration of Independence it was impossible to send any more to America, so in 1787 the first ship-load of convicts sailed to the newly-discovered eastern coast of Australia, and landing at Botany Bay soon moved their little settlement to Sydney Cove. Here, however, conditions were very different from those in America; there were no colonists in Australia ready to receive the convicts, and so a government penal station had to be founded. When the men had served out their time, they were allowed their liberty on condition that they settled near at hand, and so from this unpromising beginning there sprang the first colonists of Australia.

Convict station at Botany Bay. 1788.

The great continent of Australia had early been discovered, though its exact shape and coastline were not correctly known for a very long time. Australia lies south of the Spice Islands, that centre of ancient trade rivalry, and it was a question whether the Spaniard or the Dutchman would first reach it. Fortune favoured the latter, and early voyagers from the Dutch islands brought news of a great south land. Fired by this news, Van Diemen, the governor of the Dutch East Indies, sent Tasman in 1643 and 1644 to explore. In his two voyages Tasman examined the northern and western coasts of Australia itself, reached New Zealand, and touched at Van Diemen's Land, whose name was afterwards changed to Tasmania in honour of the actual discoverer. Soon afterwards the Dutch were engaged in a long series of wars with England, and their interest in discovery flagged. The English then took up the task, and William Dampier, a buccaneer from the West Indies, touched Australia when sailing round the world in 1689 as a man before the mast: ten years later he returned as an explorer in command of his ship. "New Holland," he wrote, "is a very large tract of

Discovery of Australia.

land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island, or a main continent, but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa nor America. . . . The land is of a dry, sandy soil, destitute of water, except you make wells." It was only gradually during the eighteenth century that the eastern coasts became known, largely owing to the voyages of the English explorer Captain Cook (1769–1774). He examined New Zealand, and the whole of the eastern coasts of Australia very thoroughly. It is not difficult to understand why this slowly-discovered continent remained so long without settlers: it was a dry and thirsty land where sailors became "scorbutick" looking in vain for water; it offered no riches for trade such as could be found easily in the Spice Islands. Indeed, it was only when England wished to rid herself of a band of undesirables, that it was decided to dump them on the new-discovered eastern coast of this far-off empty land. Such was the strange beginning of the great Commonwealth of Australia.

South Africa

When the King of Portugal declared that the Cape of Storms should be called the Cape of Good Hope, his optimism was soon rewarded, for a few years later his sailors found their way to India. The seventeenth century saw the Dutch and English East India Companies both striving to wrest trade from the Portuguese, and for a long time the Cape was merely a convenient port of call for either nation. There the storm-tossed ships put in before setting out again for the calm seas of the tropics, and there beneath the shadow of the great Table Mountain they scoured out their evil-smelling water-butts, and refilled them with fresh water from the tiny stream which ran down to the sea. There, too, they posted their letters. Hiding them beneath a cairn of stones, and carving the name of the ship and the date upon the neighbouring boulders, they sailed away, trusting that the next ship homeward would find and deliver the mail which they had left to fortune.

This haphazard and friendly arrangement could not last for ever, and as the rivalry between the two companies became intense the Dutch determined to establish a small settlement

at the Cape. In 1652 Van Riebeck arrived with some two hundred settlers, who were to build a fort, and cultivate fresh vegetables which would be useful to the company's ships and help to keep away the plague of scurvy. At first the settlement had to face the attack of the Hottentots and the threats of famine, but it was gradually strengthened by fresh settlers whose farms began to stretch away from the Castle at Table Bay. Between 1688 and 1690 a number of French Huguenots, flying from persecution, were settled there by the Company, and though they became merged in the Dutch settlers and lost their own language, they have remained to this day an important element in the population. The settlers were ruled autocratically by the Company's governor from Cape Town, through their local magistrates, and they were only allowed to trade direct with the Company. This stringent control led to much discontent, and the Company refused to make any modification in the system. The law officer of the Cape Government poured ridicule on the colonists' requests. "It would be a mere waste of words to dwell on the remarkable distinction to be drawn between burghers whose ancestors nobly fought for freedom, and conquered their freedom from tyranny (*i.e.* in Holland) . . . and such as are named burghers here, who have been permitted as matter of grace to have a residence in a land of which possession has been taken by the Sovereign Power, there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors and shoe-makers. . . . Now it is clear, and requires no lengthy argument, that for the purpose of enabling a subordinate colony to flourish as a colony, it is not always expedient to apply these means which, considered in the abstract, might be conducive to its prosperity. The object of paramount importance in legislating for colonies should be the welfare of the parent state, of which such colony is but a subordinate part, and to which it owes its existence." Thus the Cape was sacrificed to the supposed welfare of Holland, the Dutch settlers remained in a dependent position, and became ignorant, backward and discontented, while in the inland settlements they sometimes refused to recognise the authority of the Governor at all.

Dutch Settlement. Van Riebeck. 1652.

Autocratic government by Dutch East India Company.

Such was the settlement which fell into English hands during the Revolutionary War. When in 1794 Holland was overrun by France, and set up the Batavian Republic, Britain determined to seize the Cape and to prevent it falling into the hands of the French. Next year a British expedition sailed into False Bay, and the cannon-balls fired by the ships still lie about the sand-dunes which surround the bay. Landing a small force, the British defeated the Dutch at the little hamlet of Retreat. Thus the Cape surrendered, and though it was returned to Holland at the Peace of Amiens (1801) war soon broke out again, and it was easily recaptured in 1806. Finally, at the Treaty of Vienna, the British were confirmed in their possession, and paid the Dutch £2,000,000 as compensation for their claims.

British capture the Cape, 1794, 1806, and buy it, 1814.

BOOKS.—Some of the chapters in W. H. Fitchett's books, *Deeds that won the Empire*, and *Fights for the Flag*, tell in popular style of the great struggles of the naval war. J. Leyland, *The Royal Navy*, and J. R. Thursfield, *Naval Warfare* [Cambridge Manuals], are useful little books. For Canada there are C. P. Lucas, *History of Canada, 1763–1812*, and A. G. Bradley, *The Making of Canada*. For Australia and South Africa see notes to Chapters X and XI.

1788. Convicts shipped to Australia.
1791. Pitt's Canada Act (creates two provinces).
1798. The Battle of the Nile.
1805. Trafalgar.
1812–1814. War with U.S.A. Fighting on the Canadian frontier.
1814. Cape ceded to Britain by Treaty of Vienna.

CHAPTER VII

The East India Company as an Imperial Power [1760–1818]

WE have already seen how England lost her old Empire in America, and how the seeds of a new Empire were planted

in different parts of the world, while her fleets gave her ports and stations on every sea. In India, too, a new Empire was being built, for the British were now winning for themselves political power instead of the mere trading rights which they had possessed up to the Seven Years' War. The hundred years between Clive's first conquest of Bengal and the outbreak of the Mutiny saw this vital change. Before Clive's expedition to Bengal the East India Company was a successful trading organisation, owning forts and factories, but enjoying no great territorial possessions : at the time of the Mutiny it had ceased to trade and was merely a government department which administered the whole of India, either directly by its officials, or indirectly by a series of subordinate native rulers. By 1858, then, India had undergone a complete change : externally, for the whole of India was now subject to the Company; politically, for the framework of the modern governmental system had been evolved; and economically, for all the main lines of later economic development had been laid down.

Changes after 1760.

Thus the period is one of steady expansion, during which by wars and by diplomacy the Company gained and extended its political power. This new policy was partly due to the hard logic of facts. The break-up of the Mogul Empire had left a number of warring states, and unless the Company was willing to seize power it could no longer expect to carry on its trade in peace. Besides this, French schemers were often successful in stirring up trouble for the British, and the Company had either to act promptly, and at times to annex the lands of an enemy, or run the risk of annihilation. Some of the governors, too, were men of great ambition, who strove to extend British dominion, believing that it brought great advantage both to the Indians and to the Company. The Directors in England usually disapproved of this policy, but were not able to control their servants effectually. It took a year to send a letter and obtain a reply, and even when an overland mail was established across the Isthmus of Suez, schemes of which the Directors disapproved were often carried out before they could be prevented.

East India Company becomes a political power.

At the same time there was a steady increase of Governmental interference in the affairs of the Company. Parliament became embarrassingly inquisitive about the Company's business, and each time the charter was renewed further conditions were imposed, which brought the Company more closely under the control of the Government. This was partly due to the vast fortunes which men brought home from the East. These nabobs (nawabs) came back to England with sufficient money to buy land, to set up as "country gentlemen," and to bribe their way into Parliament so as to make their influence felt in politics. Stories, too, of various abuses floated home to England, and it was felt that a place where such fortunes could be made, and where men were exposed to such temptations, should not be entirely controlled by a mere trading company, which might abuse its powers of patronage. There was yet another point of view: it seemed wrong to some that a company should exercise sovereign rights over territorial possessions, and Chatham laid this down as an axiom. The fight between the champions of vested interests and private property and those who upheld the claims of the State was long drawn out, but the State won in 1858, when the Company was dissolved, and all its territorial possessions taken over by the Crown.

Development of Parliamentary control.

Four great men played an important part in this development. Clive, the soldier, who laid the foundations of British power in Bengal, but failed to solve the problem of devising an administrative system for his conquests; Warren Hastings, the organiser, who managed, despite the factious opposition of his council, to purify and organise the civil service and the law-courts, and to save the British power in an hour of danger; Wellesley, the conqueror, who extended the British Raj and laid the basis of the British India of to-day; and Dalhousie, whose far-seeing and tireless energy encouraged those new lines of economic development to which India owes its subsequent progress.

The turning-point in the story of the East India Company is marked by the attack of the young Nawab of Bengal, Sirāj-ud-Daula, on Calcutta in 1756. For some time there had been

friction between the old nawab and the Governor of Calcutta over questions of trade, but the sudden attack came as a thunder-clap, and the ships in the river sailed down-stream, leaving the defenders of the fort to their fate. When the news reached Madras that the British factories in Bengal had been captured, and that most of the prisoners at Calcutta had perished in the "Black Hole," the Governor determined to act at once. Although war with France was threatening, Clive was despatched with some nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred natives to re-establish the British power in Bengal. Robert Clive was then only thirty-one: he had come to India in 1744 as a writer in the Company's service, but his bent was always towards a military life, and he had seized the opportunity to become a soldier. He was only a captain when his bold dash on Arcot in 1751 defeated Dupleix's plans, and made his own reputation as a soldier. He was a man of melancholy temperament, and, despite the great riches and success he was about to win, it was his fate to die by his own hand. Clive was chosen to command the expedition over the heads of several of his seniors, and he was confident of recapturing Calcutta. In this he was correct, and his initial success enabled him to make a treaty with the nawab, by which the latter restored the Company's possessions and promised them compensation. Clive now found himself in a difficult position: war with France had broken out, and he feared the nawab would join with these new enemies. He determined to strike first, and falling on the French factory of Chandernagore succeeded in taking it. By June, 1757, he was marching against the nawab once again, and with only three thousand men he defeated over fifty thousand native troops at Plassey. In this campaign Clive had with him the 39th [the Dorset] Regiment, the first royal regiment to serve in India, who still bear on their colours the title, "Primus in Indis." This victory raised British prestige still higher, but it was partly due to the treachery of Mir Jafar, whom Clive now recognised as nawab in Siraj-ud-Daula's place. Clive had more than completed his task, and next year he returned to England loaded with "presents" from the new nawab. His action in accept-

Black Hole of Calcutta. 1756.

Plassey. 1757.

ing these gifts, and bargaining for a yearly pension of £30,000, was severely criticised in England, and it formed an evil precedent which the Council of Bengal were but too ready to follow. We must remember, however, that in the eighteenth century the standard of political morality was lamentably low, and that the frequent attacks on great Anglo-Indians are signs of a better doctrine of financial honesty.

While Clive was in England the state of Bengal went from bad to worse: the Council of Calcutta fomented a series of revolutions in Bengal which they turned to their own advantage, while the Company's officials, great and small, abused their position by claiming exemption from tolls for their private trade. When in despair Mir Kasim, the new nawab, extended the exemption to native merchants, a quarrel arose with the Council, and he and his ally, the Nawab of Oudh, were defeated at Buxar in 1764. Thus when Clive returned as governor a second time, in 1765, he had a difficult problem to solve.

Clive's second governorship. 1765-1767.

The nominal ruler of Bengal was the nawab, but his power really depended upon British support. Clive determined to take over the "diwani," or collection of revenue, while leaving to the nawab the "nizamet," or military power and criminal jurisdiction. Although the Company was nominally responsible for collecting the revenue, it actually employed two natives to organise the work, and this soon led to trouble. From the diwani the nawab was paid a fixed sum, while the Mogul, now a wanderer expelled from Delhi, was to receive a large annual payment: the balance went into the Company's treasury. Clive settled the Mogul at Allahabad, and thus had this phantom power under his control, and was able to obtain grants in favour of the Company. Following up the same policy, Clive made a treaty with the Nawab of Oudh, thus getting a "buffer-state" on the north-west of Bengal, which remained a useful protection until it was annexed by Dalhousie in 1856. But it was the Directors' attempt to purify the civil service by forbidding the acceptance of "presents" that caused most discontent, for it seemed that after Clive had lined his own pockets a similar privilege was denied to others.

Clive's "Dual Government" was a failure from the first,

and the system of revenue collection only led to oppression: the Company wished to make as much as possible, and so the actual collectors, the zemindars, pressed the peasants until they were on the verge of desperation. "It must give pain to an Englishman," wrote one of the Company's servants in 1769, "to have reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Diwani the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the Fact is undoubted; . . . this fine Country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards its ruin." Thus up till now British power in Bengal had been a curse; this was recognised in England, and a deliberate attempt to improve matters was now made.

Failure of Clive's system.

It was the breakdown of Clive's system of government, and the exposure of his doings in India which led to the first definite scheme for extending Parliamentary control to Indian affairs. In 1767 an Act had ordered the annual payment by the Company to the Crown of £400,000, but this was merely a demand to share the plunder. The bad state of affairs was shown when in 1770 the Company had to beg relief from this Act, for abuses were ruining the natural revenue of the country. Things were made worse by the terrible famine of 1770, and at last after much discussion a remedy was proposed by Lord North in his Regulating Act of 1773.

Since Clive's administration Calcutta had become by far the most important British factory in India, and the new Act recognised this by giving its governor the title of Governor-General, with supervisory powers over the governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen. A Supreme Court was established at Calcutta to administer English law, with jurisdiction over British subjects, whether natives or Europeans. Large salaries were provided for the judges and chief officials, and they were not allowed to trade or to receive presents, while the rights of other civil servants to trade on their own account was strictly limited. Lastly, the Company had to keep the Secretary of State informed of all important letters from the East. In future the Governor-General was to be appointed by the Company and approved by

Regulating Act, 1773.

the Crown, but the first Governor-General was named in the Act, Warren Hastings.

Hastings was a strong man with a keen and sympathetic insight into the state of affairs, and a burning desire to do away with the terrible abuses which had grown up in Bengal. He was a great organiser, and not afraid to act on his own responsibility. He had already been Governor of Calcutta for two years, and introduced great reforms. Thus he quickly recognised that Clive's Dual System was impossible, and saw that as the Company was really supreme in Bengal, any attempt to avoid the responsibility of that position would only end in confusion. He therefore pensioned off the nawab, reducing him to a "mere name," and took the military power and criminal jurisdiction, the nizamet, directly into the hands of the Company. Still Bengal was an Indian province, and Hastings realised that it should be ruled by Indian customs, but he wished to improve and cheapen the legal system. To this end he set up two Supreme Courts at Calcutta, one for civil, the other for criminal affairs, and he also organised local courts and lowered their fees. He made a great attempt to improve the revenue system, which had been growing less efficient as it became more oppressive, and removed the great native deputies who had administered the system for the Company. To protect the ryots, or peasants, he gave them legal contracts stating the amounts which they would have to pay, and this prevented the zemindars from swindling them. One of Hastings' greatest desires was to purify the civil service, and he urged that the Company's servants should have high salaries that they might not be tempted to accept bribes, or engage in private trade. Though he could not carry this proposal, his trade reforms did much to remedy the greatest source of evil. He did away with the multifarious custom-houses, and imposed a uniform duty of 2½ per cent., which was paid by native and European traders alike, and even by the Company's goods. Thus he abolished the freedom from duties, enjoyed by English traders, which had been the cause of so much trouble. Hastings abolished also the native agents, who had oppressed the local weaver by various

Warren Hastings. 1772-1785. Reforms.

abuses when purchasing goods for the Company, and allowed the Indian craftsmen to sell direct to the Company. This long list of reforms does not exhaust Hastings' activities, for he had another problem to settle: the Mogul, whom Clive had pensioned off at Allahabad, had now fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas, who set up this puppet emperor at Delhi again. Hastings promptly refused to pay the annual allowance now that the Mogul was in enemy hands, and when the Mahrattas threatened to seize Allahabad, he sold that district to the Nawab of Oudh, and also supported him in a war against his northern neighbours, the Rohillas. Hastings concluded a treaty with Oudh, by which that province became a vassal state, and he wished to extend this system. "You are already well acquainted," he wrote in 1777, "with the general system which I wish to be empowered to establish in India; namely, to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote from their possessions, without enlarging the circle of their defence, or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements, and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as shall sue to be enlisted among the friends and allies of the King of Great Britain." But it was not till the time of Wellesley that such a policy could be carried out.

Contest with Council. 1774–1776.

Though the Regulating Act seemed to give Hastings greater power, it really limited his activities, for it saddled him with an independent council which could control his policy. He became Governor-General in 1774, and for the first two years of his government under the Act he found himself constantly opposed by his council, of whom the most factious was Philip Francis, the writer of the Letters of Junius. The council undid much of the good work of the last years, and reversed Hastings' policy in many cases; they encouraged accusations against the Governor, and treated the most violent charges as if they were already proved, indeed it was only his devotion to the work of reform which kept Hastings at his post during these "two years of anguish."

The death of one of his counsellors in 1776 gave Hastings control of his policy once more, by means of his casting vote,

but he had little time now to think of reforms, for the rest of his governorship was a period of war. Hastings had nominal control of the native policy of the other Presidencies, but his power was really small, and they each succeeded by blunder and mismanagement in involving him in war. In the west, Bombay had in 1775 rashly concluded a treaty with a claimant to the Peshwaship, and this precipitated the long-threatened struggle with the Mahrattas. Hastings condemned in scathing words the policy of Bombay. "The first hostilities against the Mahrattas commenced unknown and unsuspected by our government, and had not even the shadow of a plea to justify them." After an uneasy peace, which was repudiated by the Directors, the war began again in 1778, and dragged on for several years, until the outbreak of a new war in the south forced Hastings to conclude a peace in 1782 which left matters as they were. The question whether the Mahrattas or the British were to be the paramount power in India had yet to be fought out.

War period. 1776-1785.

(1) Mahratta war. 1777-1782.

The hapless struggle of England against her revolted colonies had led to war with France in 1778, and Hastings feared lest French influence should organise once more a great alliance in India. Meanwhile, the Government of Madras had been busy making money by dishonest means instead of attending to the business of the Company; they even imprisoned a new Governor who proved too inquisitive about their evil ways. Thus the ambitious Nizam of Hyderabad was able to mature his plans without interruption: he allied himself secretly with the Mahrattas, and with Hyder Ali, the Mohammedan ruler of Mysore, and planned to drive the English into the sea. In 1780 Hyder Ali burst into the Carnatic, captured Arcot, and even threatened Madras.

(2) War in the South: Hyderabad and Mysore. 1780-1784.

It was a dangerous moment for Hastings: the British were at war with all the chief powers in India, a great expedition was preparing in France to aid his enemies, while England was much too busy to send him any help. Hastings acted with energy and decision; his diplomacy succeeded in dividing the Mahrattas and concluding with them the Peace of 1782. In the Carnatic

(3) The French in India. 1782-1783.

his generals won victories over Hyder Ali, which even the arrival of the French admiral, de Suffren, was unable to reverse. For eighteen months the French and English fleets struggled for supremacy off the coasts of India and Ceylon, and it was not till the arrival of a second English fleet late in 1783 that the command of the sea was definitely regained. Meanwhile the Dutch had thrown in their lot against England, and had quickly lost most of their Eastern stations, including Trincomalee in Ceylon. Thus, when the long-expected reinforcements under de Bussy managed to escape the English fleets and arrive in 1783, the great opportunity had passed. The war ended with an unsatisfactory treaty signed with Tipu of Mysore, Hyder Ali's son, in March, 1784. "The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there; I preserved it." Such is Hastings' summary of his work in India during these eventful years.

Treaty of Mangalore. 1784.

Warren Hastings returned to England in 1785 to "a life of impeachment." In 1788 he was impeached on numerous charges of extortion and misgovernment, brought by his old enemy, Philip Francis, and pushed by the Whigs largely for political reasons. The bitter eloquence of Burke, who led the attack, has given the trial too large a place in the story of Hastings, for we are apt to forget his work of organisation and defence in India, and think only of the charges brought against him. Historians have differed to this day as to the accuracy of some of the charges, for most were withdrawn, but all now recognise his greatness as an Indian administrator. After a trial of over seven years, Warren Hastings was acquitted, and when, many years later, he appeared to give evidence in an inquiry before Parliament, the whole House rose and stood bareheaded as a mark of respect to a great man, who had wrought and suffered much for his country.

Impeachment of Hastings. 1788.

Thus the Regulating Act had proved a failure: the continual friction between the Governor-General and his council had nearly paralysed government, while the control of Calcutta over the other Presidencies was only nominal, and this had led to disastrous wars. Even Parliament's control

over the Company needed strengthening: in 1782 the House of Commons had ordered the recall of Hastings, and though the Court of Governors had agreed, the Court of Proprietors (or Shareholders) had reversed the decision, and so he had remained in India. Thus, when the Company's charter came up for renewal in 1783, there was keen discussion as to what new conditions should be imposed. Fox had a scheme for the nomination of all political officers by a Commission, which was to be appointed in the first place by Parliament, but afterwards by the Crown: most people, however, feared that this was merely a gift of vast patronage to Fox and his friends, and the Bill was thrown out by the Lords. The Coalition ministry fell, William Pitt came into office, and next year passed his India Act, under whose regulations the Company continued to exist until its final dissolution. Pitt wished to leave the Company free as a trading institution, but to bring its political activities under the close control of Parliament; to this end, the Act established a Board of Control under a President, who was a Minister of the Crown. The Company had to submit to the Board all letters received from India, and were not allowed to send away any letters until approved by the Board. Thus the Company soon became little more than a machine by which the Board controlled the government of India. To prevent the clash between the governor and council, the number of counsellors was reduced to three, while, a little later (1793), the governor was even empowered to act contrary to the decision of the majority of his council, provided he made a formal minute of his reasons. Two sections of great importance were included in the Act: further extension of British power, or treaties implying assistance to native princes were forbidden, because "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of this nation"; and a strict inquiry into the land and revenue system of Bengal was ordered. We must now see in what way these instructions were carried out.

Fox's India Bill, 1783.

Pitt's India Act, 1784.

Lord Cornwallis went to India as Governor-General in 1786: he was chosen as a great and independent nobleman,

who had not been through the mill of the Indian service, and so would come unprejudiced to the task of carrying out the principles laid down in the new Act. His great work was the "Permanent Settlement" of Bengal, by which he made a final assessment for all time of the amount to be paid in taxes by the farmers of Bengal. An English landlord himself, he could neither understand nor appreciate the Bengal system by which the zemindars were merely hereditary tax-collectors, and the ryots practically tenants of the State, though tenants with the security of very lengthy possession. Thinking the British system ideal, Cornwallis, by his settlement, made the zemindars into landlords, thus leaving the ryots at their mercy, while, by fixing the taxes permanently, he deprived the State of any share in the increased value which land might have as the country developed. This plan has led to much discussion: it has been praised by some for protecting the tenant against the state, and condemned by others for creating a landlord class, but when other parts of India came under British rule it was not followed, and a system of periodic reassessments was adopted instead. Such, then, was Cornwallis' interpretation of his instructions to reorganise the revenue of Bengal: we must now examine his attempts to carry out a policy of non-intervention.

Cornwallis. 1786-1793.

(1) Permanent settlement of Bengal.

The trouble came from Tipu of Mysore. He was a violent and ambitious man, and, despite his defeat by Warren Hastings, determined to extend his power and his territory. He openly threw off all allegiance to the phantom authority of the Mogul, and assumed the title of Sultan. A bigoted persecutor, he forced great numbers of his Hindu subjects to become Mohammedans, and finally he determined to challenge the power of the British, and began an attack on the state of Travancore, which had but recently been guaranteed by the Company. This was an insult which could not be overlooked, and Cornwallis was forced to act: he tried at first to settle the matter by negotiation, and, when this failed, he determined on war. The Governor-General now recognised the dangers of the policy of non-intervention: it had "the unavoidable inconvenience of

(2) Difficulty of Non-intervention.

our being constantly exposed to the necessity of commencing a war, without having previously secured the assistance of efficient allies." Bound as he was by Act of Parliament not to make alliances, Cornwallis got round the difficulty by making a treaty which should end on the conclusion of the war. Thus he formed the triple alliance between the Company, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, though the latter was very slow in sending help. Tipu was beaten, and, besides an indemnity, he was forced to cede territory to the British: on the west a strip of land which shut him off from the sea, on the east a block of inland territory, which gave the Company the control of the passes leading from the highlands of Mysore down to the protected state of the Carnatic. It was hoped that this isolation of Mysore would make Tipu powerless for the future, for both the Peshwa and the Nizam also gained territory at his expense.

Thus Cornwallis had been forced by circumstances to abandon the official policy of non-intervention, and to substitute a policy of the balance of power. But, when as his successor there was appointed a scrupulous and successful servant of the Company, Sir John Shore, non-intervention was tried once again. Shore merely carried out instructions: he was not sufficiently bold or far-seeing to develop an independent policy such as was needed in India at the time.

Sir John Shore. 1793-1798.

The triple alliance had only provided for mutual defence against Tipu, and when, in 1795, the Peshwa turned against the Nizam, Shore stood by as a spectator, despite the Nizam's appeals for help. The Mahratta confederacy made short work of their enemy, and, by the Treaty of Kurdhla, seized vast territories and forced a heavy indemnity upon their foe.

A return was now made to the policy of sending as Governor-General an independent statesman, and not a servant of the Company: a good man was needed for the post, and the choice fell upon Lord Wellesley. The new Governor-

Lord Wellesley. 1798-1806.

General, who took with him to India his younger brother Arthur, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, was an Irishman possessed of great ability and still greater self-confidence. Though only thirty-seven

when he came to India, Wellesley had already distinguished himself in public life, and he threw himself energetically into the task which now faced him. The seven years of his governorship were, for good or ill, to revolutionise the position of the British in India.

The position of affairs in India was difficult, for the British had lost prestige during the governorship of Shore, and were accused of deserting an ally in time of need. The Mahrattas were now the strongest native power in India, but the strength of their loose confederacy was always limited by the internal quarrels of their different chiefs. The four most important rulers were the northern chieftains, Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsla, and Gaekwar, and of these Sindhia was at the moment quite the strongest. He had succeeded in gaining control over the aged Shah Alam, and thus the shadowy power of the Mogul was used in favour of this chieftain. But his power stretched still further, for he had complete control of the Peshwa also, and it looked as if Sindhia would now make the Peshwa a puppet ruler, just as the Peshwas had done to the descendants of the great Shivaji. Since their defeat of the Nizam, the Mahratta schemes knew no bounds, and they revived old claims to "chouth," or blackmail, over a large part of India. The struggle between the Mahrattas and the Company could not be long delayed.

Position in India.

In the south, Tipu, though beaten by Cornwallis, was dreaming of revenge. He had reorganised his army, and built it up on modern lines with the help of French officers. He even entered into relations with the French governor of Mauritius, and received a body of French troops. This aspect of the situation was what alarmed Wellesley most. England was now plunged into the long war with revolutionary France: Bonaparte had sailed for the Eastern Mediterranean in 1798, and Nelson had sought to catch him in vain. Bonaparte in Egypt was a constant threat to India, and the most alarming rumours spread throughout the country. Indeed, French influence was strong in India at this time, and Bonaparte dreamed of re-creating a French power in the country once again. "Citoyen Tipoo," with his tree of Liberty and his

membership of the Jacobin club, was quickly raising a French state in the centre of India, while the Nizam, and also the Mahrattas, had French soldiers to train their armies, and doubtless to lead them against the British. Lastly, there was the bad position into which the British power had fallen: constant changes of policy had discredited the Company altogether. The turning-point had now been reached; either Britain must be the paramount power in India, or she must remain a mere trading company paying blackmail to robber chieftains, and existing practically on sufferance.

This was the position as it appeared to Wellesley, and he set himself to deal with the situation. The most necessary thing to be done was to expel the French agents and their troops, and to prevent their gaining influence in future; this was to be brought about by negotiation, or by the sword. But Wellesley's policy went further: he set out deliberately to make Britain the paramount power in India. This he did partly by annexations and partly by a series of subsidiary alliances. Such alliances had existed before, but Wellesley revised the old agreements, and arranged similar alliances with a number of other states. He tried to bring the whole of India within this system, and practically succeeded. Although differing in some details, the main principle of these alliances was the same. The native state remained independent in its internal affairs, but its foreign relations were controlled by the Company. It received a body of the Company's troops, for whose pay it was responsible, and a portion of land was usually handed over to the Company to provide this allowance. This policy of subsidiary alliances marks an important step in the development of British dominion in India, for the relations between the native states and the British Raj to-day are very similar to those introduced by Wellesley.

Wellesley's plans.

Wellesley had not been long in India before he realised that Tipu was the most dangerous enemy, and so he determined to deal with him first. He aimed at reviving Cornwallis' Triple Alliance, and persuaded the Nizam to dismiss the French officers and their soldiers, and to receive instead a body of English troops. This success was not repeated with the Mahrattas, for

War with Tipu of Mysore. 1799.

they had large claims against the Nizam and were suspicious of the new alliance between him and the Company. Meanwhile, Tipu refused to abandon his French alliance. Mysore was invaded from both sides, British armies moving from Bombay and from Madras, and finally in May, 1799, the capital of Seringapatam was stormed, and Tipu himself was among the slain. This was a great victory, for Wellesley had succeeded in reviving the old alliance, and had destroyed the great power of the south which had threatened the Company for so long. The Governor-General was not the man to underestimate the value of his achievements, and he wrote home to his friends openly hinting that he should receive some startling honour. What he wished for was a Dukedom, what he received was the title of Marquis in the Irish peerage : he was furiously angry, and scoffed at this "double-gilt potato," as he called his new title. But his friends wrote to congratulate him, and to beg for souvenirs from Tipu's palace.

Tipu's death was fortunate for Wellesley, for it gave him an opportunity to recast southern India according to his own ideas. Mysore lost a large portion of territory, and a descendant of the old Hindu rulers, whom Hyder Ali had expelled, was set upon the throne. The new rajah willingly made a subsidiary treaty with the Company. The lands taken from Mysore were divided among the conquerors : the southern went to the British, the northern were given to the Nizam for the moment, and some were even offered as bribes to the Mahrattas, though they were not accepted. Meanwhile Wellesley had decided to deal strongly with the Carnatic ; for a long time its ruler, the Rajah of Arcot, had been dependent upon the Governor of Madras, but when Seringapatam fell letters were found there which proved that the rajah had been plotting with Tipu against the British. The rajah had been constantly in arrears with his payments of tribute, and his frequent borrowings from the officials and other Europeans of Madras had led to grave scandals in the government of the Presidency. Wellesley determined to solve the problem by annexing the Carnatic : its rajah was pensioned off, and the land came directly under the rule of the Company. By these arrangements, the whole of

Settlement of Southern India.

southern India was subordinated to the Company, either directly or by subsidiary alliances.

Wellesley continued his policy by negotiating a subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, which guaranteed him from attack by his recent enemies the Mahrattas. To pay for the troops stationed in his territory the Nizam agreed to return to the Company his share of the Mysore lands, and he was the more ready to do this as he had never been able properly to establish his power over them, or to collect his taxes there. In the north a similar policy was carried out with Oudh: here there were constant threats of invasion by the Afghan King Zeman Shah, and the Company was forced to keep a large army in Oudh for its defence, but the nawab's native levies were a continual menace, for they were ill-disciplined and untrustworthy. By the new treaty the border territories of Oudh were ceded to the Company for the support of its troops. Subsidiary alliances were also made with some of the small Rajput states beyond the River Jumna.

Subsidiary alliances.

Wellesley was now faced with the Mahratta problem. He had made several attempts to negotiate a treaty with the Peshwa, but so far he had failed. Now a lucky chance enabled him to carry through his plan. The constant quarrels within the Mahratta confederacy forced the Peshwa to fly in 1802 for refuge to Bassein near Bombay. Here Wellesley was able to come to an understanding with the homeless fugitive, and by the Treaty of Bassein the Peshwa made the usual agreement to maintain a subsidiary force and to cede certain lands for its pay. But this treaty could only become effective when the Peshwa was in power once again, and so the Company proceeded to instal their vassal in his capital of Poona.

The Mahrattas.

The Mahratta chieftains looked on at this game with distrust; they saw their nominal chief a vassal of the British power, but they did not intend to follow in his steps. The Gaekwar indeed had already accepted such an alliance, but Sindhia and Bhonsla laid their heads together and plotted to defeat this new policy, while the Peshwa, now he was safely at Poona again, begged them to save him from his new friends. Holkar, the other chieftain, had but recently been at bitter

enmity with Sindhia, and for the moment took no part in the game; he amused himself instead by sending marauding expeditions into the territories of his neighbours. Wellesley knew what was afoot, and was alarmed at the French battalions in Sindhia's army. The Peace of Amiens (1801–1803) was known to be but a hollow affair, and Wellesley on his own responsibility had suspended the restoration of the French factories he had seized: news of the outbreak of war was expected by every ship, and once again there were rumours that Napoleon was planning the invasion of India. Meanwhile, Bhonsla and Sindhia had joined forces, and their refusal of Arthur Wellesley's request that they should retire to their own territories was a declaration of war. In the north General Lake marched straight from Oudh on Delhi; Sindhia's French battalions were destroyed, and the feeble old man who bore the burden of the past glories of the Grand Mogul changed masters once again. The southern armies met at last at Assaye (September, 1803) in the north of the Nizam's territories, where Arthur Wellesley with less than five thousand men defeated a Mahratta army of fifty thousand. The campaign was quickly over, and the Mahratta chieftains suing for peace. This was given them on the usual terms: Sindhia and Bhonsla made subsidiary alliances and surrendered a portion of their territory, and thus Delhi passed into British hands. But Wellesley was not destined to leave India at peace: Holkar, who had kept himself out of the recent quarrel, now made arrogant claims to levy blackmail from British vassals. He succeeded in defeating a British army, and for a moment even seized Delhi, but it was a new Governor-General who had to settle with this adventurer, for Wellesley had been recalled.

Mahratta War. 1803-1804.

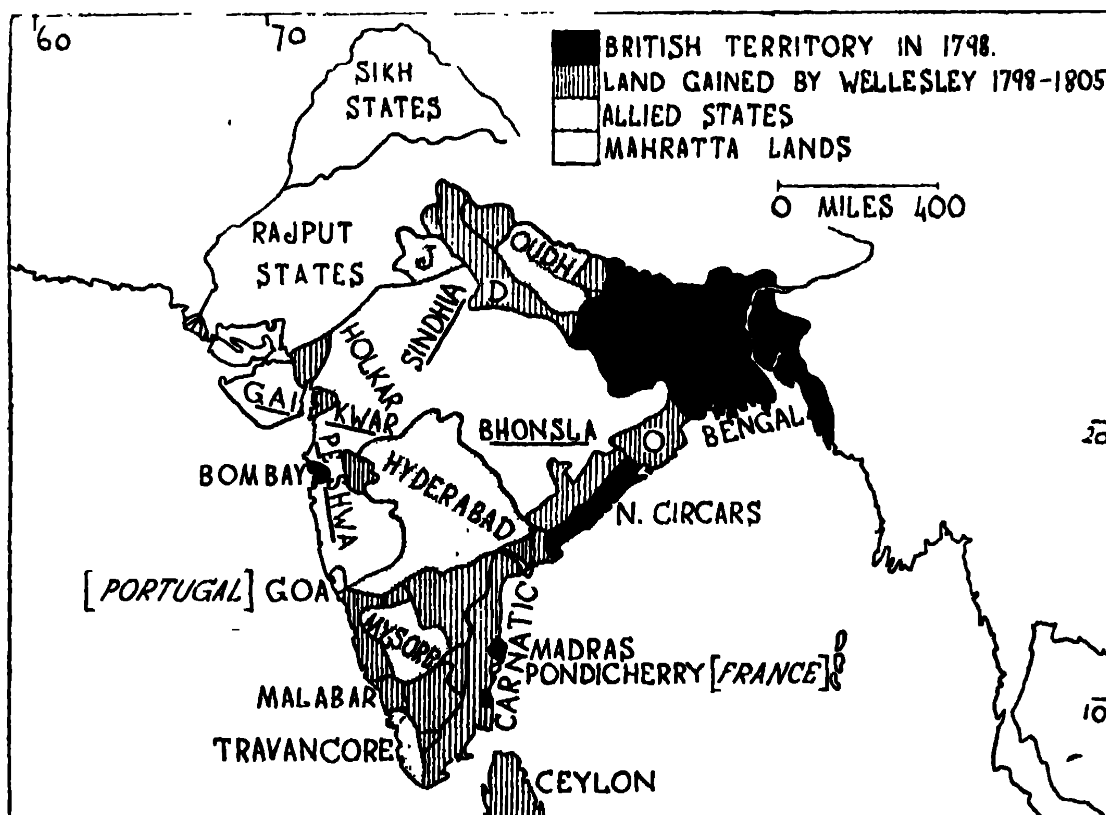
The vigorous policy which Wellesley had carried out had long alarmed the Directors. Though at times they had agreed with him in particular cases, they endeavoured to control his plans. This to a man of Wellesley's stamp was an impossible situation: how dare a body of merchants in London attempt to dictate to him, a nobleman, a man on the spot and able to see and understand the needs of the situation? Wellesley's feeling on this matter is well shown in a letter written in

June, 1804, where he begs for "a full disclosure to Parliament of every act of my administration, and of every proceeding of the Court of Directors since I have had the misfortune to be subjected to the ignominious tyranny of Leadenhall Street." That "most loathesome den of the India House," as Wellesley rather impolitely described his masters' office, was destined to have the last word. In 1805 the Directors censured Wellesley for disobedience of the Court's orders and for acting in the greatest affairs without the sanction of the Government at home: they also condemned his lavish expenditure of money.

Wellesley resigns. 1805.

After this Wellesley could do nothing but resign, and he left India in August, 1805. His work was unfinished, for some of the Mahrattas were still in arms, and further campaigns were needed before that

INDIA IN 1805.



E. H. H. H. del.

J = Jaipur. *D = Doab.* *O = Orissa.*

The names of the Mahratta chieftains who had accepted subsidiary alliances are underlined.

problem was really settled. But the greatness of Wellesley's work can easily be seen if the position of India in 1805 is

compared with the state of affairs when he arrived in 1797. It was only forty-five years since Clive's first campaign and the beginning of the Company's authority as a political body, and yet in that short time practically the whole of India had become dependent on the Company. In this great transformation Wellesley had played by far the largest part.

Reaction from Wellesley's policy. 1806–1813.

For some eight years after Wellesley left India the policy of non-intervention was carefully followed by successive governors: the treaties with the Rajput states were annulled, and for a time there was even talk of giving up all Wellesley's gains during the Mahratta war. Though this was never done, the change from Wellesley's policy was so marked that every independent ruler raised claims against the British power, and demanded the restoration of territory that had been ceded. This new policy was regarded as a sign of British weakness, and the refusal to intervene to help states as had been promised caused much dissatisfaction.

Lord Hastings. 1814–1823.

This policy came to an end with Lord Hastings, who though he came out to India a confirmed opponent of Wellesley's plans, soon found himself convinced that there would be no peace in India until Britain stood at the head of a league of all the native states. The first trouble came from the north. The little state of Nepal, among the lofty foothills of the Himalayas, was inhabited by sturdy Gurkhas who had conquered the country some fifty years before, and were now busily annexing the northernmost villages of British territory. Remonstrances proved useless, and in 1814 after some reverses the British managed to fight their way into the heart of the country. The Gurkhas were forced to cede a small strip of territory, including Simla, which has since become the summer residence of the Viceroy. Since then there have been good relations between Nepal and the British, and some of the best regiments of the Indian army are recruited from among the sturdy, short-legged Highlanders of Nepal.

(1) Nepal War. 1814–1816.

A more difficult problem had to be settled in dealing with the Pindharies. These people were marauding bands of freebooters, composed of low-caste or broken men from all parts

of India, who joined in mounted robber gangs to plunder the more peaceful villages under British protection. Although not definitely part of the Mahratta armies, they generally made their headquarters in the Mahratta states, whence just before harvest they would swoop down on the luckless villages, to plunder, burn, destroy, and carry off their spoil before news of their deeds could bring vengeance down upon their heads. Hastings determined to stamp out this pest, but he knew that the Peshwa and Sindhia looked on them with friendly eyes, for though the Pindharies might ravage a Mahratta village or two, they would prove useful allies if trouble broke out with the British. Hastings knew the Mahratta princes were plotting against him, but he managed to frighten them into giving him help. Starting with a large army from Madras, he drove the Pindharies northward out of their favourite haunts, and meeting them with a second army from Bengal succeeded in stamping them out, once and for all.

(2) War against Pindharies. 1816-1817.

The destruction of the Pindharies was followed almost at once by the last war with the Peshwa. The Mahratta schemes, though checked by Hastings' policy, were not completely foiled. The Peshwa had increased his army pretending that he was going to help against the Pindharies, but when he saw his chance he attacked a British force. All his plans fell through; the assistance promised by the other Mahratta states failed him, and the Peshwa found himself a fugitive. Hastings had now completed Wellesley's task, he had the Mahratta states at his feet, and he determined to make a final settlement. The lands of the Peshwa were annexed, and the title itself abolished. Thus Hastings destroyed the centre around which all the Mahratta schemes had been woven: there was no longer a chieftain to whom the Mahratta princes owed loyalty and obedience. The other three Mahratta princes, who had either helped the Peshwa with their armies or had only been prevented by British action, were allowed to keep their lands, but their treaties of alliance were revised. Thus by 1818 the British controlled the whole of India except the North-West Territories beyond the River Indus.

(3) Mahratta War. 1817-1818.

Hastings' Mahratta settlement. 1818.

BOOKS.—See note to Chapter IV. Macaulay's *Essay on Clive* may be read, but his *Warren Hastings* is a bitter partisan attack, not an historical statement. G. B. Malleson, *Clive*, W. H. Hutton, *Wellesley* [Rulers of India], and A. Lyall, *Warren Hastings* [English Men of Action] are useful biographies. A. D. Innes, *A Short History of the British in India*, is a text-book, well supplied with sketch maps, that deals chiefly with the period 1760-1853.

1756. Black Hole of Calcutta.
1773. Lord North's Regulating Act.
1774-1785. Warren Hastings Governor-General.
1784. Pitt's India Act establishes Board of Control.
1786-1793. Cornwallis Governor-General. (Permanent Settlement of Bengal.)
1798-1805. Wellesley Governor-General.

CHAPTER VIII

The New Colonial Policy

The "New" Empire in 1815.

WE have traced the way in which the seeds of a new Empire were sown by Britain after the disaster of the American Revolution, and we must now see how that new Empire developed. The year 1815 is an important turning-point, for it left Britain supreme at sea, but face to face once more with all those problems which she had failed to solve in dealing with the first colonies. The Empire was still bound together by the old ideal of exclusive trade, secured by the Navigation Laws and a system of preferential tariffs, while the colonies were still governed by the Colonial Office. Most of the American colonies, however, had some form of local Parliament, and it was in Canada that the great contest was to be fought out: the Cape and New South Wales were as yet too unimportant to have local Parliaments, the first a captured post and the second a mere convict station. During the nineteenth century the Empire divides itself into two quite distinct parts: the Dominions, where the government is modelled on the lines of the English constitution, and men rule themselves under a system of responsible government,

and the dependent Empire, which consists of colonies ruled autocratically by their governors under the control of the Colonial Office. This division is a natural one, for the Dominions are countries with a temperate climate, where white men live in great numbers and make their homes, while the dependent Empire consists chiefly of tropical lands with a large native population ruled by a few white men who always look to England as their home, where they hope to spend the evening of their life.

Growth of responsible government inevitable.

Thus we may say that the growth of a responsible government in the Dominions was inevitable, for it is inconceivable that large numbers of Britons abroad would consent to live under a system of government which they had long rejected at home. But the way in which responsible government came was not inevitable. It might have come with civil war and another breach of Imperial unity, as came American Independence; but instead it came by a series of compromises and a system of give and take, for which we must give credit to the wisdom of British statesmen and to the moderation of Britons beyond the seas.

At first the outlook was not good. In 1794, at the beginning of the great war with France, the new office of Secretary for War was created, and the colonies were soon allotted to its care; thus it was not until 1854, at the time of the Crimean War, that a separate Secretary of State for the Colonies was created. After the American disaster, the Colonial Office became essentially bureaucratic and overbearing, and its control of colonial business was often influenced by party interests in England and by political jobbery. The title of "Mr. Mother Country" was coined to fit this interfering administrative system, where even the very colonial governors were appointed by influence. "The patronage of the Colonial Office is the prey of every hungry department of our Government. On it the Horse Guards quarters its worn-out general officers as governors: the Admiralty cribs its share; and jobs which parliamentary rapacity would blush to ask from the Treasury are perpetrated with impunity in the silent realm of Mr. Mother Country." The manner of dealing with colonial problems, too, was most unsatisfactory: the authority

Over-centralisation of Colonial Office.

of Parliament or of the Secretary was great in theory, but in practice all power fell into the hands of the little group of bureaucrats "in the large house which forms the end of that cul-de-sac so well known by the name of Downing Street." Though "the Office" might be the only place which knew anything about the colonies, its attempt to regulate their affairs minutely was bound to end in failure. The system by which Crown lands were given away, often in vast grants, for a nominal sum, was one of the causes of the great want of labour in the colonies: land was so cheap that every one could become a landowner at once.

Wasteful land grants.

It was fortunate that about this time there arose a number of brilliant men who gave much thought to colonial matters, and fought against this dangerous policy of over-centralisation, striving to set up a more liberal system in its place. The movement for political reform in England, which forced the Reform Act of 1832 through Parliament, had its influence on men's ideas about the colonies. Lord Durham, an extreme Whig who quarrelled with the leaders of his party because of his radical views, was a champion of further reform, and he it was who drew up the great report which recommended responsible government for Canada. Friends of his were such men as Charles Buller, who made the sarcastic attack on "Mr. Mother Country," and Molesworth, who declared "this country should interfere as little as possible in the internal affairs of its colonies." Another famous man was Gibbon Wakefield, who wrote the *Art of Colonisation*, and set forth a scheme of emigration. Labour was unobtainable in the colonies, he declared, because land was so absurdly cheap. To remedy this he proposed that all Crown lands should be sold at a fixed price, so that new settlers should be forced to work for a few years before earning enough money to set up as farmers themselves. With the money so obtained the Government should establish a fund to assist emigration to the colonies, and so supply the much-needed labourers. Though Wakefield's scheme never worked quite satisfactorily, it marks an important step in the theory of colonisation, and the practice, which had sprung up

Imperial statesmen: Lord Durham.

Gibbon Wakefield: "Art of Colonisation."

after 1815, of shipping emigrants overseas haphazard to relieve the distress at home, was much improved and altered. But Wakefield was a practical man as well as a theorist: he went to Canada with Durham: he floated a company to settle South Australia, and then another to send emigrants to New Zealand, and it was very largely due to his exertions that a reluctant British Government was forced to recognise that island as a colony.

There was another movement at work which had then, and still retains, a great influence on the development of the Empire. The growth of a strong humanitarian feeling, at first among the Quakers and other religious bodies, was steadily going on. One of the first objects of their attack was the iniquity of the Slave Trade, and after some eighteen years' strenuous effort the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade scored a success by Act of Parliament in 1807. Ever since, Britain has been foremost in suppressing the traffic in slaves throughout the world. Not content with their partial victory, the humanitarians set themselves to work for the abolition of slavery itself: a vigorous campaign was carried on by means of pamphlets and public meetings, but the movement was met by the determined opposition of the slave-owners. Two places were particularly affected by the proposal: the West Indies, where the great sugar-plantations were cultivated by slave labour, and the Cape, where most of the Dutch farmers possessed slaves. The opposition in England was carefully organised by the West Indian planters, but even their arguments failed at last, and in 1834 slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire. The State paid £20,000,000 to the owners of the slaves as compensation, but though this was thought a generous act by many, it was barely half the value of the slaves, and the owners declared that they were ruined. In the West Indies a system of apprenticeship was established as a step between slavery and freedom, but this half-measure was vigorously denounced and soon broke down, and the planters found it almost impossible to get the freed men to work on the plantations for wages, and the speedy

The humanitarian movement.

Slave Trade abolished. 1807.

Abolition of slavery. 1834. Its results.

abolition of preferential sugar duties nearly ruined the islands. In the Cape, the effects were still more important: a little over a million pounds was allotted to that country, though the slaves were valued at three times that amount, and many of the Dutch farmers lost heavily through the method of payment. Angry and disgusted at an interfering country which would not allow them to live under their old customs, many Boers decided to go away and to seek new homes for themselves up country. So began the Great Trek which led to the founding of the two Boer republics. Thus, though the abolition of slavery was a reform long overdue, and on the part of its advocates was an honest attempt to right a most grievous wrong, yet some of its immediate effects were disastrous.

Continued effect of humanitarian ideas.

The influence of the humanitarian movement did not end with the abolition of slavery. All through the century the British Government has been subjected to pressure from religious bodies, missionary societies, and from other humanitarian associations, all striving for the protection of native races from the exploitation of the white settler. As time went on similar pressure came from a different source, and the Labour Party took up the same attitude. Often the missionary has been at loggerheads with the settler or the local governor, while sometimes the ill-advised action of benevolent people at home has led to trouble in the colonies, but on the whole this humanitarian pressure has been a great blessing. It has forced the home government to stand forward definitely as the protector of native races, and it has secured that, throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, grave scandals of cruelty or exploitation have been generally avoided.

We shall see the same movement influencing British action in India, modifying the powers of the great East India Company, introducing equal law for all, fostering education, encouraging medical charities, and finally taking over the government of the whole of India, with the fixed idea of maintaining peace and good government for the benefit of all. Thus gradually there arose a new conception of Empire: instead of regarding the tropical colonies as mere trading-posts, where money was to be made in any fashion, men saw in them great

tracts of land where the white man was morally bound to maintain law and order, to put down the grosser and more evil customs, and to see that trade was carried on fairly and without harm to the native. This was "the white man's burden."

The development of responsible government in the colonies was due to the growth of liberal ideas in Britain after the Napoleonic wars, and to the growing claim of the Canadians to control their own affairs. It was but natural that Canada should be the battle-ground of these new ideas, for Canada was the most well-developed of the colonies. When in 1837 a rebellion had broken out, Lord Durham was sent as governor with large powers and with instructions to report on the whole problem. Durham's Report, presented in 1839, is the most famous enunciation of the theory of responsible government for the colonies. "I rely on the efficacy of reform in the constitutional system by which these colonies are governed," he wrote, "for the removal of every abuse in their administration which defective institutions have engendered." Responsible government meant that the royal governor, like the King, should only chose as his ministers those men who had the confidence of the local Parliament, instead of anyone he pleased: otherwise, as Durham saw, "representative government" was merely a cause of endless strife. This change could be easily brought about; it merely needed a definite order to the governor, and it was done, but it would have vast results. Instead of constant disputes between the assembly and the governor, dissatisfaction would be vented on the local minister, and Imperial ties would be saved the continuous friction of discontent. But even Durham thought that there were some things over which the Imperial Government should keep a tight control; foreign affairs, the regulation of external trade, and the administration of the Crown lands.

The Liberal movement.

Lord Durham's Report, 1839, advises "Responsible Government."

These proposals of Lord Durham, simple as they might seem to carry out, really involved a radical change in the whole conception of the relations between the colony and the home country. The Imperial Government only gradually accepted Durham's doctrine, and it was by a series of

despatches and instructions that responsible government was introduced into the various Dominions. Thus, in the Dominions, as in Britain, responsible government rests on custom and common sense, and not upon Acts of Parliament, and this is just as well, for "responsible government" is a hard thing to define, and legal definitions always limit the thing they are trying to explain. Just because it rests on custom alone, responsible government has been able to develop, and is still developing every day. Of those things which Lord Durham considered the Imperial Government should still control, lands and the regulation of trade have already been taken over by the Dominions, while their governments are obtaining an increasing influence in foreign affairs, though the need of a uniform policy makes the question of joint control a difficult problem. The system as it stands is an illogical system, but it has this advantage, it works. The success of responsible government in Canada was so great that it gradually became a panacea for all evils. After Australia had, with some hesitation, been given freedom to choose its own institutions in 1850, responsible government was almost forced on the Cape, where many of the colonists would have preferred to remain dependent on the home country for protection and for finance. Thus responsible government became the keyword of the white man's countries in the British Empire. Its greatest achievement was in South Africa, where the bold experiment was made of granting responsible government to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in 1906, only five years after the Boer War. No experiment was ever more successful, for within three years the long-dreamt of Union of South Africa had become an accomplished fact.

Responsible government extended to other colonies.

There was yet another radical change in the relations between the colonies and the mother country, and this change was brought about by the growing power of new theories of political economy. Ever since Adam Smith had published his *Wealth of Nations*, in which he attacked the old system of regulating trade by navigation laws and tariff systems, the movement for free

The "Laissez Faire" Movement.

trade had been gaining ground. Men argued that if there were no artificial restrictions on trade the free play of competition would reduce prices, and thus force everything to be made or cultivated in the most economical way. These arguments appealed strongly to the British manufacturers, who were far ahead of the rest of the world with their new systems of factory machinery. They wished to see the price of corn reduced, the duties on raw material removed, and they hoped that the triumph of the new doctrine would open the markets of all the world to their goods, without the burden of a tariff. Thus the Manchester School fought hard for "Free Trade," but found themselves strongly opposed by the Tories, who foresaw that the triumph of such doctrines would mean the decline of agriculture, and a growing dependence on foreign countries for Britain's food supplies. The attack of the Free Traders threatened both the Corn Laws and the Sugar Duties, and in each case colonial interests were involved; for the tariff gave such preference to Canadian corn and British West Indian sugar that they had a large advantage in the British market. Those who opposed Free Trade argued that it would ruin Canada and the West Indies, and it would mean the break up of the Empire no longer surrounded by a tariff wall. They also declaimed loudly against allowing foreign slave-grown sugar to compete with the British sugar cultivated by free labour, though such arguments came ill from men who had but recently opposed the abolition of slavery. They were, however, fighting a losing battle; the argument of the Anti-Corn Law League carried great weight, and in 1846 the Corn Laws were swept away by Peel: the whole system of preferential tariffs also disappeared. At first there was great excitement in Canada, where men saw the United States shipping wheat to England to compete with their corn, while they themselves were still bound by the Navigation Laws which closed the St. Lawrence to all but British and colonial vessels. This grievance, however, was soon remedied, and in 1849 the Navigation Laws were repealed.

Arguments of Free Traders.

Opposition argument.

Repeal of Corn Laws. 1846. Navigation Laws. 1849.

Now that the home government had been converted to the

new gospel, it determined to force that gospel on the colonies. Durham had considered it the duty of the Imperial Government to regulate colonial trade, while Lord Grey, Secretary of State from 1846 to 1853, declared: "It has always been held to be one of the principal functions of the Imperial Legislature and Government to determine what is to be the commercial policy of the Empire at large. . . . The common interest of all parts of that extended Empire requires that its commercial policy should be the same throughout its numerous dependencies."[1] Following this principle, Lord Grey prevented the colonies from adopting protective measures, and strove to enforce a genuine free trade throughout the Empire. But here the new economic doctrine was faced by the other principle of responsible government, and the latter won the day. Once again the struggle came to a head in Canada.

Attempt to force Free Trade on Colonies.

In 1859 the Canadian Parliament passed a Bill increasing heavily a number of import duties. Lord Newcastle, the Secretary of State, regretted "that the experience of England, which has fully proved the injurious effect of the protective system . . . should be lost sight of." But the Canadian Government replied, justifying their bill, and declaring that they could not "waive or diminish the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves both as to the mode and extent to which taxation shall be imposed." Thus another step was taken in the development of responsible government, and since then all the self-governing colonies have adopted a system of protection, but have generally conceded to the mother country treatment on the basis of the most favoured nation, although their goods compete in her market on equal terms with those from other countries.

Canadian tariff. 1859.

Thus by about 1860 all the old bonds of Empire seemed to have disappeared. Tariffs and Navigation Laws had gone, and with them the idea of a self-dependent Empire: in their place there stood Great Britain inviting commerce free from all the world, and her colonies gradually building tariff walls. The old system of

Position of Empire. 1860.

[1] Quoted by Egerton: "A Short History of British Colonial Policy."

centralised control had gone: Canada enjoyed responsible government, and was quickly widening the first meaning of that phrase. Australia had chosen the same system, while the Cape had representative institutions, and was fast following Canada on the path towards the same goal. The sight of these rapid changes staggered men, and they wondered where events were leading. It seemed to many that the Empire was fast breaking up, the old ties had gone, and at first few perceived those stronger ties which still held the Empire together. There were many who wished deliberately to hasten the process, and eagerly looked for the day when the colonies should "cut the painter" and set up as absolutely independent states. To the logical free trader, who often took nothing into consideration but abstract economic laws, the colonies were a mere encumbrance; since Britain had lost control of their financial policy, it was a nuisance to retain any connection with them at all. They would offer just as good markets if they were independent states, and Britain would prosper better, for there would be no risk of her having to spend money for their protection. Men of this school worked to bring about this end; they encouraged responsible government, not as the natural way to govern Britons overseas, but as the necessary step to the "hiving off" of the colony which they so much desired. The general belief was expressed by Sir F. Rogers, who was for long the Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies. "I had always believed," he wrote in later life, "that the destiny of our colonies is independence; and that in this point of view the function of the Colonial Office is to secure that our connection, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation, when it comes, as amicable as possible." Similar ideas made statesmen shun the undertaking of fresh burdens; followers of the Manchester School hated the idea of new tropical possessions, and much of the vacillating policy in South Africa was due to the conflict between these ideas and the views of men on the spot. Events were at work, however, which were to alter the whole aspect of the colonial problem, and with the bid of Germany for colonial world-power, begun at the Berlin Conference of 1884, Britain began to understand that

Reaction against "Laissez Faire."

both dominions and tropical colonies were of greater use to her than she had realised.

We have been discussing ideas and their effects on the development of the Empire, but we must not lose sight of the influence of the great inventions which revolutionised industry and travel. When it took six months for a good ship to reach India, and several weeks to get across the Atlantic to the American colonies, it was very difficult for statesmen at home to keep in touch with what was going on abroad. But distance is only relative, and with the invention of steam, ships were no longer dependent on the chance of the winds, and the colonies were, for practical purposes, brought much closer to the home country. At the very time when the old system of Empire was breaking up, and the new ideas were getting to work, there were being founded, in London and Liverpool, those shipping companies which have bound the colonies yet closer to the Mother Country. The invention of electric telegraphy, too, did much to shorten distances: the first submarine cable was laid between England and France in 1851, but it was not till 1858 that communication was established with America, though after that progress was rapid, and British cables soon began to link the colonies with the Mother Country. Ashore the railway played a great part in developing the new countries, and in making possible the union of far distant settlements into one state. This is best seen in Canada, where Durham recommended the linking of the maritime provinces to Canada by a railway, while the price of British Columbia's agreement to join the Dominion in 1871 was the speedy completion of a railway to the Pacific Coast: thus the Canadian Pacific Railway became the spinal nerve of Canadian life. In South Africa, too, the need for a uniform railway system was one of the greatest forces which brought about the Union of 1909, while, in Australia, a great railway has just been finished to link Western Australia with the Eastern centres of civilisation. This gradual improvement of communications, both by sea and land, brought the various parts of the Empire closer together, and did much to remove misunderstandings and to secure unity of control over large territories. We must now

Improvement in communications.

trace the development of the Dominions, and see how they have prospered under the new conditions of responsible government.

BOOKS.—A. B. Keith, *Select Documents Illustrative of British Colonial Policy* [2 vols., World's Classics], is essential to the study of the development of the Dominions. C. H. Currey, *British Colonial Policy, 1783–1915*, is a handy little book which brings the story up to the Great War. Portions of G. Wakefield, *The Art of Colonisation*, should be read, and also Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* [Everyman], Book IV., Chapter VII., on "Colonies."

1776. Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."
1807. Abolition of Slave Trade.
1834. Abolition of Slavery.
1839. Lord Durham's Report on Canada.
1846. Repeal of Corn Laws.
1849. Repeal of Navigation Acts.

CHAPTER IX

Canada

When William Pitt passed his Canada Act in 1791, which established the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, he had two aims in view. He hoped by separating the British and the French to do away with the constant friction between them, and he believed that the new constitution with its representative assembly would act as a safety-valve for discontent. In each of these aims he was disappointed, for in less than fifty years both of the provinces were in rebellion.

Canada Act, 1791.

The trouble in Quebec was racial rather than constitutional. Despite a liberal constitution, and the protection given to their language and religion, the French Canadians found that they had only the shadow of power, and not the real thing. The British lawyers and traders, who had come into the province to the cities of Quebec and Montreal, still remained there, and the Governor chose his ministers and nominated

the members of his council from the British and not from the French inhabitants. This angered the French, and, urged by their priests, they began to draw together into a strong political party under the leadership of Papineau, who founded, in 1806, a newspaper called *Le Canadien*, with the object of binding the French together. In granting a constitution to the French Canadians, Pitt had tried a great experiment, for the French were not accustomed, as were the English, to the working of representative institutions. Soon after the war with the United States, the French party, predominant in the elective assembly, began to wage war against the British ascendancy in the council. Thus the racial quarrel took on a constitutional form, and the assembly strove to gain control of the "royal" revenues which were raised by authority of Acts of the Imperial Parliament, and to obtain the right of voting an annual budget. Papineau used violent language, and, after a bitter attack on the Governor, that officer refused to accept him as a Speaker of the House. In 1834 the assembly passed a series of resolutions, urging the need of an elective council, but a body of commissioners reported against this suggestion. The assembly then refused to renew an agreement with Upper Canada, by which the duties collected on the St. Lawrence were shared between the two provinces, and the Imperial Parliament was forced to step in and pass the necessary legislation. Feeling was now very high, and in 1837 a rebellion broke out under Papineau. This was soon suppressed after a little fighting, but Papineau became a national hero, and was hailed as a martyr who had suffered in the cause of constitutional reform.

Quebec: Racial Movement under Papineau.

Revolt of 1837.

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, different causes had led to a similar result. Here there were not two nationalities to complicate the problem, and the colonists were accustomed to the use of representative institutions, for the loyalist settlers had shared in the government of their colonies before the Revolutionary War, while the newcomers from Britain found a miniature reproduction of what they were familiar with at home. But it was just between these newcomers and the loyalists that the trouble arose. All offices were held by a

clique composed of the earliest settlers and their friends, the legislative council was packed by their nominees, and they absorbed the medical and legal professions. As new settlers arrived a reform party grew up under Mackenzie, an able but passionate Scotchman, who was ready to use every means to attain his ends. The reformers began to make themselves heard by founding newspapers and agitating in the assembly; they claimed that some of the land which Pitt had set apart for endowing the Protestant Church should be given to Scotch Presbyterian ministers, but this was opposed by the party in power, who were all supporters of the Church of England. The reformers also desired responsible government, and sent a deputation to England to urge their views on the Colonial Office (1832). Here a new and liberal policy was at work, and some reforms were promised, but the trouble was brought to a head by the indiscreet behaviour of the new governor, Sir Francis Bond Head. This man was entirely out of sympathy with the reformers, and, by representing to the Province that Mackenzie wished to join the United States, he succeeded in obtaining the election of an assembly favourable to the ruling clique.

Upper Canada. Mackenzie's Revolt. 1837.

Mackenzie was furious at this trickery and resorted to force, but here he quite misunderstood the feeling of the province: only a few of the reformers followed him, and when the rebellion broke out in 1837 it was promptly crushed, though for some time a filibustering war was carried on with the leaders who had fled across the American border.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Durham was sent out as Governor-General, with instructions to report on the future constitution of Canada.

Lord Durham governor. 1837.

Anxious to "know nothing of a British, a French, or a Canadian Party," and to prevent the bitter hatred caused by political executions, he granted a general amnesty, but deported certain rebel leaders to the Bermudas by his own proclamation. For this unconstitutional act he was attacked by political enemies in the House of Lords, and though an Act of Indemnity was passed, he immediately resigned and returned to England. Yet Durham had been long enough in Canada to study the situation carefully, and in his Report he

pointed out two main causes of friction; the racial and the constitutional. In Quebec, Britain had deliberately allowed the French settlers to develop their nationality, and they were now threatening to oppress the British minority in that province. To deal with this difficulty, Durham proposed that the two provinces should be united, so that a definite British majority might be secured. "I entertain no doubt as to the national character which must be given to Lower Canada; it must be that of the British Empire, that of the majority of the population of British America, that of the great race which must in no long period of time be predominant over the whole North American Continent." The only solution of the constitutional problem was the grant of responsible government. "We are not now to consider the policy of establishing representative government in the North American colonies. That has been irrevocably done, and the experiment of depriving the people of their present constitutional power is not to be thought of. To conduct the government harmoniously in accordance with its established principle is now the business of its rulers; and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way than by administering the government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain."

His Report. 1839. (1) Union to absorb the French.

(2) Responsible government.

Of these two recommendations, the first was quickly adopted, though the second only came gradually. In 1840 Lord John Russell carried the Act of Reunion, which gave Canada a nominated council, and an elective assembly consisting of an equal number of members from each province. The English language only was to be used for official purposes. Responsible government, however, was not so easy to introduce: it was a veritable revolution, and it was difficult to see how a governor could play the part of a constitutional monarch, acting on the advice of his ministers, and yet pay attention to the instructions sent to him from the Colonial Office. For several years the governors were encouraged to maintain amicable relations with the leaders of the assembly, and yet to act independently when necessary, but this was a half measure which did not really solve

Act of Reunion, 1840.

the problem, and until it was solved there was always the possibility of grave trouble. It was Lord Elgin, Durham's son-in-law, who really introduced responsible government into Canada. The great test case was the Rebellion Losses Act of 1849, which gave compensation to all who had lost property during the rebellion of 1837. This Act caused a great outcry, the ultra-loyal party claiming that it gave subsidies to rebels, but Elgin felt it his duty to give the royal assent to the Act, since it had passed the Canadian Parliament. A violent riot ensued, Parliament House at Montreal was burnt, and Elgin's life was in danger, but his calm and dignified attitude created a great impression, and, since then, responsible government has been the unwavering practice of the Canadian constitution.

Lord Elgin. Rebellion Losses Bill, 1849.

Thus both of Durham's suggestions had been adopted, and responsible government proved a great success, but the attempt to break up the French party by uniting the provinces was a failure. Indeed, as time went on the French Canadians gained yet greater strength. They stood firm by their party leaders, cherishing their language, religion, and customs, and the French vote soon became all important in politics. Although the population of Upper Canada steadily increased, that province still had only the same number of representatives as Quebec, and any attempt to alter the proportions was opposed by the French. Politics gradually reached a deadlock: the balance of parties was so nice that one or two votes could oust a government, and this led to short-lived administrations, and a general stoppage of business. Statesmen sought for some solution of the problem, and this they found in a federal constitution.

Causes of the Federal Movement.

Other causes also drove men to wish for a federation. When Britain adopted Free Trade in 1846, the Canadians found the Americans competing with them there on equal terms, though the markets of the United States were closed to them by a tariff wall. A slump at once occurred in Canada; property fell in value, and men began to look with longing eyes on the excellent markets just over the border, and a movement for political annexation gained ground. Lord Elgin saw that economic distress was at the back of this movement, and in

1854 he succeeded in negotiating a Reciprocity Treaty, by which raw materials were admitted to either country duty free. As Canada produced much raw material needed by the States, this treaty was very useful to her, and trade at once revived. During the American Civil War, relations were very strained between the Canadian Government and the northern states, and at last in 1866, in anger at Britain's friendly attitude to the Confederates, the Federals repealed the Reciprocity Treaty. They hoped by this measure to force Canada to join the Union, and a bill to arrange this was actually introduced into the American Senate. But the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, hard as it hit Canada, had very different results from those which Americans expected. Far from driving Canada to join the Union, the fear of American aggression, and the desire to create an inter-provincial trade, gave additional strength to the federal movement. The Canadians believed that a federal state would be stronger in defence, while some looked yet further and hoped that the whole of the vast territories of the Hudson's Bay Company would be taken over by the new state.

Reciprocity Treaty. 1854.

In 1864 two leading statesmen, Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, a French-Canadian, formed a coalition government to draft and carry through a scheme of federation. While this matter was being discussed, they heard that the maritime provinces, who were cut off from Canada both economically, and by almost impassable forest land, were themselves considering the question of a local federation. The position of the maritime provinces had been prejudiced by the final settlement of a lengthy dispute concerning the boundary between New Brunswick and the State of Maine. The interpretation of the old Treaty of 1783 had long been in dispute, and affairs had come to such a pitch that the Government of Maine had seized on the disputed territory, and fighting had nearly broken out between the state and the colony. Finally in 1842 the question was dealt with by arbitration, and the Ashburton Treaty gave all the land under dispute to the States, much to the disgust of Canada. Thus the maritime provinces found themselves almost isolated from Canada by a great wedge of the state of

Coalition Government. 1864.

Maine. Fired by the idea of a larger union, the Canadian statesmen invited the maritime provinces to discuss the question with them, and this was done behind closed doors at the Quebec Conference of 1864. Since its sittings were secret, men could say what they really thought, instead of merely talking to the newspapers, and so after much discussion a plan of federation was agreed upon. The Parliament of Canada voted for the new scheme by large majorities, but the case was not the same in the maritime provinces; here the inhabitants feared that they might be swamped by their larger neighbours, and it took much persuasion and some parliamentary jugglery before New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were willing to accept the scheme. Even then little Prince Edward Island stood out for several years, while Newfoundland still remains outside the federation. A number of Canadian statesmen went to London to help in drafting the bill, and in 1867 the British North America Act was passed, and the Dominion of Canada came into being.

British North America Act, 1867.

Under the new constitution Canada itself was split up again into two parts, Ontario and Quebec, and these, with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, formed the first four provinces of the Dominion. They were given their own local parliaments, which were competent to deal with certain local matters. Both in the province of Quebec, and in federal business generally, French and English were recognised as official languages, and all documents were to be printed in both: thus Durham's plan for absorbing the French had failed. To ensure better comuunication between the maritime provinces and Canada, an inter-colonial railway was begun, and though for many years it did not pay its way, this railway was the price of federation. In framing the Bill, the statesmen of Canada had the example of the United States before their eyes: they had just seen a disastrous war between the north and south over the question of slavery, and they judged that the individual states had too much power under the Constitution. Determined not to make a similar mistake, they limited the power of their provinces very carefully, and gave all the residue of authority to the Federal Parliament. This parliament was framed on the

The Federal Constitution.

English model—a Governor-General to represent the King, and two Houses. The assembly was elected, and the number of members was to be re-distributed after each census as the balance of the population altered. The Upper House, or Senate, instead of being elected as was the Senate of the United States, was nominated for life by the Governor-General. On the whole this has been an unsuccessful arrangement, for the nominations were used by party leaders as rewards for political service : the best men did not get into the Senate, and its influence and value was therefore very small. It was intended that this new constitution should be worked by the cabinet system, and with responsible government, but as usual nothing was said in the Act of Parliament about it. It was left free to develop as custom should show to be best.

Expansion of the Domininion. (1) Boundary fixed by Oregon Award. 1846.

Thus in 1867 there came into being the Dominion of Canada, and within four years it stretched right across the continent from ocean to ocean. Beyond the Great Lakes, and right away up to the Rockies, swept the country which belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company: beyond the Rockies was yet another settlement—British Columbia. The boundaries between these lands and the United States caused much dispute until they were finally settled. The United States based their case on the vague claims of the Spaniards to the Pacific lands of America, which the States had acquired in 1819. The Americans, who were just beginning to realise the great possibilities of their western territories, made vast claims to the north-west. "Fifty-four forty or fight" was the war-cry of the excited crowds, but saner counsels prevailed ; the matter was referred to arbitration, and in 1846 the line 49° north was accepted as the frontier.

In the early days the Hudson's Bay Company had to face the competition of the French Company, but every year when the warmth of the summer melted the ice, and ships were able to get through to York Factory on the Bay, they found a valuable cargo to take home. Even after the capture of Canada by the English the old Company still had a rival, for in 1783 a number of Scotch adventurers founded the North

West Company, with their headquarters on the St. Lawrence at Montreal. Making use of the numerous French and Indian half-breeds, who were born trappers, the North West Company was really a revival of the old French Company under another disguise. The new Company pushed its efforts far and wide, its forts and posts were planted on every important river, and and its servants did great work as explorers of the unknown west: the Fraser, the Thompson, and the great River Mackenzie, all recall the heroic deeds of dauntless explorers who pushed on yet further, crossed the barrier of the Rockies, and reached the Pacific. The competition between the two Companies became so keen that the old Company could scarce pay its dividends, while their servants came to blows when they met on expeditions. At last in 1821 the two Companies agreed to unite, and this new Company obtained a fresh charter, and set itself to make dividends once more. It had been the settled policy of the Companies not to speak of the great Lone Land in which they won their wealth, to discourage settlement, and to disparage the usefulness of the land itself. Despite this practice, stories of the great possibilities of the north-west leaked through to Canada, people began to grumble at the Company's monopoly, and to talk of uniting the whole of its territories to Canada, and in the British North America Act provision was made for accepting the land from the Company. This territory was not entirely without settlers, for when the old Company was hard put to it for funds, it had leased some land to the Earl of Selkirk, who had planted a colony of Scotchmen on the Red River, near where Winnipeg now stands. This settlement had many ill adventures, and was attacked by a rival party of French half-breeds, protégées of the North-West Company; but after the amalgamation the Red River settlement still continued. By 1869 Canada had agreed to buy out the Company's governmental rights, but to leave it as a trading concern. An Act was passed for the government of the territory when taken over, and surveyors were sent to examine and lay out the land. The French half-breeds had done their best to destroy the Red River settlement, they looked with suspicion on the new negotiations, and they realised that all possibility of a

(2) Hudson's Bay Company.

French-Canadian nation of the north-west would disappear if once British immigration began. The sight of the surveyors made them fear that they would be turned out of their lands, and they rose in revolt under the leadership of a fanatic named Louis Riel. For nearly a year Riel held his position, while the Canadian Government strove in vain to deal with the matter by fair words instead of by force, even going so far as to send for the Roman Catholic Archbishop Taché from the Vatican Council at Rome to plead with the rebels. At last a small expedition under Wolseley came down to the Red River; the rebels fled across the frontier, and the rebellion was at an end. Meanwhile, the Canadian Government had been listening to the grievance of the Red River settlers, and it was decided to admit them to the Dominion as the province of Manitoba, while the remainder of the Company's land was left for the present as the North West Territory, to be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and a council.

Manitoba a province. 1871.

We have seen how the explorers of the North West Company pushed over the Rockies, and down to the Pacific, and how the boundary question between Canada and the United States was settled by arbitration. The development of British Columbia, however, was not due to the initiative of a far-reaching trading company, but to the discovery of gold. British Columbia had first been reached from the Pacific, and it was the energy of Captain Cook at the end of the eighteenth century that made the country known in England. Hence, when it was first settled, it was settled from the Pacific, for British Columbia and Canada are back to back: they have the huge Alpine range of the Rockies between them, and it is only the indomitable pluck of man and his engineering skill that have at last driven the railway through the mountains, and so linked those two very different countries together. At first British Columbia was merely administered as part of the Hudson's Bay Territory, but as settlers came pouring in with the rush for gold, the Imperial Government wished to obtain closer control over the country, and so in 1858 British Columbia became a Crown colony, ruled by a governor and nominated council. By 1871 arrangements

(3) British Columbia.

were made for its incorporation in the Dominion. The bargain which induced the new province to join the Dominion was the promise that within two years a railway should be completed between Canada and Vancouver. This was eventually done, after many difficulties; but for a long time the construction and management of the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the most bitterly disputed questions of Canadian politics. Thus by 1871 the Dominion stretched across the continent from sea to sea. Since then it has had only one addition, when Prince Edward Island joined the Dominion in 1873. The growing trade of Canada with the West Indies has increased her interest in those islands, and in 1911 a proposal was made that she should take over some of the islands, but it came to nothing. Within the Dominion itself, the development of population has led to the formation of the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

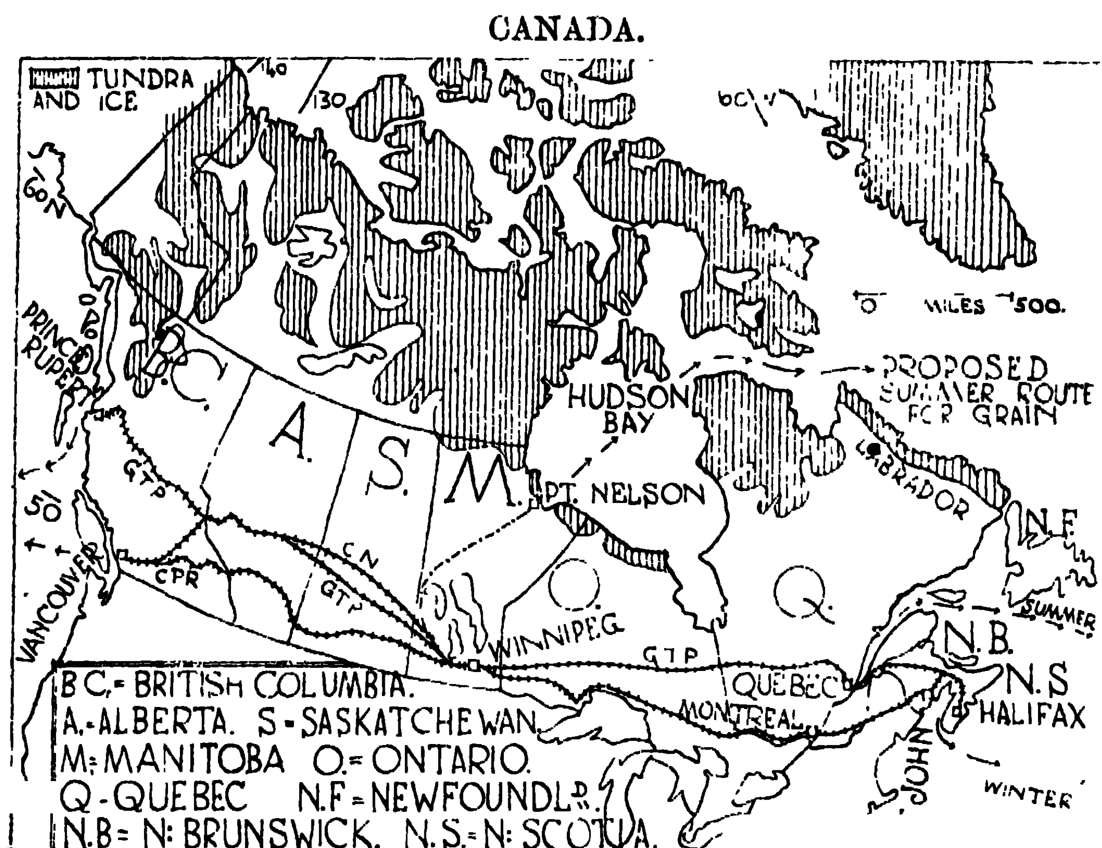
(4) Prince Edward Island. 1873.

The notion we get of Canada from a glance at an ordinary map is very misleading: it appears an illimitable country, nearly the size of the United States. But besides the shrinking of the land towards the north, for most maps make the northern territories look much larger than they really are, we must remember that great stretches of the land are covered by difficult mountains and almost impenetrable forest, while the further north we go, the colder and less hospitable becomes the climate. In some parts, such as in the prairie provinces, there is ample room for northward expansion, but in other places the country is sterile and of little use. At present the population is spread out in a belt of about one hundred miles wide along the frontier, stretching along that spinal cord, the railway line. In old Canada, besides the busy towns, the land is split up into little farms which have been hewn out of the forest, where the Canadian is forced to carry on general farming much as the Englishman does at home. In the maritime provinces the work is similar, though here many of the inhabitants are sailors and fishermen, earning their living off the banks of Newfoundland. Further west when we come to the prairie provinces, with their rolling

Geographical divisions of Canada.

down lands, we find another type of farming. Here in recent years the vast numbers of immigrants have begun to raise excellent wheat from the virgin soil of the prairie land, though towards the Rockies, where the rainfall is more precarious, careful irrigation has had to be undertaken. Once over the Rockies, we are in quite a different country again. Little valleys, generally heavily timbered, run up into the high mountains and here the saw-mill and lumber-station clear

CANADA.



E. H. H. H. del.

The River St. Lawrence is open for seven months of the year, the Hudson Bay route for about three. Notice what a large part of Canada is covered with tundra and ice; much of the rest is still forest-clad.

away the forest, and make room for the farm. Here too there is gold-digging, salmon-fishing, fruit-farming, and stock-raising, but the farms are small and unambitious, for labour is very scarce, and Asiatic immigration is very strictly controlled. Thus, scarcity of labour is one of the problems of British Columbia, as it was in Australia in the early days.

One of the bargains made when British Columbia joined the Dominion was the building of a trans-continental railroad. The Conservative party, under Sir John Macdonald, set

themselves to carry through the scheme, though they were vigorously opposed by the Liberals, who pointed out that the railways already built were not paying their way. It was not till 1886 that with the help of Lord Strathcona, and with a guarantee of money from Britain, the great work was completed. It has since become a triumphant success. Vancouver City, the Pacific port, has grown from 30,000 inhabitants in 1900 to more than 100,000, while all along the line the prairie provinces have been opened up. *Punch* published a famous cartoon in 1888 to welcome the opening of this new North-West Passage, and the prophecy was true, for besides the railway the Company owns a large fleet of liners, and the yellow funnels and the house-flag of the Canadian Pacific Ocean Services are known alike in England, Australia, and Japan. While the line was being built there was a sudden boom in Western Canada, and during 1881 and 1882 Winnipeg grew at an amazing pace, but there was soon a reaction, due largely to the great development of the United States, and for several years Canada was hit very hard. American competition hampered Canada, for as the States recovered after the Civil War they began to send large quantities of manufactured goods into Canada, but as the Reciprocity Treaty had been denounced by the States in 1866, Canada found it very difficult to export her raw materials across the border in return. It was to meet such problems as these that Sir John Macdonald introduced his National Policy, and placed a 30 per cent. import duty on manufactures, hoping to encourage Canadians to make their own goods. At first this policy was very unpopular among many of the Liberals, while some people carried on an agitation for commercial union with the United States, believing that a political union would follow in due time. A leader of this school was Goldwin Smith, an English Professor of History, who emigrated first to the United States and thence to Canada and became a great champion of Free Trade and American Union. His caustic phrases and logical analysis, together with the scorn he poured on the fictions of the Dominion constitution, carried weight, but when the Liberals came into power under Sir Wilfrid

Canadian Pacific Railway.

Macdonald's National Policy. 1879.

Laurier in 1896, they found the country so prosperous that they deemed it best to leave the tariff untouched.

It was towards the end of the 'nineties that the development of modern Canada commenced: the work of preparation began to tell, and a careful policy of assisted immigration and land-settlement began to open out the fertile prairie lands of the West. Instead of Canadians crossing the border and settling in the States, Americans who realised the value of the virgin soil of the prairie began to pour across into Canada, and to settle down as farmers in the Dominion. This seemed to put the final seal of excellence on the prairie provinces, and helped by a good system of banking and finance the wheat country began to develop at a prodigious rate. From Europe came parties and groups from different countries, Germany, Russia, Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere, who settled down together in the new country. Townships sprang up like mushrooms, while the Missionary Societies found it almost impossible to keep pace with the demand for ministers. New railways too were pushed on to open up new routes across the continent: the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific, both aiming for the further ocean. Besides this, new industries were begun, new mines were opened, and the whole country offered an ever-increasing market for Canadian goods. This vast growth in population can be seen from the census returns: in 1901 there were $5\frac{1}{3}$ millions in Canada; ten years later the population was more than $7\frac{1}{5}$ millions. The annual immigration return rose from 67,000 in 1901 to 402,000 in 1912.

Opening up of north-west. 1898-1914.

Such was the state of Canada when at last the Liberals determined to take up a new line on fiscal matters. Laurier negotiated a Reciprocity Treaty with President Taft, but discovered that he had made a bad tactical mistake, for his party was hopelessly beaten at the General Election of 1911. The case was not fought merely upon its merits, for the question of the Imperial tie, and of the future development of Canada, was mixed up with the more theoretical discussions of economic doctrine. The defeat of 1911 was largely the result of that feeling of Canadian nationality which

Reciprocity Treaty. Liberal defeat. 1911.

has been growing so fast during the last thirty years, for any policy which seemed to threaten that nationality, however indirectly, was bound to be regarded with suspicion. As late as 1891, Goldwin Smith could write with almost arrogant assurance, "Canada will never contribute to Imperial armaments at her own expense. . . . Let the War Office ask the Canadian High Commissioner whether he thinks that Quebec would, under any conceivable circumstance, send contingents or subsidies to British armaments, or allow the Dominion, which is controlled by the French vote, to send them." Yet only ten years later, when Great Britain found herself at war in South Africa, Laurier, a French-Canadian Premier, was forced by public opinion to send men to fight for the general cause. But lately the voluntary act of the Dominion sent a great army to fight in France for freedom, and on the fields of Flanders Canadian nationality found itself once again. The opening up of the West, a development which has only just begun, is altering the whole balance of power in Canada, and threatens to upset the old arrangements of political parties, for the farmers are beginning to organise directly, and to run their own candidates independently of the older parties. This change also threatens to diminish the importance of the French-Canadian vote, for though they still remain a separate nationality, the day when their vote was strong enough to control the whole of Dominion politics seems to have gone for ever. Power, with wealth, is steadily moving westward. Thus Canada is on the eve of great decisions: the events of recent years, and the development of the Dominion itself, have raised problems which must soon be faced and settled. Her native question is small, for the Indians are but few in number and peacefully inclined, and her racial problem, difficult as it once appeared, is now a minor matter. But the question of first-rate importance is that of her relations to the great English-speaking republic to the south and to the Mother Country and the Empire as a whole.

Development of Canadian Nationality.

Growing power of the West.

BOOKS: J. G. Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule, 1760-1905*, and W. L. Grant, *History of Canada*, are useful text-books. A. G. Bradley, *Canada* [Home University Library], is a fascinating little

book. Documents can be studied in Keith's *Colonial Policy*, where the extracts from Durham's report should certainly be read. It is edited in full by C. P. Lucas. The ideas of Goldwin Smith can be seen in his book, *Canada and the Canadian Question.*

1791. **Pitt's Canada Act [forms two provinces].**
1839. **Durham's Report.**
1840. **Act of Reunion.**
1867. **The Dominion of Canada [British North America Act].**
1870. **Red River Rebellion.**
1879. **Macdonald's "National" Policy of Protection.**
1911. **Reciprocity Treaty with U.S.A.; fall of Laurier Government.**

CHAPTER X

South Africa

The population of South Africa.

The story of South Africa is a record of the conflict between the white man and the black, but it has been complicated by another racial problem, for the British and the Dutch did not quickly settle down side by side, and so present a united front to the native. There are thus three important elements in the population of South Africa: the native, the Dutch settler, and the later British immigrant. When the Dutch first settled at the Cape, they found there savages of a very low type of civilisation, though these yellow-skinned Bushmen and Hottentots were few in number and of little importance. But while the white man was pushing upward from the Cape, South Africa was being invaded from the north by a type of man very different from the Bushman. The dark-skinned Bantu-speaking negroes came flooding southward, sweeping over the land and claiming it for their flocks and herds. Strong and vigorous, a large portion of the Bantus were by nature men of war and readily submitted themselves to the strict discipline of their soldier-kings. Of these the most terrible were the Zulus, whose well-trained impis would scour the countryside,

carrying fire and slaughter wherever they went. The more peaceful Bantus, such as the Mashona, who were ready and desirous of living quietly and tending their flocks, served only as a prey to their more vigorous neighbours, and were frequently reduced to a state of servitude. We can easily understand the constant clash between black and white in South Africa if we realise that it was but the meeting of two steady streams of invaders spreading over the country from opposite directions.

The Dutch Company discouraged the settlement and development of their station at the Cape; thus when it was captured by the British there were only some 20,000 Europeans in South Africa, though they were spread thinly over a large territory, with its centre at Cape Town. The inland farmer, or Back-veldt Boer, was ignorant and impatient of restraint, the control of the Castle at Cape Town was irksome to him, and when the British seized the country in 1795 some of the Boers were actually in rebellion against their own government. Unlike the French in Canada, who had cleared their little farms with infinite difficulty out of the enveloping forest, the Boers had sprawled across the country and occupied what land seemed good to them. For the Boer it was easy to pack his goods and move away across the veldt to another piece of land; for the French-Canadian, even had he wished so to do, such a thing was impossible. The British who came to the Cape, either as governors or colonists, did not quickly fraternise with the older settlers and there was a good deal of friction between the two races, but the chief quarrel of the Boers was with the British Government for interfering in their manner of life and upsetting their relations with the natives. Things soon came to such a pass that some of the Boers preferred to move away and form new homes for themselves where they could live without foreign control.

Causes of the trek.

The Cape had been captured by force of arms, and the first British governors were soldiers: there was no attempt to apply to the Cape those broad principles of statesmanship which proved so successful in Canada, and the Boers soon began to fear that their new masters had determined on a definite policy of Anglicising

the whole colony. The first step which caused them alarm was the planting on the eastern borders of the colony, in 1820 and 1821, of a number of British settlers. This plantation was part of the scheme of colonisation organised to relieve the distress in England after the Napoleonic wars and to develop the colonies. On the whole it was a success; the districts of Albany and Somerset East were named in honour of the scheme, and a hardy band of frontier farmers soon proved their worth, both as a defence against Kaffir attack from the east and as a nucleus of the British element in South Africa. But the Boers were alarmed, especially when English was declared the official language of the colony and an English system of magistrates and law-courts was organised to take the place of the old Dutch courts and local officers. Another great cause of ill-feeling was the emancipation of the slaves. Slavery had been begun in South Africa by the Dutch East India Company, who brought a number of Malays as slaves from their settlements in the Spice Islands; besides this, the Boers had Hottentots and other captured natives as farm slaves. The Boer, who saw everything from a severely practical point of view, could not appreciate the ideals which were behind the anti-slavery agitation. He could hardly be expected to recognise the vote of compensation as generous, for in any case it fell far short of the ascertained value of his slaves, while, as payment was made in London and speculators took a large share, it was difficult for him to obtain the amount to which he was entitled. The Act of Emancipation arranged that the slaves should work for their masters for five years as apprentices, and should obtain their freedom in 1838. In a new country the question of labour is always a difficult problem, and it was not easily solved in South Africa. A gloomy picture was painted by a contemporary: "Masters saw . . . the whole of their farming pursuits and plans destroyed: no bribe, nor entreaty, I believe, did avail in one single instance to induce any one of these now free persons to stay over that day . . . in the eastern country districts, this (wages) was impossible, and the agriculturalists there found themselves totally deprived of every vestige of labour to improve or cultivate their farms, or even to superintend or herd their flocks."

There was yet another thing which stirred the Boers, and finally drove them to action. Beyond the Fish river there was ever the threatening danger of the warlike Kaffirs: one war had already been fought in 1819, and now another broke out suddenly when it seemed that peace and friendship had been concluded with the natives. The sudden attack at Christmas, 1834, took all men by surprise, and it was only after heavy fighting, in which Boer farmer and British settler fought side by sight for the security of the frontier and the safety of their farms, that peace was at last restored. The British governor, Sir Benjamin Durban, determined never to be caught in such a way again. To prevent the danger of a sudden raid he proposed to organise two zones beyond the eastern frontier, the nearer settled by Europeans holding their land by military tenure, the further occupied by friendly natives; thus the colony would have two thick skins between its unprotected farms and the Kaffirs. The home government, however, saw matters very differently: looking through a mist of humanitarian sentiment, they lacked the sharpness of vision of the men on the spot. Forgetting that the war had started with a deliberate and unprovoked raid upon peaceful settlements, they blamed the Cape Government for attacking the Kaffirs. The extension of frontier was considered an uncalled-for aggression, and was forbidden. This reversal of Durban's policy was the last straw for the Boers of the eastern provinces: the trek began.

Kaffir War. 1834-1835.

Packing their household goods and their families into their huge waggons, and rounding up their flocks and herds, they started for the north, where they might found new homes for themselves free from the short-sighted interference of the foreigner. Slowly across the rolling plain, or up the steep passes of the mountains, creaked their cumbrous ox-waggons, while mounted or on foot the Boer trudged along keeping a sharp look out for game or for a possible enemy. By night they would form laager, parking their waggons in a square, and camping within the shelter of its hollow. At first they had but little trouble with the natives, for the Zulus, away in what is now Natal, had become a terrible scourge to their fellow blacks. Led by a military tyrant, Chaka, the

The trek. 1835-1838.

Zulus had exterminated vast numbers of other tribes. But after crossing the Orange river the Boers met with opposition and left a memory of their trek in Winburg, or Victory-town, where they conquered the Matabele. Then turning south they crossed the Drakensberg into Natal, and here the Place of Weeping (Weenen) still recalls a terrible tragedy where a detachment was attacked and massacred. At last, however, they gained a great success; treated treacherously by Dingaan, Chaka's successor, the Boers won a famous victory over the Zulus, and Dingaan's Day is still celebrated as an annual festival throughout the Union of South Africa. Meanwhile, other farmers had been trekking from the Cape, and in Natal the Boers were joined by more of their fellows.

When first the Boers began their trek to the north the Government did not know what to do: there was no law to prevent a British citizen leaving the country, and as the Government did not wish to extend its limits indefinitely throughout South Africa, for a time nothing was done. When, however, the Boers after the defeat of Dingaan declared the Republic of Natalia (1839), the problem was different. British ships frequently called at Port Natal, and the few settlers there had asked in vain to be annexed, but now that this port might fall into other hands the Government determined to act. Troops were sent to garrison the place, and when besieged by the indignant Boers, they were reinforced again from Cape Town. Reluctantly the Boers withdrew across the Drakensberg again, and in 1843 Natal was formally annexed; for a few years it remained a part of the Cape, but in 1848 it was made into a separate colony.

Natal annexed. 1843.

The home government was now beginning to wake up to the difficulty of the South African question, and the many new problems which the treks had created. Almost against their will they had now two settlements, the Cape and Natal, instead of one, and these settlements were separated by a large stretch of land inhabited by semi-hostile tribes. Besides this, the Boers across the Orange River were a serious problem; legally they could not divest themselves of British citizenship, practically their treatment was a thorny question, for the whole safety of

the white races depended on their showing a united front in facing the blacks, while the possibility of the Boers developing into an independent state had many elements of danger. On the other hand, no British statesman of that day could look with equanimity on the extension of British responsibility so far to the northward, in an almost unknown country where communications were of the worst.

In this difficult state of affairs it was decided to appoint as governor Sir Harry Smith, an energetic and successful Indian administrator, and to give him very large powers to deal with the problem. The new governor settled the native difficulty along the lines which Durban had proposed and the Imperial Government now adopted a policy which it had roundly condemned but a few years before. The country eastward to the River Kei was declared a Protectorate, under the title of British Kaffraria, and British agents were placed among the native tribes to secure peace and good order. In dealing with the Boers, Sir Harry Smith decided that their existence as a separate state was dangerous for the whites in South Africa, and so in 1848 he annexed the newly established Orange Free State, and reorganised it under the title of the Orange River Sovereignty. As a result of this action all the whites were again under British control, but this state of affairs did not last long. Although many Boers were glad to feel that they were under British protection, and could count on outside aid if needed against the natives, there were others to whom absolute independence seemed the more vital need. To them it seemed that wherever they went the clutching hand of Britain reached out to drag them within its grasp. Fired by these ideas they rose in revolt, and when defeated at Boomplats withdrew northward across the Vaal River, there to try once again the difficult task of organising a state: for a time they were not recognised by the British Government [August 1848].

Sir Harry Smith. 1848-1854.

(1) British Kaffraria.

(2) Annexation of Orange River Sovereignty.

We now come to one of those sudden changes in Imperial policy which have had such a disastrous effect on the history of South Africa. Distance, difficulty of communications, and failure to appreciate the true significance of events, all

contributed their part to this change; but we must look rather deeper for the real cause. The growing policy during the first half of the nineteenth century was, as we have seen, the policy of *laissez-faire*, of allowing the colonies to develop on their own account, and expecting that they would quickly break away from the Imperial connection. The Imperial Goverment now realised that despite these general principles they had been steadily extending their power in South Africa, and at the same time incurring far-reaching responsibilities. It was the difficult and expensive Basuto war of 1851, into which Sir Harry Smith had been led through trying to enforce the claims of the Boers for compensation for stolen cattle, that really brought about the crisis. The Imperial Government decided to cut its losses, and to get out of the difficulty as quickly as possible, with small regard either to its own obligations or to the wishes of the settlers beyond the Orange river. Already, in 1852, Sir Harry Smith had been forced by the threats of the Transvaal Boers at a critical time to recognise their independence. This was done by the Sand River Convention of 1852, which reserved to Britain a general right of supervision, and bound the Boers not to re-establish slavery. Now after the Basuto war the Imperial Government determined to adopt a similar policy in the Sovereignty. By the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 the management of affairs was thrust on a not very willing committee of farmers, who were left to face the problems of native hostility which the British had failed to solve.

Sand River Convention. 1852.

Bloemfontein Convention. 1854.

The policy of 1854 marks a turning-point in South African history: the British power withdrew into its shell south of the River Orange, agreeing to make no treaties with native chiefs to the northward. Thus there were now two independent Dutch republics to the north, but the seeds of future trouble were planted in abundance. The relationship between the republics and the British power was but ill-defined: no arrangements had been made for a joint policy with regard to the natives, and the vital but little-appreciated question of northward expansion was likewise left undetermined. For the moment Britain withdrew: she was frightened of herself.

At the same time it was decided to grant representative government to Cape Colony, and this became responsible government in 1872. The rule of military governors with their executive council came to an end with the appointment of Sir George Grey, who met the first parliament at Cape Town in 1854. Grey had won his spurs as Governor of New Zealand, and during his time in South Africa from 1854 to 1861 he did great work in pacifying the Kaffirs and teaching them the rule of law. A man of great personality himself, he realised the value of personality in dealing with natives, and he set himself to stamp on the mind of the Kaffirs the greatness and justice of the Queen. They were much impressed by his picture of the authority of the law: a couple of policemen could turn away the whole Queen's army, if ordered so to do by a magistrate. But in other things too Grey was ahead of his time: he realised the dangers involved in the policy of 1854, and believed that the true remedy lay in a scheme of federation.

Representative government at Cape Town. 1853.

"'In effect I was recalled from South Africa," he wrote later, "on account of proposals I had made towards federation in that part of the realm. I planned to federate, for common action, Cape Colony, Natal, our other territories, and also the Orange Free State. Further, I had virtually asked the co-operation of the Transvaal Republic, with the government and people of which I was on very friendly terms. There was to be no change anywhere; simply, a federal parliament would manage affairs that were of concern to all parties. I have little doubt that I could have brought about federation, only I was not permitted to go on. Much as my proposals were supported in South Africa, I could get no hearing for them from my superiors at home." It was most unfortunate for the history of South Africa that Grey's schemes did not find favour at home, for when a few years later the Imperial Government wished to bring about a federation of South Africa, they had no winning personality like Grey to carry through their plans, and the whole situation had been prejudiced by events in the Transvaal.

Sir George Grey. 1854-1861.

The policy of non-intervention begun in 1854 lasted for some sixteen years, when the discovery of diamonds gave a new