impulse to expansion, and completely altered men's ideas of South Africa. Instead of a distant and little-known country, where a scanty living could be made by hard farming, or adventure sought in the frequent Kaffir wars, it became a romantic country where fabulous fortunes might be made in a little time; a stone worth thousands of pounds might be found among a child's play-things, or bought for a few shillings from a wandering Kaffir. After scrambling along the banks of the Vaal and scratching in the mud for chance stones, the prospectors discovered a regular supply in the "blue earth" found in curious, funnel-shaped holes, in a spot to the west of the Free State and north of the Orange river. A sudden rush of miners took place; Kimberley, a little town of shacks, sprang up, and a furious race for wealth began. As time went on different methods of mining had to be introduced, and in place of the small separate claims where the individual prospector scraped the surface of the earth, great companies were formed who bought out the smaller claims, and driving deep shafts and tunnels mined in underground diggings. The diamond country was promptly claimed by both Republics and by England. It was annexed to the Cape Colony, a sum of money being paid as a compensation to the Free State, but the dispute with the Transvaal remained for long unsettled.

Discovery of diamonds. 1869–1870. Kimberley.

Meanwhile, in England, a change of ministry had brought Beaconsfield into power, with Lord Carnarvon as his Colonial Secretary. Carnarvon had recently succeeded in carrying through the federation of Canada, which promised to be a great success, and he was anxious to apply the same remedy to South African affairs. His first attempts proved a failure, while events in the Transvaal made matters yet more difficult. The Boers there had not been so successful as the Free State burghers: quarrels among themselves had paralysed the state, the taxes were not paid, the laws were disregarded, while disputes with the natives had resulted in a nearly chronic state of war, and the country was bankrupt. It was under these circumstances that the governor of the Cape, anxious to preserve order, and fearful lest the native troubles should spread to the British colonies, rode into

Annexation of Transvaal. 1877.

Pretoria one day with thirty policemen, and declared the Transvaal annexed. For the moment, his action restored confidence, and quietened the fears of native attack, but there quickly grew up in the Transvaal a reaction against British interference which ruined Carnarvon's scheme for federation.

The Imperial Government was pressing on with its plans. An Enabling Act was passed to empower the local states and colonies to frame a federal scheme, and Sir Bartle Frere was chosen as Governor of the Cape to carry through the necessary negotiations. An honest man and a skilful organiser, few men have been dogged with greater ill-fortune in South Africa, that grave of reputations. Misfortune after misfortune fell upon him, until he was recalled before he had been able to carry out his instructions. No sooner had he set foot in the Cape than he was summoned eastward to face a Kaffir rising, which he successfully confined to a small area, thus preventing a general outbreak.

Sir Bartle Frere. 1877–1880.

Next he was called north to arbitrate between the Transvaal Boers and the Zulus. The latter claimed that the Dutch had occupied some land that rightly belonged to their tribe, and Frere upheld their claim, but at the same time demanded that the Zulu king Ketchwayo should disarm his forces, for the military power of the Zulus and the ambition of their kings were a standing menace to Natal and to the Transvaal alike. When Ketchwayo indignantly refused, a disastrous war began which opened with the annihilation of a British force at Isandlhwana and the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift on the Tugela, which saved Natal from the horrors of a Zulu invasion. It needed the despatch of a large number of men before the Zulus were beaten and disarmed. It might seem now that Frere could turn his attention to his work of federation, but here, again, he was defeated. The movement among the Boers for regaining their independence was steadily growing in the Transvaal, and deputations under Paul Kruger had twice visited England, to ask for autonomy. Signs of hope were seen in the probability of Gladstone's victory at the next election, and the Boers of the Transvaal, declaring that independence must come before federation, persuaded their Dutch friends to throw out the proposals for a conference

when moved in the Cape Parliament. Meanwhile, in England, Gladstone had been returned to power, and Frere was recalled. In the Transvaal the independence movement quickly broke out into violence, and a British battalion was suddenly attacked at Bronkhurst Spruit and the relief force wiped out at Majuba. During his Midlothian campaign Gladstone had already condemned the annexation of the Transvaal, and now, despite Majuba, he determined to right what he regarded as a wrong. It was, however, unfortunate that what the Imperial Government considered as an act of justice was delayed until after the outbreak of violence, for the act thus lost its grace. Many of the Boers obtained a wholly false idea of the strength of Britain, while to the native imagination it seemed that Britain had been forced to give way. By the Pretoria Convention of 1881 the independence of the Transvaal was restored and its boundaries settled. Thus, once again, in 1881 we see two independent Dutch republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the British power withdrawn within the boundaries of the Cape and Natal.

Pretoria Convention: Independence of Transvaal. 1881.

The story of South Africa now becomes more and more the story of the dreaming and doing of Cecil Rhodes, a man who has had more influence on the development of that country than any other single person. Going out to South Africa as a young man, he soon made a vast fortune by amalgamating the diamond mines at Kimberley, and turned his attention to the politics of Cape Colony. A great organiser, Rhodes knew how to deal with men, and well understood the power of money in attaining his ends. Though he was a practical man, Rhodes was no mere materialist, he was a seer of visions and a man of ideals. Sitting on his stoep at Groote Schuur, he would gaze at the scarp of Table Mountain shimmering in the heat, and dream of the day when Briton and Boer should join hands to push forward the work of civilisation, and when those vast lands northward from the Transvaal should provide homes for a people yet to be.

Cecil Rhodes.

It was about 1880 that there began in Europe that outburst of colonial activities which led to so many annexations in Africa and elsewhere. The growth of trade demanded fresh

markets abroad, and places from which European countries could draw their raw material. It seemed that traders were more secure if the parts of Africa to which they went were controlled by their own country, and so began the "scramble for Africa." The sight of the French in Tunis and the British in Egypt gave fresh life to the demands of the German Colonial Party, for several years Bismarck had refused to claim land beyond the seas, but in 1883 the pressure became too strong for him, and he annexed German South-West Africa.[1] This step came as a great surprise both to Britain and to the Cape: consistent to their principle, the British Government had several times refused to extend their protection over this country, but now that another power had done so they felt disturbed. The question of the possession of the inlying territory of Bechuanaland at once became important. British agents who had been living among the Bechuana had been withdrawn in 1881, after the Pretoria Convention, but Rhodes had early realised that Bechuanaland was the gateway to the north. He had attempted to secure that gateway in 1881, but the Cape Parliament had refused to support him. Now the whole outlook was different: the German annexation and Boer schemes threatened to close the northward way entirely. So in 1884, when the London Convention amended the terms of the earlier settlement of the Transvaal, it was agreed that Bechuanaland was under British suzerainty, and a Protectorate was at once proclaimed. This action was only just in time. Despite the terms of the Conventions, which limited the Transvaal boundaries, Boers were flooding across into Bechuanaland and declaring themselves independent republics: it needed a special expedition, sent out in 1885, to establish British authority. This was done successfully without any fighting.

Germans annex South West Africa. 1883.

London Convention. 1884.

The gateway was now secure: Europe was parcelling up Africa into Protectorates and spheres of influence, and it behoved England, who had done so much for the exploration of Africa and the destruction of the slave trade, to see she was not left out in the cold. Rhodes' plans now came to fruition, and he was able to negotiate a treaty and obtain concessions

[1] See Chapter XVI.

from Lobengula, the Matabele chief. An old instrument of English colonising enterprise, the trading company, was once again called upon to play its part in colonising and developing new lands. In 1889 the British South Africa Company was formed under a royal charter, and, in the parcelling out of Africa, it received a large area of inland territory to develop. Unlike the earlier companies, the Chartered Company did not propose to limit or monopolise trade, but to encourage settlement and commerce in the new country: profits were looked for from mineral concessions, but for a long time the Company had to be heavily financed by Rhodes from the diamond industry. Rhodes was now both Premier of Cape Colony and a director of the Company, and he gave a solemn promise that if ever his duties clashed he would resign office: it was the neglect to keep this promise that led to his downfall.

British South Africa Company. 1889.

The new country was quickly occupied under the direction of Jameson: farms were built, railways were begun, and a system of mounted police organised. For a time the Matabele were suspicious, despite the friendly attitude of their chief, but a small rising in 1893 did not really hinder the growth of the country. The great crisis was brought about by a mad gamble, whose evil results were destined to stretch far into the future. As we shall see, fresh trouble had arisen in the Transvaal, and in 1895 Jameson, now Commissioner for the British South Africa Company, made a raid into the Transvaal with the Company's troopers, which soon ended in a disastrous defeat. The results were immediate: Rhodes, who had been privy to part of the scheme, fell from power in the Cape, while war broke out in Rhodesia. The Matabele saw that all the troopers had left the country, they knew in some vague way that the great white man was in disgrace, and, smarting from their previous defeat, they determined on a last attempt at revenge. All through 1896 a devastating war went on; the natives burnt farms and houses and all the first-fruits of the settlers' toil, and it was only towards the end of the year that they were rounded up in the Matoppo hills. Here Rhodes, who had been fighting as a trooper, met the indunas, unarmed, heard their complaints, and made a lasting peace. His bravery

and frankness at this meeting, the way in which he listened to their complaints and chid them for their foolishness in making war, all had the greatest effect on the indunas. They still believe that their great father's spirit watches over his people, and they still recount the story of this parley, sitting at his grave. For here, some six years later, Rhodes at his own wish was buried, that he might rest in the heart of the country which his energy had made ready for the white settlers of the future.

Rhodes's death, 1902.

It was while the difficult question of Bechuanaland was being settled in 1884–1885 that those discoveries of gold were made in the Transvaal which entirely altered the condition of that state. Before gold was discovered there were only some 50,000 Boers in the Transvaal—less than the population of an English town the size of Reading. The Republic was a backward country, dependent on an unprogressive system of agriculture. Now immigrants poured into the country, intent on making their fortunes at the mines, and in a few years these newcomers were nearly as many as the Dutch inhabitants themselves. The barren ridge of the Rand was a scene of bustling activity, and soon for mile on mile against the sky could be seen the pit-head gears and the dumps of the various mines. Gold-mining was no easy business, and large companies were formed to bear the many expenses of driving shafts and erecting machinery. The mushroom town of Johannesburg sprang up, and quickly attained an irritating predominance in the state. Thus within a few years the whole political situation within the Republic had been revolutionised. Vast crowds of Uitlanders—British, American, German, and others—had crowded into the country, and the Boers had quickly to make up their minds what they intended to do with these new settlers. The mines meant a great increase of wealth to the Transvaal, and the Uitlanders claimed that they should have some say in the manner in which that money was spent. Thus there arose a demand for a quick and simple method of admission to citizen rights.

Discovery of gold in the Transvaal, 1884–1885.

The Boers, however, were very suspicious of their new neighbours: they had watched with alarm the extension of

British power in Bechuanaland, and northward in Rhodesia, and they feared lest the enfranchisement of the Uitlander should involve a change in the customary policy of their own Republic. Led by Kruger, the reactionary party not only refused reform, but began a policy of repression: the franchise was limited, and a series of vexatious monopolies were granted to Hollanders. After several years of agitation the Uitlanders determined to assert their claims by force, scheming to overthrow the reactionary government and replace it by a more liberal system, but declaring their adhesion to the Republican flag. To this movement Rhodes adopted a friendly attitude, and Jameson arranged to cross the frontier and co-operate with the insurgents. The whole plan miscarried: Jameson was defeated and captured, the Uitlanders were forced to hand in their arms, and found themselves in a worse position than ever, while Rhodes' political career was ruined. But the effects of the Jameson Raid were more far-reaching still. In the Transvaal the moderate Boers, who stood for an understanding with the Uitlanders, were discredited, while Kruger's reactionary policy gained a new lease of life. Emboldened by success, and trusting to German help, Kruger became more uncompromising than ever. On the Continent, and even in America, the British position was misunderstood, and Rhodes' complicity made most nations believe that Britain was merely using the Uitlanders as a stalking horse. Hence, when war broke out general sympathy was felt for the Boers.

The Jameson Raid. 1896.

The end of the miserable story must be briefly told. Before the raid a friendly settlement was possible, after that disaster war was almost inevitable. Sir Alfred Milner was sent out as High Commissioner to attempt an agreement, and though he was the first governor since Sir George Grey who had troubled to learn Dutch, he failed to reach a settlement. Kruger adopted a hectoring attitude, demanded the immediate cancelling of orders for troops moving to South Africa, and when this was refused, declared war. Neither side had realised the strength of its opponent: the Boers, remembering Majuba, and hoping for continental aid, expected a speedy victory, while the British

South African War. 1899-1902.

despised an enemy who had no regular army, and were surprised to find that the Orange Free State joined the Transvaal. At first the honours went to the Boers : marksmen from childhood, clothed in dun-colour which melted into the background of the veldt, and mounted on their sturdy horses, they were more than a match for the British. Indeed, the British found themselves in much the same position as had the English soldiers in the old days in America, fighting against backwoodsmen and Indians. It was only after large reinforcements had been received, backed by troops from the Dominions, and after many corps of mounted infantry had been organised, that the Boers began to find themselves outmanœuvred at their own game. In June, 1900, Lord Roberts captured Pretoria, and the main part of the war was at an end, but it still required months of the organisation of blockhouses and entanglements, accompanied by great drives, before the guerilla war was brought to an end. At Vereeniging, in May, 1902, peace was made and the promise given to the Boers that "as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions, leading up to self-government, will be introduced."

The pacification and economic reconstruction of the Boer states was quickly carried out. A grant of money, accompanied by loans, was made by the Imperial Government to assist the Boer farmers, and Lord Milner's tact and judgment did much to settle the country. The Boers loyally performed their part of the bargain, and by 1906 it was possible to carry out the terms of Vereeniging by granting full responsible government. At the time this seemed a hazardous step, but once again the British statesmen determined to rely on the panacea of responsibility, and they were not deceived. The best proof of the success of this policy is the fact that within three years the colonies had drawn up and sent to the Imperial Parliament an Act to federate South Africa. Thus, after so many mistakes and so much suffering, the vision of the prophets had come true, and the Europeans of South Africa had joined together willingly to found one great state.

Responsible government to Boer States. 1906.

The Union of South Africa is, as its name implies, a single state rather than a federation of separate states.

Realising the need for unified control of their railway system, and for common action on many points of great importance, the different states determined to sink their local claims, and to become provinces of one single state. The powers of the provincial councils were strictly limited, and the Union Parliament was given large authority. The Act was a compromise, based on mutual concessions. Thus both Dutch and English are official languages, and all records are kept in duplicate. The claims of different cities to be chosen as the capital were settled by making Cape Town the seat of parliament, Pretoria the seat of executive government. Since then the Union has grown steadily, and is a power whose influence is felt far beyond the borders of South Africa.

Union of South Africa. 1909.

The great development of South Africa in recent years, and its growing importance in the counsels of the world, have been largely due to the wealthy mining industries. But apart from the mines, the economic development of South Africa has been slow, and great problems of improvements have yet to be faced. A large proportion of its exports has been in mineral wealth, and agriculture generally is in a backward state. This is partly due to the nature of the country, for large tracts of land are actual desert, while most of the country needs scientific cultivation and careful irrigation to make it really fruitful. For this type of cultivation the Boer farmers were not very ready; intensely conservative and wedded to their old methods, they looked with distrust on anything that was new, but a change has come over the country, for the Department of Agriculture is steadily encouraging the adoption of more scientific methods. An example of unsuccessful methods is given by the wine industry: vines were early introduced into South Africa, and grow readily in the Cape, the fruit being cultivated on low bushes. The Cape wines are of excellent quality, and yet but little is exported. An important industry is sheep-farming, and it is to British enterprise that this is largely due. Soon after the capture of the Cape, special breeds of sheep were introduced by the English settlers, and since then the export of wool has steadily increased, though it is by

Economic development.

no means so important as the Australian clip. Ostrich-farming is a typical South African enterprise, but it was only after long and patient endeavour that the ostrich was successfully domesticated. Now, however, it is a wealthy industry, and one whole district of the Cape is noted for its ostrich feathers. Despite a policy of protection, South Africa has but few manufactures, and indeed has but few large towns; hence manufactured goods of every kind are imported, chiefly from Britain, and paid for by the export of precious metals and raw materials. At present the wealth of South Africa is hardly touched; large areas of gold are still unmined, while northward there is a vast supply of copper, coal too is there in abundance. The development depends largely on the growth of railways: this Rhodes knew well, and planned to run his line from Cape to Cairo—a dream which is now well on its way towards completion. As in the United States, so in South Africa, the control of the railways by different states in what was economically a single country was a cause of constant trouble, and this as much as anything brought about the Act of Union in 1909. South Africa has now free trade within the Union and a single railway system, and her successful economic development seems now to be assured.

A still greater problem that the Union has to face is the question of the natives. There are some million and a quarter whites in South Africa, and about five million natives, and the latter are increasing more rapidly than the whites. Though there is not the same bitterness of feeling which exists in the United States, where the curse of slavery has borne much evil fruit, there is in South Africa a strong colour bar and a policy of denying political rights to the native. The only province in which natives had the vote before 1909 was the Cape, and there the electoral laws of the old colony have been preserved, though only a white man can be elected to Parliament. In the old Transvaal constitution it was laid down that "The people shall admit of no equality between white and black in either State or Church." Rhodes, on the other hand, wished to make civilisation, irrespective of colour, the test for political rights. Between these two policies there is still an active fight, and the

The native problem.

question is complicated by economic considerations. The black man works for less money than the white, and for a long time there has been a strong objection to teaching natives a trade, and the Kaffir College, established by missionaries at Lovedale in 1841, has frequently been criticised. Recently an attempt has been made in the Union to separate the native and European landholders, and to relegate natives to definite reserves. Besides the natives in the Union, there are the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland which still remain under Imperial control, and a special charter to secure their rights, if handed over to the Union, has been incorporated in the Act of Union. Rhodesia, too, still governed by the Chartered Company, has a vast number of natives whose future relation to the whites is a serious problem.[1] The native question of South Africa is one of the most difficult with which a dominion has ever had to cope, and its successful handling calls for great tact and statesmanship.

Yet another problem faces South Africa, and that is the question of its political development. The steady growth of a South African nation was hindered by the Boer War, which accentuated the racial differences, for most of the Dutch in the Cape sympathised with their comrades across the frontier. Later developments, however, tended to heal that gap, though a body of irreconcilables led by De Wet broke into open revolt in 1914, and were defeated by Union forces under Botha. There is, however, a Nationalist party which embitters the relations of the two races, and seeks either for complete separation for the Orange Free State from the Union or the "independence" of the Union as a whole. There are two other great parties in the State. The South African party, led by General Smuts, represents the moderate and progressive side of the Dutch Afrikander people, who accept loyally the establishment of the Union, and are determined to work for the growth of South Africa along the lines of dominion development. The other is called the Unionist party, and is largely composed of the British element, who agree with the main ideas of the

Political parties.

[1] The white population of Southern Rhodesia have petitioned for responsible government.

South African party. Both these parties have now united under Smuts to oppose the movement for reunion. At present the Labour party is small, but it has grown of recent years. Thus the future of South Africa depends upon the reasonableness of its party leaders and the extent to which they can think broadly on the great questions which will inevitably face them as time goes on.

Books.—W. B. Worsfold, *History of South Africa* [Temple Primers], is a useful little book. See also the volumes in Lucas' Historical Geography. The documents in Keith should be read. The chapters in H. H. Johnston, *Britain Overseas: Africa*, are very interesting. A small and readable biography of Cecil Rhodes is that written by T. E. Fuller. The South African War of 1899–1902 called forth a mass of literature, some of it written under the influence of strong party feeling.

1835-1838. The Trek.
1848. Sir Harry Smith proclaims the Orange River Sovereignty.
1854. Reversal of Imperial policy: Bloemfontein Convention establishes Orange Free State.
1881 Pretoria Convention restores modified independence to Transvaal.
1889. Rhodes founds British South Africa Company.
1899–1902. South African War.
1906. Responsible government given to the Boer States.
1909. The Union of South Africa.

CHAPTER XI

Australasia

Australia

The little settlement at Sydney was at first merely a penal station, and contained only the convicts and a guard of soldiers to watch them, but a change quickly came over the little society. Even Phillip, the first governor, realised the hopeless task of trying to build a colony of such poor material. "The sending out of the disordered and helpless clears the

jails," he wrote, "and may ease the parishes from which they are sent, but it is obvious that this settlement, instead of being a colony which is to support itself, will, if the practice be continued, remain for years a burthen to the mother-country." But the Government in England were not interested in the future of Sydney; they were content to find a place where they could get rid of all the undesirable characters from England.

Society at Sydney soon divided itself into distinct classes. There were the convicts; either worked in government gangs, or else "assigned" to settlers for work on their farms. Though liable to severe discipline and often harshly treated, the convict who worked well might hope to obtain his freedom. Those who behaved badly were sent away to prison stations further along the coast. Many of the convicts were the lowest types of humanity, confirmed criminals who never reformed, but others were educated people sent out for a technical offence, or political prisoners who were transported by the Government. Thus there were doctors, lawyers, merchants, and even parsons among the convicts—all ready to take their part in the life of the new colony. **Sydney society.**

When a man had served his sentence, or was allowed his freedom for good behaviour, he was called an emancipist. These men settled down as farmers or merchants, and some became very wealthy, but their treatment in this growing society was a delicate question. The governors generally held that the emancipist was as good as the freeman, but those who had never been in prison disliked to meet them. The officers of the regiment were most particular, and once when the governor brought an emancipist friend into the mess, all the junior officers rose and walked out. Besides the emancipists there were a growing number of free settlers, either retired officers or men attracted to the colony by the prospects of farming or trade. Of these the most famous was John Macarthur, a strong impetuous man, who quarrelled with governor after governor, and led the movement for constitutional reform. Macarthur did a great work for Australia by bringing a special breed of merino sheep from the Cape, and breeding a very fine stock of sheep for wool. His work

laid the foundations of the great wool-producing industry of Australia, and soon men began to plot out great runs along the countryside, and New South Wales became famous for its wool. At the top of colonial society were the officers of the special New South Wales Corps, but they soon got out of hand. The officers obtained monopolies in the trade of various necessaries, they made vast sums in smuggling rum into the country, and finally matters came to such a pass that, on Macarthur's suggestion, they actually deposed Governor Bligh. Soon after this the corps was broken up; regular soldiers were sent out instead, and the beginnings of constitutional government were given to New South Wales.

When Sydney was founded but little was known of Australia: men were not even sure that New South Wales, which Cook had discovered from the eastward, was one land with the western coasts traversed by Dampier. From the very first adventurous spirits set themselves to solve these various problems. Shut in between the Blue Mountains and the sea, the settlers soon tried to make their way inland, but for several years the steep precipices foiled them, and it was not till 1813 that a party succeeded in pushing through, and so discovered the fertile and well-watered plains that lay on the further side. A road was made by convict labour through the mountains, and settlement began to spread across to the new lands. By 1818 Lord Sidmouth declared "the dread of transportation had almost entirely subsided, and had been succeeded by a desire to emigrate to New South Wales." This was the result of the new discoveries and the growth of sheep-farming. Another set of discoveries were made by sea. Two friends, Bass and Flinders, made some daring voyages in their little boat, the *Tom Thumb*. Together they proved that Tasmania was a separate island by sailing round it in 1798, while some years later Flinders explored the southern coasts of Australia, and thus showed that it was all one great continent and not a series of islands, as had been suggested. As soon as the Blue Mountains had been crossed, another field lay open for the bold explorers. Rivers were found, rising in the Blue Mountains and flowing westward. Where did they go? For many years explorers

Further exploration.

tried to solve this problem; they followed river after river, only to find them disappear in great swampy pools or reedy morass. At last, in 1830, Sturt managed to follow one of these rivers down to the great River Murray, and thence to the sea. Thus it was gradually shown that all these rivers were part of one great system which drained into the sea at Encounter Bay, in what is now Victoria.

While these discoveries were going on, new settlements were being made along the coast. At home in England the Government were steadily averse from extending their responsibility in Australia, but step by step they were forced to take action. In New South Wales the growth of a large free population made it necessary to distinguish between the well-behaved convicts and those who seemed incorrigible, and so new stations were needed where the latter could be sent under stricter discipline. Besides this, there was the fear of French competition: when Flinders reached Encounter Bay in 1802 he found a French scientific expedition there, and when the name Terre Napoléon appeared on French maps men became anxious. Thus in 1802–1804 several small English settlements were made, and again in 1824–1827 when the restored monarchy in France began to interest itself in colonial schemes. In England, too, the news of the various discoveries stirred the imagination: men dreamt of great fortunes to be made by farming in a fertile country where land could be had for the asking, and so land companies were formed which pushed the reluctant Government to new schemes. Wakefield's plans for emigration gained great support, and the desire to find a colony where they might receive a fair trial led to the founding of South Australia.

Causes of new settlements.

The first of these new settlements was made in Van Diemen's Land in 1803, where two points were occupied to secure the land against French settlement. As a penal settlement Van Diemen's Land had a sad history: it was first used as a place for sending specially vicious characters, and their treatment in the island was too brutal to describe. An even worse fate befell those wretches who were condemned to the special horrors of Macquarie Harbour, where the worst

New Settlements: (1) Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). 1803.

ruffians laboured under the gaoler's lash, exposed to all winds of heaven. It is little wonder that escapes were frequent, and that bands of desperadoes terrorised the country. These bush-rangers in time became so insolent that they claimed to rule the island: expecting no mercy, they showed none, and the whole island was appalled by their cruelty and outrages. Governor Arthur (1824) set himself to stamp out this pest, and though he could not capture all the villains, he managed to reduce their numbers. But Arthur had to face another trouble: the aborigines, a very primitive race of blacks, were friendly to the settlers, but the outrages of the bushrangers, and indeed of many of the early settlers, bred such ill-feeling that a war of extermination began. Arthur tried to organise a vast drive, and so to confine them to one part of the island, but the skilful natives slipped through his beaters. It was the honesty and Christian behaviour of a Methodist workman, George Robinson, that finally secured peace. Alone and unarmed, he went fearlessly among the savages, explained that the white man wished peace to the black-fellow, and thus persuaded them to settle in Flinders Island. Despite the care of various friends, the few survivors of this race soon died out, but the behaviour of Robinson stands out as a bright spot in a terrible story. Though Van Dieman's Land was separated from New South Wales in 1825, and even received some form of constitutional government then, it was still mainly a penal settlement, and when the transporting of convicts to Sydney was stopped in 1840, the whole flood of crime and misery was diverted to Van Diemen's Land. Into this little island convicts were shipped at the rate of four thousand a year, and it was not till 1853, when responsible government was granted to Van Diemen's Land, that the system ceased, and the new name of Tasmania was then adopted to mark the beginning of a new and brighter period.

(2) Western Australia: Swan River.

The next colony to be founded was Western Australia, though it was first called Swan River, a name given by an old Dutch sea-captain who had found black swans there, and for long commemorated by the stamps of the new colony. Alarmed by the rumours of French schemes, Governor Darling had sent a small settlement

to King George's Sound (Adelaide) in 1827, and had written home to urge the planting of a colony in the far west, at Swan River. The Imperial Government were anxious not to spend more money, but Sir Robert Peel's cousin, Thomas Peel, was fired with the idea of becoming a great colonial patron, and, if possible, of making some money out of the business. He floated a company, obtained from the Crown a grant of land at Swan River, engaged a number of labourers for his own land, and in 1829 set out with many other emigrants on his great adventure. Peel's schemes, however, fell to pieces; he landed his party on Garden Island, and then began to explore the countryside for suitable places to settle. But difficulties had been greatly underrated; the work of clearing land, building houses and barns, and laying out the farms was too hard for many of the colonists, and they slipped away, some to the other settlements, and some back to England. Peel gave up in despair, but the colony was saved from disappearing altogether by its governor, Stirling, who for many years strove hard to make the place a success, and gradually established a small settlement along the banks of the river. For a long time, however, the colony remained a very small place. It was cut off from the other Australian settlements by hundreds of miles of nearly impassable bush and great waterless deserts; it produced nothing which those colonies would want, and so its whole trade and interests were much more closely bound up with London than with Australian ports. Indeed, when the Commonwealth was discussed, Western Australia for long remained unfriendly, and only decided to join the scheme after the Act had been already passed by the Imperial Parliament. The fortunes of Western Australia long hung in the balance; even in 1850 there were only five thousand people in the colony, and the need for labour was insistent, as but few people would emigrate willingly to a place with such poor prospects. Almost in despair the colonists determined in 1849 to ask for convicts to be sent to the colony, and from 1850 to 1867 convicts were regularly shipped to Western Australia. At the same time the Imperial Government sent a corresponding number of free settlers, and thus the colony was gradually set upon its legs, though the

Peel's colony. 1829.

other Australian colonies looked with much disfavour upon the system. It was, however, the discovery in 1872 of great gold deposits which really made the modern colony. Miners came flocking in from the Victoria gold-fields, and though for some time the old landowning oligarchy strove to keep them out of political power, their influence finally triumphed by forcing Western Australia to join the Commonwealth. The long-promised railway to link this western state with the prosperous eastern towns has just been completed, and thus communication by land has at last been established.

Gold discoveries, 1872.

When Western Australia was founded in 1829, the parallel 129° E. was made the division between the new colony and New South Wales, and so, for the first time, English authority was extended over the whole of Australia. Thus, when a new colony of South Australia came to be settled, it had to be carved out of the boundaries of New South Wales. South Australia is a colony founded specially to test a scientific theory of colonisation, and it attracted a great deal of interest at the time. Wakefield's scheme to raise an immigration fund by the sale of public land at a fixed and "sufficient" price, was looked upon as a solution of the difficulty of finding labour in the colonies, and the recent disaster to Peel's colony on the Swan river was quoted as a case in point where the absurd cheapness of land had turned all the labourers into landowners. Thus Wakefield and his friends pressed for a colony where they might put their theory into practice. Just at this time came news of the discovery of the Murray river, and here seemed an ideal place for a new colony. Wakefield had formed a colonisation society in 1830, but the Government poured cold water on the scheme. "The Secretary of State does not feel at liberty at the present moment to hold out any encouragement to schemes which have for their object the extension of the number of His Majesty's settlements abroad, and which, whether formed in the outset by individuals or the Government, are always liable to end in becoming in some way or other a source of expense to the revenue of this country." But Wakefield's persistence won the day, and in 1834 an Act to found South Australia was

(3) South Australia. 1834.

passed, and a board of commissioners was appointed to sell the land at not less than twelve shillings per acre, using the proceeds as an immigration fund. But the home Government did not intend to spend money on the scheme: the commissioners had to deposit a sum of money as a guarantee, and to raise this money a society was formed which really colonised South Australia. As little forethought was exercised in founding this scientific colony as in Peel's settlement on the Swan river. No surveys were made; the first shiploads of emigrants had to shiver on Kangaroo Island, while their leaders went to find the best site for the settlement. Adelaide was soon chosen, and a town began to grow up on the spot. In England the promoters did their part, ship after ship was sent out, and colonists poured into the country. It seemed at first that the scheme was working splendidly, for there was an abundance of labourers, but things soon went awry. Instead of cultivating their new land, the owners preferred to speculate; they gambled in buying and selling estates, and by 1841 of nearly 300,000 acres which had been sold, only 2500 were under cultivation. To provide work the governor, Gawler, began great public works in Adelaide, and to pay for this he had to issue paper money. For a while there was seeming prosperity, but when news reached the colony that this paper money would not be honoured in England, there was a sudden panic, and it seemed as if South Australia would end in a worse disaster than Swan River. But luckily for the colony the new governor, George Grey, proved a man of great foresight and keen enthusiasm, and his statesmanlike policy saved South Australia.

Governor George Grey. 1841–1845.

Though only twenty-eight, he was already famous as the explorer of the north-western coasts of Australia. He set to work vigorously to cut down expenditure, a task which at first made him very unpopular, and to encourage the settlers to cultivate their farms, but he also determined to force the Government to honour Gawler's paper money. The very rumour of this attempt quickly improved matters, and when Grey left South Australia in 1845 to become Governor of New Zealand, he was already famous as a skilful and energetic administrator, and he left the colony well on its way to success.

The two other colonies in Australia, Queensland and Victoria, were out-settlements of Sydney, which, after much clamour, succeeded in separating from New South Wales. But the separation of Victoria is connected with several other important movements, which we must now trace. As the humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century grew, the custom of transportation seemed more and more barbarous and disgraceful; a committee examined the system and exposed its horrors, and so, in 1840, it was ordered that transportation should cease except to Van Diemen's Land. Meanwhile the movement for prison reform had resulted in an attempt to substitute for that deadening system a new method which might give the prisoner a chance of reform. After a certain period of confinement in the special prison at Pentonville, the well-behaved prisoner would be sent abroad with a "conditional pardon." Thus for several years Australia still found itself flooded with criminals, who were no longer under the old restraints of the convicts. Meanwhile, feeling in Australia had been growing, for although the land-owners might like a system which gave them cheap labour, the general population hated the whole policy. Matters came to a head in 1849, when the Government tried once more to send convicts to Australia. A huge public meeting at Melbourne refused to allow the convicts to be landed, threatening armed rebellion; the ship sailed on to Sydney, there to suffer the same fate. Thus, the convict system came to an end in Australia, though it lasted till 1853 in Tasmania: the colonies gained their freedom by their own vigorous protests, for the Whig statesman Lord Grey thought that England "was perfectly justified in continuing the practice of transportation to Australia, the colonies being only entitled to ask that in the arrangements for conducting it their interests and welfare should be consulted as far as possible."

Economic changes.

Meanwhile, the colonists had been growing rich both as sheep-farmers and as agriculturists. Macarthur's breed of sheep had made Australian wool famous, and other sheep-farmers began to breed for mutton as well as for the fleece. Vast areas of land in New South Wales were marked out as sheep-runs, and settlers "squatted" on these runs, paying a

small fee to the Government. At first this development of sheep-farming meant a great growth of wealth for the state, but after a time it was found that these vast runs, especially when near to towns, were a hindrance to further settlement, and steps had to be taken to break them up. Besides sheep-farming, agriculture developed too; new classes of grain were evolved which were better able to stand the dry climate of the land, and Australia gradually became an important wheat-producing country. Soon the harvest became so great that it was difficult to find labourers to gather it, and mechanical reapers were invented. The Australian "stripper," invented in 1843, became the forerunner of the automatic harvester, and Australia led the way in large-scale agriculture, for the wealth of the Canadian prairie land was as yet unknown.

It was the desire to find new lands for sheep-farming that led to the settlement of Victoria. Colonists from Swan River, disgusted with the failure there, came and squatted in the new land, while other settlers crossed the strait from Tasmania, and, making friends with the black man, acquired land. At first the Governor of New South Wales tried to expel these squatters, but he was forced to take over the settlement and to appoint a magistrate there in 1836. Here Melbourne was founded on a beautiful spot, chosen with shrewd foresight by the first squatters, and here there quickly developed a wealthy colony of sheep-breeders. Thus the Port Phillip settlement became rich and important, and looked with ill-favour on the control exercised from Sydney. The sudden growth of this settlement was due to the discovery of gold about 1850, and the fame of the fortunes to be won at Bendigo and Ballarat brought floods of miners from all over the world. Beginning in the early 'fifties, the rush to the mines brought men from California and China, and from all the countries of Europe. Here a future Premier of England rubbed shoulders with an Italian exile, and the failure of the great revolutionary movement of 1848 in Europe sent idealists and conspirators, republicans and visionaries to seek their fortunes in Australia. This inrush of men of advanced ideas had a great influence on Australian development; it strengthened the growing movement for self-

Squatters in Victoria.

Discovery of gold. 1850.

government, and was responsible for the keen and democratic tinge that politics took on.

The original military government of New South Wales had been modified by Acts of 1823 and 1828, which limited the powers of the governor by giving him a nominated legislative council, but it was early felt that some form of election was necessary for Britons living overseas. So in 1842 it was arranged that the councils of New South Wales and Tasmania should each of them contain a certain number of elective members. Port Philip settlement was specially provided for, as it was given a certain number of representatives on the council of New South Wales, but the settlers there felt that they were unfairly treated and clamoured for separation. To draw attention to their grievances they solemnly elected members of the English Cabinet as their representatives on the Sydney Council. The Imperial Government now decided to have done with the difficult problem once for all: if they could not find something to satisfy the colonies, the colonies must choose for themselves. So by the Act of 1850 Port Phillip was created an independent colony under the name of Victoria, and the colonies were empowered to draft constitutions for themselves, and to submit them to the home Government. No more liberal Act has been passed in the British Parliament, and this Act shows the extent to which the doctrine of responsibility was carried by British statesmen. Within the next few years all the Australian colonies except Western Australia set up for themselves representative government with two houses, and obtained the rights and duties of responsible government. It was not till 1890 that Western Australia had developed sufficiently to be given a similar constitution.

Constitutional development.

Act of 1850.

Victoria a separate colony.

The early settlements on the coast to the north of Sydney were used as convict stations, though they were afterwards abandoned: even Gladstone's plan of 1847 to found a special colony here for the Pentonville probationers was cancelled six months after it was launched. But the real development of Queensland was due to squatters who were pushing north across the Darling Downs, and in 1853 the Governor of New

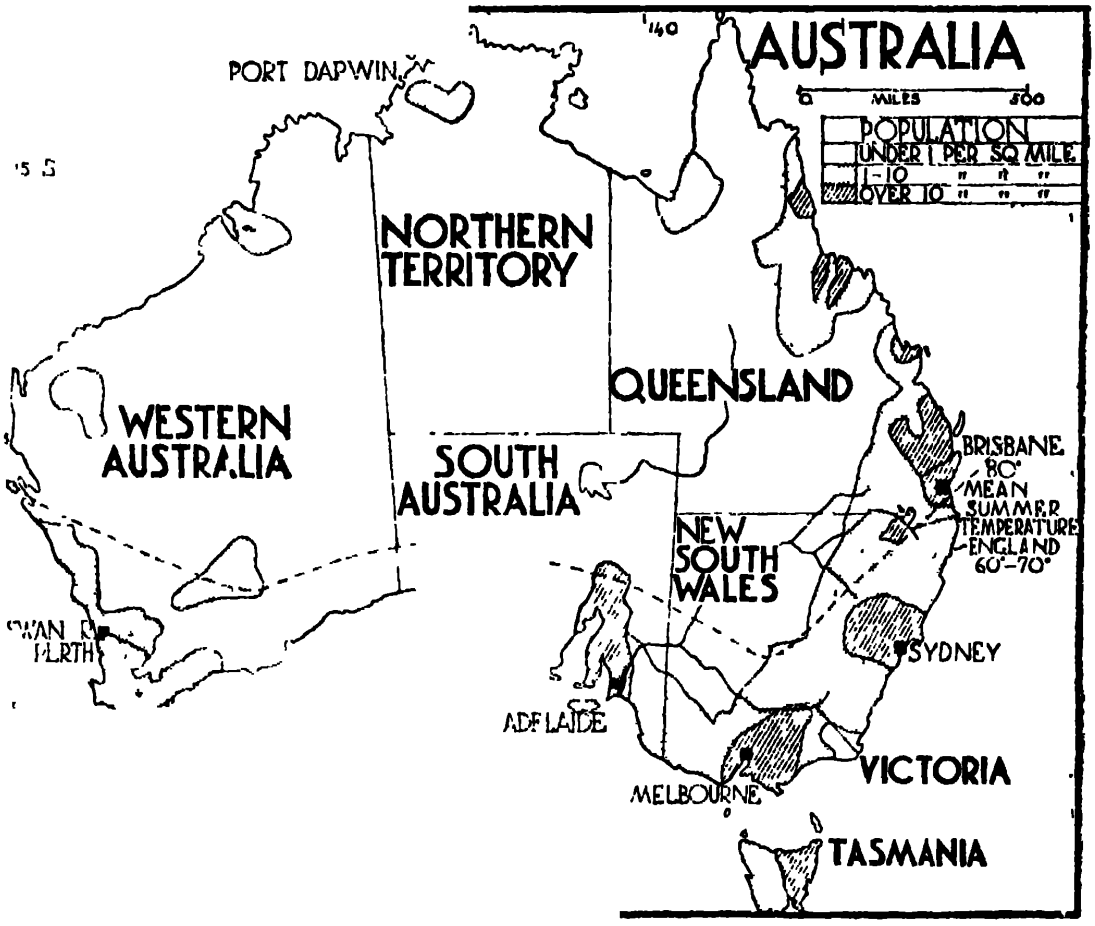
South Wales determined to appoint a resident. Settlers came quickly, and soon began to agitate for separate government; by 1859 they succeeded in their plans, and the new colony of Queensland was granted responsible government. Founded so late, after the system of transportation had become discredited, the Queensland farmers found themselves hard put to it to obtain labour; the northern part of the colony, too, was of a tropical climate, and whites found it difficult to work on the land. The planters, therefore, looking about for labourers, began to entice the natives from the islands of the Pacific. These Kanakas were brought as indentured labourers to Queensland, where they worked on the sugar plantations for a number of years and were then sent back to their homes with a trumpery reward. Treated well or ill, according to the honesty of their white masters, many of these Kanakas were little better than slaves, and the labour traffic soon got an evil name for brutality and dishonesty, and even the stringent legislation of the Queensland Government did not entirely solve this problem.

Queensland a separate colony. 1859.

Thus by 1860 Australia was divided up into six separate colonies, all except Western Australia possessing responsible government, and all faced with a large number of problems both social and economic. It did not take long for statesmen to realise that for some purposes at least the colonies would do better if they acted in common; but between the different colonies there was keen rivalry, and it was many years before a satisfactory plan was evolved. The statesmen in England had included in the Bill of 1850 a proviso for the election by the local parliaments of a Federal House of Representatives but this clause was struck out. By 1885, however, the need for common action, especially in the Pacific, was very great, and so an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament enabling the various colonies to create a Federal Council. This plan, however, proved a failure, for New South Wales, the most influential colony, stood aloof from the scheme, and the council when it met had but little authority. It had no executive power, nor could it impose a single tax—it was little better than a

Federal Council. 1885.

debating society. Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, had worked for the Federal Council although his colony threw over the plan when it had been established, and he now set himself once more to work for federation. Through his influence a convention was called in 1891, which was attended by all the colonies, as well as by New Zealand, and here was drafted a scheme of federation. Again it was Parkes' colony of New South Wales that spoilt the plan,



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All lands north of the dotted line have a mean summer temperature of 80° Fahr.

fearing to give up its great position and influence as premier colony by becoming merely a part of a federation. Now, however, public opinion began to run in favour of the movement: meetings were held all over Australia, and it was determined to call a new convention formed of ten delegates from each colony, who should be elected directly by the people. This second convention met in 1897, and was attended by all the Australian colonies except Queensland:

it drew up a constitution, which was submitted and passed by the people at a referendum, though the fears of New South Wales led to amendment and a second referendum, at which the new constitution was carried by a vast majority. The new constitution was passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1900, and came into operation on New Year's Day, 1901.

The Commonwealth of Australia is a compromise between the constitutions of Canada and the United States. Like the former it is based on the idea of responsible government, but like the latter it strictly defines the powers of the Federal Government, and all other authority remains with the separate colonies. There are two Houses of Parliament, both elective, though only one half of the Senate retires at a time. Warned by what had happened in Victoria, where there had been violent quarrels between an Upper House composed of an oligarchy of squatters and a very democratic Lower House, the Commonwealth constitution provides careful machinery for avoiding a deadlock. Lastly, it was arranged that for a number of years the Federal Government should pay from the taxes so much per head to the State Governments for their exchequers, but this arrangement soon comes to an end and a new scheme must be thought out.

Commonwealth of Australia. 1901.

Many great changes have come over Australia since 1900, and one of the most important is the rise of the Labour Party to power. Trade unions were early formed in Australia, and were in close touch with the unions of London. In 1890 there was a great seamen's strike in Australia, and after that the trade unions determined to try to obtain political power, so that they might then gain social and economic reform. The political Labour Party soon gained ground, and after the founding of the Commonwealth it held the balance between the other parties; finally in 1910 it attained power with a clear majority of its own. The most important social legislation is the attempt to prevent strikes by compulsory arbitration; special courts were set up, whose findings were authoritative, and strikes were to be punished by the State. But this was not a complete success: there were still some workers who would only accept the finding if in

Labour Party.

their own favour. Even a Labour Government found it difficult to prevent a strike by force. So attempts have been made along another line, and wages boards consisting of masters and men have been created to settle disputes. The Commonwealth has adopted a policy of protective tariffs; all the colonies except New South Wales had such a tariff before 1900, and the great squatters of New South Wales were forced to swallow Protection as the price of Union. It was generally agreed to give a five per cent. preference to British goods, and since 1906 that has been the rule. But the Labour Party have tried to use Protection for direct social ends; they have placed a heavy duty on foreign sugar, and have given bounties on Queensland sugar grown by white labour. This is part of the policy of "white Australia," which aims at keeping Australia for the European, and preferably for the British race. There is a smaller admixture of other nations in the population of Australia and New Zealand than in any other Dominion, and the "white Australia" policy aims at keeping this distinction. This is done in three ways. Indentured labour is discouraged. The influx of Asiatics is prevented by an education test which is so framed as to exclude Orientals, though this policy leads to delicate questions with Japan, and especially with India. For Indians claim that they too are citizens of the Empire, and object to being excluded from Australia. Lastly, the inflow of Englishmen is encouraged by a system of assisted immigration: the flaring posters and the many-coloured pamphlets, with their fascinating pictures of sheep-shearing and dairy-farming and with their enticing maps, are all a part of this campaign. About 1906 this policy came into full swing, and great numbers of Englishmen went to find new homes in Australia, though there were some people at home who grumbled at the growing depopulation of the British country-side.

White Australia.

To find land for these immigrants a policy of "closer settlement" was adopted, and both New South Wales and South Australia arranged to resume large sheep-runs, where necessary by compulsion, and to break them up for small farms for the newcomers. Money was

Closer settlement.

advanced by the State for the stocking and preliminary working of the new farms, and the price of the land could be repaid on easy terms. Thus the sheep-breeders were pushed further afield, and the land near the towns and railways was to become farm land.

Yet another important result of the Commonwealth was the reorganisation of Australian defence. The Australians realised that if they had these great plans for their future they must be ready to defend their country if necessary; hitherto they had depended on British sea-power for their safety, now they aspired to possess fleets of their own. Thus, after a careful survey by Lord Kitchener, the Commonwealth adopted a scheme of compulsory training for a national militia. They arranged also to build up an Australian fleet unit which should be stationed in the Pacific in peace time, but in war should pass under the authority of the Admiralty in England if necessary. The Commonwealth had assumed large liabilities, for in 1911 it took over the Northern Territory which had previously been administered by South Australia. Five years earlier it had relieved Queensland of responsibility for Papua (British New Guinea). This territory had been annexed by the Imperial Government in 1884 on the urgent advice of the Queensland Government, who feared lest a German colony should be established so near their shores.

Defence.

Australia's future depends on the power of organisation and statesmanship which her citizens can bring to the various tasks which await them. She has begun great experiments in the control and direction of business undertakings by the State, and all the world will look with interest to see how they develop and to learn from her experiments how to solve their own great problems. Australia has still vast tracts of land which will repay cultivation, and as scientific irrigation is applied to her country-side, and the system of artesian wells developed, much land that is now regarded as arid desert may yet become fertile. The policy of "white Australia" must thus be justified by the continued development of the resources of the great continent.

New Zealand

New Zealand lies some thousand miles to the east of Sydney, and is a land of high mountains and beautiful scenery, plentifully watered by many lakes and rivers. Its inhabitants were Maoris, men of the very best type of the Polynesian race, who had attained a very high civilisation, and preserved with pride the traditions of their race and the story of how they came from across the sea to settle in their new home.

The early European explorers did not find New Zealand, and even when Tasman reached the islands in 1642 he learnt but little of their shape and size, and it was really Captain Cook who first made a careful examination of their coasts in 1769. From the early days of the nineteenth century Europeans began to visit New Zealand; whalers called there and made the place a depôt, shipwrecked crews and escaped convicts squatted where they could, traders arrived and soon got on friendly terms with the Maoris, though unscrupulous men were ready to barter firearms, or even to lend their ships and help in native blood feuds, and this soon led to reprisals. But while the riff-raff of civilisation was gradually collected in the islands, another set of men were at work striving to show the Maoris a different side of European civilisation. Mission stations sprang up, and the energetic type of practical man who went as missionary to New Zealand did a great work among the Maoris, and always stood for honest dealing with the natives.

The Governor of New South Wales was watching this development with anxious eyes, and felt that such a disorderly crew of settlers needed some control, but the Imperial Government was loth to extend its authority any further. Moved at last by vague stories of what was going on, the Crown extended the Governor's jurisdiction over the settlers in New Zealand, and in 1833 a resident magistrate was even appointed.

New Zealand annexed, 1839. A separate colony, 1840.

Things were brought to a head in 1839. It was known that a party of French colonists intended to settle in New Zealand and doubtless claim the country for France, while in England the energetic Wakefield, not content with his venture in South Australia,

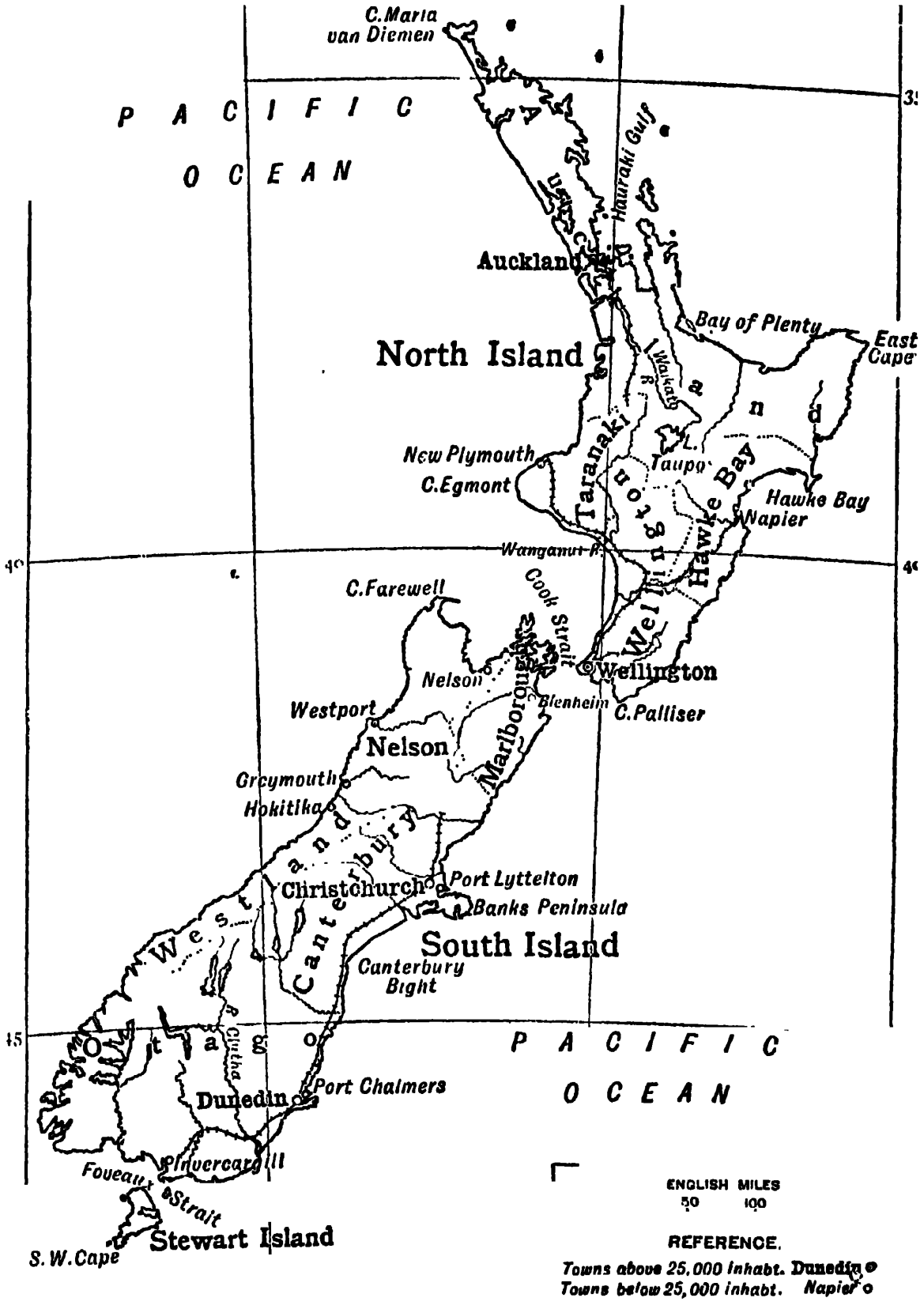
was busily organising a company to acquire land and colonise New Zealand on the basis of his famous theory. His brother had actually set out for the new land, and it was certain that if no steps were taken to control the Company, trouble with the Maoris would certainly ensue. New Zealand was, therefore, annexed to New South Wales, and Hobson sent out as deputy-governor; next year (1840) it became a separate colony. Hobson had a difficult task, for the North Island was full of Maoris, who were deeply suspicious of the arrival of the white men, but he succeeded in making friends with them and persuading them to agree to the Treaty of Waitangi. By this arrangement they recognised the sovereignty of the British, and in return the possession of their lands was guaranteed to them for ever.

Treaty of Waitangi. 1840.

For the first twelve years of the life of the new colony there were two conflicting authorities in the islands: the Governor representing the Crown, and the Wakefield Company representing a powerful moneyed interest in England. This division of authority nearly ruined New Zealand, for despite the efforts of the Governor the Company bought land direct from the natives, and this quickly led to disputes. The Maoris held that land belonged to the tribe and not to the individual, and so refused to recognise land sales made to the Company by individuals, even if they were chiefs. As soon as Wakefield arrived, he made large purchases, while close on his heels came the first batch of settlers clamouring for the land which had been promised them. Wellington and New Plymouth were founded by the Company in the North Island, and Nelson in the South Island, while Hobson founded Auckland as the seat of government. Meanwhile, a special commissioner had been appointed to inquire into the purchase of land, and he limited Wakefield's concessions very severely: it was also ordered that no purchase should be made from the Maoris except through the Government. This sound policy, however, was not strictly carried out, for Hobson's successors were not strong men, while the Company was very powerful in England. The Maoris were alarmed at the whole proceeding, and blood had already been shed when George Grey was sent from

New Zealand Company. 1841.

NEW ZEALAND.



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South Australia to undertake the government of New Zealand.

The new Governor threw himself heart and soul into the problems which faced him. He worked hard to prevent the fraudulent transfer of land from the natives in the North Island, and by a series of skilful purchases in the South Island, where there were but few Maoris living, he was able to make room for fresh colonists without disturbing the natives. Thus there sprang up two new settlements in the South Island, Otago, founded by Scotch Presbyterians, and Canterbury, a Church of England settlement promoted by Selwyn, the first Bishop of New Zealand. With the Maoris, too, Grey won a great success. He set to work to learn their language, studied their customs and ideas, and was thus able to meet their chiefs and discuss in person their complaints. By this means Grey gained their entire sympathy, for they respected a man who was both firm and just, and who showed not the slightest trace of personal fear or private ambition. Indeed, their love for him went so far that a native chief whom he had once imprisoned petitioned the Queen that Grey should be made perpetual Governor of New Zealand. The Governor showed his courage in yet another way, for when in 1846 a paper constitution was granted to New Zealand, which seemed to him too elaborate and quite unsuited to the needs of the colony, he simply refrained from putting it into force. In England the ministry recognised its mistake, and Grey and his council were asked to suggest a suitable form of government. Meanwhile, in 1851, the New Zealand Company had been dissolved, and this cleared the ground. Next year a constitution was granted to the colony, based on the Governor's recommendations. The six chief settlements became provinces, with councils for local affairs, while over all there was the Governor with a Federal Council and Assembly.

George Grey, Governor, 1845-1853 and 1862-1867.

Federal constitution. 1852.

But the British colonists and the Maoris were not destined to settle down side by side without further strife. With the removal of Grey's influence, by his transference to the Cape in 1853, trouble soon began, and in 1860 a dispute over a land

purchase led to war. The tribe which refused to recognise the sale appealed for help to a semi-independent Maori "king," whom some of the tribes of the North Island had recently proclaimed, and the Governor foolishly declared that he was going to abolish this "king-state." Grey was sent post-haste from South Africa to save the situation. He urged the restoration of the disputed territory, and it seemed at first that he would succeed in pacifying the island, but a treacherous attack by some Maoris made war break out again (1863). The Maoris were fighting a losing battle, for Grey's influence obtained help from friendly Maori tribes. But the war was prolonged by the disputes between the Governor and the military authorities; the control of Maori affairs had by now been handed over to the colonists, and the Imperial troops were gradually withdrawn. In 1866 Grey declared that peace had been restored, and soon after, his term of office expired. A few years later there was another outbreak, but it was quickly suppressed by colonial militia. After the war a policy of conciliation was adopted: tribes were allowed to return to their lands, while roads and railways began to open up the country, and the memory of the struggle gradually passed into the background.

The Great Maori War. 1860–1870.

Except for the Maori War, and for the fact that convicts were never sent to the country, the social and political development of New Zealand was similar to that of Australia. But New Zealand is not so hot a country as Australia, for its climate is more like that of England. Sheep-farming early became an important industry; with the invention of cold storage, mutton as well as wool was exported to England, and "Canterbury lamb" reminds every one of this fact. Dairy-farming was also a profitable occupation. Though the constitution of 1852 did not contemplate responsible government, the idea was in the air; the colonists claimed the right to govern themselves, and in 1856 the first responsible ministry was formed, though the control of Maori affairs was not handed over till some years later. In 1870 the old system of provincial governments was abolished, and New Zealand became a unitary state: a few years earlier the capital was

Economic development.

Responsible government. 1856.

moved from the northern town of Auckland to the more conveniently situated Wellington on Cook's Strait. Since then New Zealand has developed a strongly democratic government, and has enjoyed the strange experience of seeing one who had but lately been her Governor play the part of responsible minister, for the versatile Sir George Grey had not finished with New Zealand when his second term as Governor expired. He returned to the colony and soon became famous as a Radical premier.

New Zealand has been a pioneer in democratic and social legislation. She soon adopted universal adult suffrage and the payment of members, and her social legislation led the way in regulating the conditions of labour, both in the workshop and on board ship. She early tackled the problem of big estates, and successfully adopted the plan of breaking them up for closer settlement by small farmers. A wide scheme of Government loans to farmers, and a policy of retaining the ownership of land in the hands of the State, has also been tried; while State-aided immigration has been in operation for many years. The aim is to make New Zealand a preserve for the white man and to develop in the Dominion an ideal system of social life by means of a vast scheme of State regulation.

The position of the Maoris in New Zealand is unique. Ever since the end of the Maori War they have been recognised as full citizens of the State: the New Zealand nation consists of the Europeans and the Maoris. The Maoris possess special representation in the Dominion Parliament, electing four members of their own, Maoris sit in the Senate, they assist in the administration of the Native Land Court, and control their local councils. Thus the Maoris seem definitely to have decided to accept the new civilisation and to become part of a modern state. During the great war, when New Zealand supplied her share to the famous Anzac Corps, the Maoris insisted on taking their part in the risk and honour of the war. Thus the native question in New Zealand has ceased to be a difficult problem, as it still is in South Africa, but the political future of the country is of great interest. New Zealand is

The Maoris' position.

New Zealand and the Pacific.

naturally interested in the control of the Pacific, and some groups of islands have already been handed over to her control. She has not, however, been able to decide on joining the Commonwealth of Australia, although negotiations were on foot in 1900, but despite the similarity of interests she prefers at present to continue her development as a separate Dominion within the Empire.

Books.—R. Jenks, *A History of the Australasian Colonies*, and E. Scott, *A Short History of Australia*, are useful text-books. W. P. Reeves, *The Long White Cloud*, tells the story of New Zealand up to the end of last century in a fascinating way, and is illustrated. C. G. Henderson, *Life of Sir George Grey*. C. G. Wade, *Australia*, describes recent experiments in social legislation in Australia.

1788. Convict settlement at Botany Bay.
1829. Swan River (Western Australia) Colony.
1834. South Australia founded by Wakefield's influence.
1839 New Zealand annexed. (1840 Treaty of Waitangi.)
1850. Act of Parliament (1) separates Victoria; (2) allows colonies to choose their own form of government.
1901. Commonwealth of Australia.

CHAPTER XII

The Commonwealth of Nations

The development of responsible government in the colonies, and the adoption of a free trade policy in Britain, were accompanied by a general feeling that the inevitable result would be the complete separation of the colonies from the Mother Country. When the Dominions rejected the new-found gospel of free trade and built tariff walls to foster their own manufactures it seemed as if the last straw were added; the sooner the Dominions became independent states the better, for then the Mother Country would no longer run the risk of being dragged into war for any local quarrel.[1] This

[1] The Canadian tariff of 1859 marks an important step in this development. See pages 135, 136.

attitude was very general at home, though in the colonies men were not over-anxious to cut themselves off from the protection of the all-powerful British fleet. But despite the economic doctrines of the day, there were not wanting, even in Britain, men of wide imagination, who could not think that the Empire must split up into separate and possibly warring nations; with no very clear idea of the future, they yet believed that some future development would link the Dominions and the Mother Country together for common action and common defence. As the nineteenth century went on, this feeling gradually developed. The separation of the Colonies from the War Office in 1854 marked a step in the right direction, while the founding of the Royal Colonial Institute provided a rallying point where statesmen and administrators from different parts of the Empire could meet in London and exchange ideas with others interested in Imperial problems.

Reaction against idea of Imperial dissolution.

The new ideas gained ground during the 'eighties, and the interest in Imperial affairs was stimulated by the writing of some famous books. Both at Cambridge and Oxford there were teachers of history who appreciated the romance of British development: Seeley's lectures drew crowds of students, and his *Expansion of England* re-told the story of the eighteenth century in a new and fascinating way; Froude visited South Africa and Australia, and related his experiences in *Oceana;* while Sir Charles Dilke, a thoughtful statesman, had already coined a new word to express a new development; his fascinating book, *Greater Britain*, did much to teach people that there were real problems worthy of careful thought. In the colonies, too, there was growing up that sense of nationality which made men feel that the word colonial was an insult, Canadian or New Zealander should be used instead. But this very feeling emphasised the unity between colony and home country; the same tongue, similar institutions, and a similar culture drew men closer, despite the growth of marked differences. At the same time, the reluctance of the home Government to undertake new Imperial responsibilities, as in the case of New Guinea or South West Africa, made the colonies feel that they needed a closer co-operation for the purpose of

influencing British foreign policy. They could not afford to set up as independent states, at least for the present, but they did wish to use the might of the British Empire to gain their own ends. The sudden scramble to divide out the ends of the earth, which began in 1884 at the Berlin Conference, made all the parts of the Empire draw together for common support. Nor were the various inventions and improvements in communications without their part in linking the Empire together, by improving the transit of news and of private messages, and by enabling visits to be paid to friends in distant lands. Train, steamer, telegraph, cable, post, all helped to dispel that placid ignorance which is the basis of prejudice and ill-feeling.

The result of this reawakening interest was an examination of the various problems of Empire, and an attempt to find solutions for them. The constitution of the Empire was then, as it is to-day, largely the result of custom and common practice, and much of it seemed illogical. The very fact that the constitution could grow and develop without elaborate machinery, was a source of strength, but some of the absurdities needed alteration. It was obviously ridiculous, for instance, that a man who had been naturalised in Canada, and might even be a Minister of the Crown, should be merely an alien if he came to England! Many other laws needed to be adjusted so that they should have the same effect throughout the Empire, but there were even graver problems to be settled.

The year 1887 was the jubilee of Queen Victoria's accession, and it was decided to take the opportunity of the visit of many statesmen from various parts of the Empire to London to hold a conference of representatives from the different colonies. Though this conference did not produce any very great results, it was an important step in the development of the Empire. It was quite obvious that the delegates, though not ready to draft any formal scheme of union, did not hold the old idea that the future of the Empire was speedy separation. The Conference of 1887 was but the beginning of a series of conferences: it is another example of the way in which the British constitution evolves to meet the needs of the day, without relying on formal written constitutions. Seven years later the Canadian

Conferences at London, 1887 and 1897.

Government called a conference at Ottawa to discuss the trade relations of the Empire, and recommended a system of Imperial preferential tariffs. At the diamond jubilee in 1897 the second Conference was held at London, and representatives of the colonial governments discussed a number of questions with Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, and parted with the recommendation that periodic conferences should be held.

There were three main problems which came up for discussion at these conferences, and they are still important problems in Imperial organisation. The first was the question of Imperial trade. The various colonies had adopted a system of protective tariffs, but they wished, if possible, to encourage and develop trade within the Empire. They dreamt of binding the Empire together again by ties of economic interest, such as had existed in the days of the "old" Empire. But, instead of the British Parliament creating the system and forcing it on the Colonies, it was to be built up by the joint authority of the British and Colonial Parliaments. Thus, the colonies desired a system of preferential tariffs which should keep trade within the Empire by only allowing foreign goods to be imported after paying a high import duty. This was the scheme at which the Ottawa Conference aimed, while the matter was raised again in 1897. But here the economic ideas of the Mother Country and the colonies were directly opposed. The adoption of Free Trade by Britain had been followed by a period of great prosperity, and statesmen did not wish to tamper with the system. Though willing to leave the colonies absolutely free as to their tariff policy, and to negotiate for their relief from old treaties made by England, which still bound them in this matter, the Imperial Government would not alter its own system.

Problems: (1) Preferential tariffs.

The second great problem concerned the relations between the colonies and the Mother Country. In England a society had been formed for encouraging Imperial federation, but statesmen were shy of handling the matter. When the question was raised in the Conference of 1897 the colonies were diffident; the problems to be solved were so great, the success of any formal scheme was so questionable, that it was decided to let well alone. Although

(2) Imperial federation.

in theory a scheme of federation may look very simple, in practice there are often unexpected and even alarming developments, as may be seen from the history of the United States, or any federal constitution. The Dominions were jealous of their autonomy, and feared that any new central authority would encroach on their local powers. Then, again, there were obvious difficulties. How were the states to be represented? If on a population basis, Britain would swamp the Dominions; if on a basis of states, then they would outvote the Mother Country: and neither arrangement promised a satisfactory solution of the problem. And there was yet another difficulty. Representative institutions seem to need party organisation, and with party government comes all the dust and clamour of party strife, the lies and abuse of the party press, and the trickeries of electioneering. Any change might prejudice the relations of the home country with the Dominions, and spoil the calm spirit of the conference where Labour premier can meet Tory statesman, and French Canadian talk with Dutch Afrikander in honest confidence and truth. Thus, for a time, the question was dropped.

(3) Imperial defence.

The problem which interested the Imperial Government most, and which it was most anxious to get the colonies to tackle, was the question of Imperial defence. This problem was of increasing importance, for though the grant of responsible government implied that the colonies were responsible for their own defence, their real security depended on the supremacy of the Navy, and the British control of the sea. As science developed, the cost of material and upkeep continually increased, and this burden was borne by the Mother Country alone. Though the grouping of the distant fleets by the Admiralty should be based only on strategic considerations, yet each colony wished to see as large a squadron stationed off its shores as possible. The colonies were growing quickly both in population and in wealth, and it seemed but fair that they should help to share the burden of naval defence. This question involved two other problems: the old principle of no taxation without representation loomed in the background, while it was obvious that if the colonies helped to keep the Navy, they

should have some share in controlling foreign policy, and so in deciding the ultimate issues of war and peace. But this was a very difficult question, and little progress was made in the matter. The Australian colonies, however, promised in 1887 an annual subsidy to the Pacific squadron; they renewed the guarantee in 1897, while the Cape and Natal also gave an annual subsidy in that year.

The influence of Joseph Chamberlain had a great effect in encouraging the growth of Imperial sentiment. A man of large ideas, self-reliant and of vigorous personality, he deliberately chose what had previously been regarded as a minor office that he might show how important he considered Imperial affairs, and might give full play to his schemes. While Colonial Secretary from 1895 to 1902 he took special interest in developing the Crown colonies, and wherever he went he left his mark in some improvement, or some new undertaking. He was the guiding spirit at the Conference of 1897, and though his explanation of the problem of Imperial defence did not at the time obtain great results, he was soon recognised as a true prophet. When the Boer War broke out in 1899, and the British were so hard pressed in South Africa, the Dominion of Canada and all the colonies of Australia sent troops to fight for what they felt was the common cause. The sight of their nodding plumes and clattering horses, as they came up the sunny streets of Cape Town, was a cheery sight in a very anxious time, and a visible pledge of Imperial unity. This was not the first occasion that a self-governing colony had sent aid to an Imperial expedition, for New South Wales had sent troops to assist in the Sudan campaign. But it was the first time that troops from all the self-governing colonies had fought side by side, and it emphasised both the need for some common scheme of Imperial defence, and for some method for the joint control of foreign policy.

South African War, 1899-1902. Help from the colonies.

In 1902, at King Edward VII's coronation, there met the next Colonial Conference: again there was an exchange of ideas, but little definite work accomplished. Despite Chamberlain's suggestions, federal union was not supported, while the unanimous desire of the Dominions for a

Conference of 1902.

scheme of preferential tariffs was courteously refused by the Imperial Government. But now there came a dramatic turn of events. Chamberlain declared himself a convert to the policy of Tariff Reform; he resigned from the Government, and stumped the country on behalf of Colonial Preference. His campaign was a failure, the country did not respond; he split his party, and at the next election in 1906 the Liberals gained a sweeping victory.

The development of the Empire during the last twenty years has been conditioned by the German menace, and the steps that had to be taken in defence; just as after 1884 the Empire began to draw together in self-defence, so lately the need of mutual protection has driven the different units to common counsel and common action. Things were made easier for Imperial statesmen by the federation of Australia in 1900 and the union of South Africa nine years later, for thus there were two large states with which to deal instead of many conflicting colonies. For a little while interest in Imperial matters was somewhat hidden by the development of foreign affairs. A great movement for substituting arbitration for war was quickly gaining ground; led by Britain and America many countries had agreed to submit their disputes to arbitration, and treaties to that effect had been signed almost throughout the world. Though the Conferences at the Hague (1899 and 1907) had failed to bring about a reduction of armaments, much good work had been done, and men looked forward to a better future. Britain, too, had set herself to improve her international relations: by the Entente of 1904 she had settled her outstanding quarrels with France, and three years later a similar arrangement was made with Russia. Fired by this plan, the Liberal Government of 1906 set itself to come to an understanding with Germany, and thus to remove the one cloud on the sky-line. Here, however, failure was to come.

Movement for international arbitration.

The Colonial Conference of 1902 had arranged for the holding of such Conferences at four-year intervals, and the next Conference met in 1907. It can be easily understood that the usual subjects of discussion were out of place: the Liberal Government were pledged to

Conference of 1907.

a policy of Free Trade, the question of federation did not appeal to either party, while elaborate schemes of defence seemed absurd at a time when all efforts were being turned to disarmament and international good feeling. The Conference, therefore, spent its energies in organising its own machinery, and arranging the procedure for future meetings. It was decided that the Conference should in future consist of the Premiers of the Dominions, with the Colonial Secretary and the British Premier, who was to act as chairman. A permanent staff was appointed to prepare the agenda for business, and to collect information. The Conference also resolved that, if necessary, special conferences should be called to deal with any urgent question that might arise.

The first of these special conferences was summoned within two years. The German naval preparations were so alarming, the avowed hostility to the British Empire so open, that the Imperial Government was forced to call a special Conference in 1909 to discuss the very question of defence which it had not considered necessary to examine in 1907. At this Conference the momentous decision was adopted that the Dominions should set up local navies as branches of the Royal Navy. Although the ideal from a purely strategic point of view was to have one fleet under one centralised control, distributed over the seas of the world as seemed best for the needs of the moment, the growing desire of the Dominions to have local squadrons under their own control led to a compromise. South Africa and New Zealand preferred to continue a system of subsidies, but the Dominion and the Commonwealth both undertook to raise and maintain separate fleet units, which should be armed, disciplined and trained on the same lines as the Royal Navy. Thus in war-time it would be possible, if desired, to place these fleet units under Imperial control. Australia carried out her plans, beginning her fleet with the *Sydney*, which did such good work in destroying the German cruiser *Emden* in 1915. In Canada the fall of the Laurier government in 1911 led to a change of plan: Sir Robert Borden, the new Premier, did not approve of the policy of separate fleet units, and preferred to continue a subsidy.

Special Defence Conference, 1909.

Besides these naval preparations, plans were made to train and organise the Dominion citizen forces on similar lines to the Imperial troops, so that co-operation in case of need should be easy and effective.

The important decision to create Dominion fleet units showed that the question of the control of foreign policy could not much longer remain undecided. Thus when the next Conference met in 1911 this question came quickly to the fore. It was pointed out that the British delegates to the Hague Conference had received instructions which were drafted without consultation with the Dominions, while the Declaration of London, an agreement modifying International Law as to sea-warfare, had been made without their previous knowledge. The Imperial Government willingly promised to consult them as to future instructions to representatives at the Hague, and about the negotiation of treaties. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, however, was anxious about this latter promise; he did not wish Canada to find herself bound to fight in any future wars because of any responsibility for British diplomacy. But the most important step was to come. At a secret meeting the Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, made a full and confidential review of the whole international situation, and thus for the first time the Dominions were taken into the confidence of the Imperial Government, and were in a position to appreciate the storm-clouds which were gathering in the sky.

The Imperial Conference of 1911.

The outbreak of the war with Germany in 1914 showed that the Empire, loosely knit as it might seem politically, could yet act together quickly in a crisis. The time and thought which had been spent on the question of Imperial defence were now repaid, and not only all the Dominions, but India and also the dependent Empire sent willingly to help in a common cause. The local fleet units were placed under Imperial control, and played their part in the keeping of the seas. The Commonwealth seized New Guinea and the other German possessions in the Pacific, while men from Australia and New Zealand won immortal fame, and created the charmed word of Anzac. Thence they fought in Egypt, and took part in the great

drive through Palestine. Union troops swept through the desert land of German South West Africa, and, led by Botha and Smuts, rounded up the enemy by a brilliant campaign in a difficult country. Later they took part in a still more trying business, and helped to beat the tropical forest and bush-covered mountains of East Africa. From Canada came help at the most critical time, and the first Canadian Division took its place in the line in Flanders early in 1915, and a constant stream of men, both new divisions and drafts, came steadily until the war was won. "The Australians at the Dardanelles, and the Canadians at Ypres," declared a French general, "fought with supreme and absolute devotion for what to many of them must have seemed simple abstractions, and that nation which will support for an abstraction the horror of this war of all wars, will ever hold the highest place in the records of human valour."

The Dominions and the War. 1914-1918.

As the war went on another development took place in the relations of the Empire. The usual conference which should have been held in 1915 had been postponed because of the war, but it was now felt that a special conference should be held, both to decide on closer co-operation during the war itself, and to discuss the terms on which peace could be made when the time should come. The Coalition Government, which came into power under Lloyd George in December, 1916, decided to form an inner "War" Cabinet to press on the conduct of the war, and promptly invited the Dominions to a special War Conference. A new step was taken by including the Secretary of State for India in the invitation. This Conference met in the middle of March, 1917, though an Australian representative could not be present for the moment owing to a general election. Meanwhile, it was decided to invite the Dominion premiers to sit as members of the War Cabinet to deal with wide Imperial affairs. Thus without any special constitutional legislation the Dominions were given a share in the responsibilities and executive authority of the Imperial Government. So successful did this experiment prove, that when the members of the Conference returned to their

War Cabinet: Dominion premiers included. 1917.

Dominions, General Smuts remained as a member of the War Cabinet. The Conference itself passed a resolution before dispersing, that an Imperial Conference should be called after the war to consider the readjustment of constitutional relations upon the basis of "a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important part of the same." It should "recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations." This resolution is of fundamental importance, as it lays down the claims of the Dominions in clear and unmistakable terms.

It was not long before these claims were definitely recognised. When the terms of the Peace came to be discussed, the Dominions were for the first time officially represented at a Peace Conference, and for the first time they signed a Peace Treaty as "smaller nations." Under the stress of war a spirit of idealism had grown up, for only high ideals could justify such terrible sacrifices, and from this spirit of idealism sprang the Covenant of the League of Nations, an attempt to organise an international league for the prevention of war, and the encouragement of disarmament and arbitration. In the scheme of the League of Nations the Dominions were recognised as smaller nations, having their seats on the Assembly, but with special arrangements as to voting power; to this proposal America has objected, claiming that such a representation unfairly outweighs her own position.

Dominions sign Treaty of Versailles. 1919.

In joining the League of Nations both Great Britain and the Dominions have been willing to submit to restraints, and to undertake obligations far more onerous than they were ready to bear for any scheme of Imperial union before the war. This shows what a strong appeal is made by the attempt to find some practical international machinery. The success of its working must depend on the honesty with which the new scheme is handled. The present position of the Empire is illogical, and the League has made it more illogical than ever, but the British people have never troubled themselves about logicality; their concern has always been with the practical working of institutions. The essential facts of the

situation are these. There is spread throughout the world a friendly fellowship of six English-speaking nations. The four Dominions and Britain herself are legally subject to one Crown, the sixth is the great independent Republic of the United States. These nations have the same great story to look back upon, the same literary heritage, similar ideals, a similar type of institution and of culture. They are responsible in one way or another for the welfare and protection of over five hundred million people. The future alone can show how these nations will develop, but their destiny lies safe in the keeping of the coming generation.

Books.—See Note to Chapter VIII. Most of the literature on this subject is political and discusses the possible developments of the future. An interesting book is G. L. Beer, *The English-speaking Peoples*.

1854. Office of Colonial Secretary established.
1887. Jubilee Conference in London.
1909. Special Defence Conference: fleet units established.
1917. Imperial War Conference and Imperial War Cabinet.
1919. Dominions sign Treaty and join League as "smaller nations."

CHAPTER XIII

The End of the East India Company, 1818–1858

Lord Hastings' settlement of the Mahratta problem in 1818 decided that there should be one effectively supreme power throughout India. The Directors, however, were reluctant to accept this inheritance, but all their wishes and express instructions to their servants could not alter the fact that peace could only be secured by the existence of one great power ruling India from North to South. That power was to be the British Raj. Indian history is made up for the next forty

British expansion. 1818–1858.

years of a series of wars arising out of this unsatisfactory state of affairs, followed by periods of reaction when the Directors strove in vain against an almost inevitable development.

The British power advanced in two directions: on the north-west towards the Himalayas, until a more definite frontier was reached with the wilds of Afghanistan, and eastward in Burma across the Bay of Bengal. Another factor complicated the situation. Just as Wellesley was always alarmed lest French influence should supplant the British in India, so during the nineteenth century the advance of Russia through Central Asia was a continual nightmare to British statesmen. Diplomatists dreamed of Russian schemes of invasion through the passes of Afghanistan, while soldiers were for ever considering the best lines of defence if war should come. After the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, Russia had become one of the reactionary powers in Europe, and Britain, frightened of her schemes, supported Turkey throughout the century for fear lest Russia should gain influence over the Ottoman Empire, and so control the Mediterranean and menace India.

Hastings' wars had been denounced in England, and his successor, Lord Amherst, was expected to continue the old policy of non-intervention, but the fates were against him, for he at once found himself faced by a long-standing quarrel. For some time there had been disputes between Burma and the British over the question of political refugees who had fled for British protection: and the Burmese Government had invaded British territory, while extending their power in Assam. Thus Amherst found himself forced into a war against his will. The Burmese intended to invade Bengal by land, but a British expedition took them by surprise and landed men at Rangoon, who quickly defeated the army which opposed them. Next year an advance was made up the river towards Ava, the capital, and the Burmese were so alarmed that they quickly made peace. Besides an indemnity, the inland province of Assam and the seaboard provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were ceded to

Burmese War. 1825-1826.

the British. The great port of Rangoon and the whole of Upper and Lower Burma were left untouched.

After this long series of wars there followed again a period of non-intervention. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, was not only personally inclined to such a policy, but he had very definite orders on the subject from the Company. Bentinck was a typical Liberal of his day, and in many of his schemes a forerunner of that other great reformer, Lord Dalhousie: his attack on the practice of widow-burning (sati) and the hereditary system of high-way-robbery (thagi) was a forecast of Dalhousie's methods. In his dealings with native states Bentinck determined to interfere as little as possible; but he gradually realised that this policy had its limits. The alliance guaranteed a native prince protection from external attack, but it was quite impossible for the British Government to stand by and watch a devastating civil war, or a deliberate policy of cruelty and oppression. In several cases Bentinck found his patience strained to the limit, and particularly in the case of Coorg. Here the rajah carried out a series of ghastly brutalities, and when warned he declared war on the British Government. After his defeat his people begged that he might be sent away and Coorg annexed, and Bentinck was forced to comply.

Lord William Bentinck. 1826-1835. Internal reforms.

The end of Bentinck's government coincided with the growth of suspicion against Russia, which turned men's attention to the north-west frontier of India. Here the British power extended, by alliances with the Rajput states, to the bank of the River Sutlej. North of the river, in the Punjab, dwelt the Sikhs, a vigorous and warlike aristocracy who professed a religion that was a type of reformed Hinduism. These stalwart people were now ruled by a great soldier-statesman, Ranjit Singh, the "Lion of Lahore." This man had reorganised the Sikh army, trained and disciplined it with the help of some of Napoleon's officers, and had established his power against the Afghan claims to his borderland. In 1809 he had made the Treaty of Amritsar with the British, by which the Sutlej was recognised as the common frontier, and Ranjit Singh loyally

The North-West Frontier.

abode by the agreement all his life. But the Sikh power with its well-organised army was a standing menace to British rule, and its situation on the route to Afghanistan and the great passes made it yet more important.

Yet further east the vast wall of the Himalayas shut off the mountain country of Afghanistan. Here the strength of the State depended on the strength of the individual ruler, and at the moment the country seemed in danger of breaking up. Dost Mahomed held Kabul, but the Persians were threatening his western frontier, while another claimant to the throne, Shah Shuja, was a fugitive in India. To the south of the Punjab lay the barren land of Sind; important since it controlled the route to easy passes into Afghanistan, and because the Indus with all its commerce flowed through its territory.

When Lord Auckland came to India in 1836 English jealousy of Russia was very great, and the new Governor-General soon began to hear rumours of Russian negotiations in Afghanistan. He felt that the present ruler, Dost Mahomed, was not favourable to British interests, and so devised the ill-planned scheme of placing the feeble old man, Shah Shuja, on the throne instead. Ranjit Singh, though an ally of the Company, would not allow the passage of a British army through the Punjab, and so arrangements were made to march through Sind. At first all went well, Kabul was occupied, and Shah Shuja placed on the throne, but soon a reaction set in. Kabul rose and murdered the British resident; the army withdrew under a safe-conduct, but was treacherously attacked and destroyed in the Khyber Pass. Only one single man escaped to tell the story. Auckland was too unnerved by the disaster to do anything, but fortunately his successor, Lord Ellenborough, was a man of action. He determined to avenge the treachery, and so to restore British prestige, but he realised the absurdity of attempting to force an old and feeble ruler on an independent race of mountaineers; so after recapturing Kabul, he withdrew from Afghanistan and left the Afghans to their own devices. Issuing a bombastic proclamation, Ellenborough tried to cover the failure of the adventure by pomp and pageantry: he even brought back with

Afghan War. 1839-1842.

great solemnity a set of gates which the Afghans had carried off many years before from a Hindu temple. It was quickly rumoured that these gates were forgeries, and the bombastic Governor-General found himself a general laughing-stock.

Though the Afghan policy had been a failure, British power was soon carried up to the mountain wall, the natural frontier of India. Ellenborough had been annoyed at the behaviour of the Amirs of Sind, and he quickly quarrelled with them, accusing them of breaches of various agreements. But the real reason for the attack on Sind was Ellenborough's great desire to do something to restore British prestige after the Afghan fiasco. After a short campaign Sind was annexed, and a violent controversy broke out as to the truth of the story that the Amirs had been guilty of intrigues against British power.

Capture of Sind. 1843.

The Punjab, however, as long as Ranjit Singh was alive, remained on friendly terms with the British Government, and even after his death in 1839 peace continued for some time. But as soon as the strong hold of Ranjit Singh was removed, trouble began in the Punjab: quarrels between rival leaders, and palace revolutions, weakened the state, while the army got completely out of hand. Committees of five in each regiment, elected by the soldiers themselves, controlled all their officers, and finally in November, 1845, the so-called government encouraged the army in an attack on British territory, in the hope of ending the anarchy. The Sikh army was by far the best native army in India, and had its leaders been faithful to the cause it might have done serious damage. As it was the war was short, but very bloody; within eight weeks no fewer than four pitched battles had been fought, but the victory of Sobraon (February, 1846) was really the end of the war. In settling the Punjab Lord Hardinge determined against annexation. He recognised Kashmir, which had been conquered by Ranjit Singh, as a separate state, and made an alliance with its ruler. But the Punjab itself was to remain an independent state: the Sikh army was disbanded, and a British force was only left there for a year, on the urgent request of the Sikhs themselves. Hardinge explained his policy to the Sikh leaders. "The

First Sikh War. 1845–1846.

British Government does not desire to interfere in your internal affairs . . . you will become an independent and prosperous state. The success or failure is in your own hands." The attempt, however, ended in failure, for the disbanded army were eager to seize any opportunity of reasserting their power, while the weakness of a regency allowed the local Sirdars to become very independent. At last, in 1848, the trouble came to a head, a Sirdar named Sher Singh revolted, and was helped by the disbanded army of the Sikhs and by the Afghans. Early in January the British Army fought a dearly-won battle at Chillianwallah, and a month later destroyed the Sikh army at Guzerat. Lord Dalhousie, who was now the Governor-General, determined at once to annex the Punjab, and within a few years it became the model province of British India.

Second Sikh War. 1848-1849.

With the final settlement of the Punjab, British power in India extended nearly as far as it does to-day; but besides this external expansion there had been going on a less obvious movement, but one that was quite as important for the future of the country. By the time of Wellesley's conquests, men had begun to realise that, for better or worse, the British position in India had entirely altered. The British power now extended over many millions of Indians, and thoughtful men began to ask themselves what principle should guide Britain in her treatment of the natives? Now that this great power had been acquired, how was it to be used? In India this problem was faced by a group of energetic servants of the Company, who were constantly brought into touch with the natives during great inquiries made for settling the land revenue in different conquered territories. These statesmen realised that no good was to be gained by sweeping away wholesale native customs and native laws; and they showed a sympathetic attempt to understand the native point of view which recalls the best days of Warren Hastings. In England, too, the charter of the Company was only granted for a term of years, and on each application for renewal the whole policy of the Company was critically examined and new principles of government laid down. The liberal ideas of the early nineteenth century

New problems to be faced.

influenced this development, and statesmen in India tried to translate these principles into practice.

Thus in 1813 the Company was authorised to make provision for education from its surplus funds, but there was a lengthy delay in carrying out this policy, for a dispute arose as to whether English or a classical Eastern tongue, such as Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian, should be used in the teaching. The latter proposal was upheld by several famous civil servants, who objected to a policy of Anglicising India, but it was opposed by Indians who were interested in educational work. English was at last adopted, and it has become a *lingua franca* for educated Indians throughout the world. Thus there were established government secondary schools and colleges, which later developed into Universities, though it is but a very small fraction of the vast population who are reached by this means. The true pioneers of education, however, were the missionaries, both Scotch and English, who were flocking into India, and their colleges are still an important part of the Indian educational system. In 1833 a legal member was added to the Governor-General's Council, and he was instructed to codify the law. Macaulay was the first holder of this post, and the Act instructed him to show due regard "to the rights, feelings, and peculiar usages of the People."

Education.

Law.

Meanwhile, the degrading customs which had long been practised by the Hindus had called for attention. Although it was feared that there might be strong opposition, Lord William Bentinck boldly decided to put down the cruel practice of sati, or the burning alive of the widow on her husband's bier. Bentinck argued that sati was no part of the original Hindu worship, and in this he was supported by the more enlightened Indians themselves. Thus a policy of quiet suppression was begun which proved successful.

Sati.

But broader questions still were being discussed. In 1824 Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, recorded his opinion as follows: "We should look upon India, not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall . . . become sufficiently

enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it." The actual trend of affairs was turning the Company more and more into an instrument for the new government of India—an instrument checked and supervised by Parliament. In 1823, when renewing the charter, Parliament abolished the trade monopoly of the Company except in tea and in the China trade, and thus British traders were allowed to go freely to India. Ten years later the great Act of 1833 abolished the Company's trading powers altogether. This Act also regulated the selection and training of the Company's civil servants, and gave to the Governor-General the new title of "Governor-General in India." But more important still, it defined the relation of Indians to the machinery of government. No native shall "by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any Place, Office, or Employment under the said Company." This regulation must be read in conjunction with the statement made by the Parliamentary Committee in the same year, when they declared it "an indisputable principle that the interests of the Native Subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, whenever the two come in competition." However far actual accomplishment may have fallen short of these two statements of principle, they stand as reasoned declarations of the ideal at which British rule in India should aim.

Act of 1833. Company ceases to trade.

Lord Dalhousie was only thirty-five when he became Governor-General in 1848, but he had already made his mark in politics at home. A Scotchman of tireless energy, and with a vigorous and far-seeing intellect, he was to leave his stamp on India; during the seven years of his rule he worked himself almost to death, striving to bring the benefits of Western civilisation to the East. His famous saying at the outbreak of the second Sikh War is characteristic of the man: "The Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance." At the end of the war he annexed the Punjab, and threw himself into the task of developing his conquest with equal zeal: he

Dalhousie. 1848–1856.

(1) Punjab annexed and organised. 1849.

chose John Lawrence, the most famous of the Lawrence brothers, to organise the new territory. Under Lawrence the Punjab became a model province; a great road was carried right across to the frontier town of Peshawar, while canals for irrigating the country were quickly undertaken. The whole of the civil administration of the province soon became the great example of efficient government; the land tax was reorganised and reduced, while transit duties were abolished. "Jan Lawrents" himself became famous for his impartial justice. In Burma, too, Dalhousie showed his efficiency. The continual insults and ill-treatment given by the Burmese Government to British merchants led in 1852 to war, and the whole expedition was so well organised that the campaign was quickly over. Pegu, or Lower Burma, with its great port of Rangoon, was annexed, and here Dalhousie found further scope for his energy.

(2) Burma annexed. 1852.

In his treatment of the native states Dalhousie introduced a new policy. To such a logical mind, impatient of half-measures, Wellesley's policy of the subsidiary alliance was an obvious evil. To Dalhousie it seemed that the protection of the native rajahs merely left them free to squander their revenues on self-indulgence and to ill-treat their subjects. He thought it an obvious advantage to the Indians that they should be under British instead of native rule, and to this end he developed the doctrine of lapse. Instead of following the ancient custom of allowing a native ruler to adopt an heir, he held that when a prince died childless his state "lapsed" to the British rule. In this way he acquired the Bhonsla rajah's state of Nagpur, the state of Jhansi, and the petty state of Satara. He also limited the pensions already granted by the Company to deposed rulers. All this caused much ill-feeling, while his refusal to recognise the ex-Peshwa's adoption of Nana Sahib, and to continue the pension, made the Nana a violent enemy of the British during the days of the Mutiny. Dalhousie even proposed to abolish the title of Mogul, when the old Bahadur Shah should die; but this suggestion seemed so dangerous that he modified it by arranging for the next Mogul to leave the ancient palace at Delhi and to

(3) Doctrine of lapse.

live in the country. Shortly before leaving India Dalhousie deposed the Nawab of Oudh, and annexed that state. This step was forced on the British by the vicious behaviour of the Nawab and the constant misgovernment and disorder in Oudh itself: Dalhousie wished only to assume the administration of the country, but annexation was ordered by the Directors. This was very unpopular with the great landlords, who had been enjoying a feudal independence, and next year Oudh became the hotbed of the great Mutiny.

(4) Oudh annexed. 1856.

But Dalhousie's chief work in India consisted in the introduction or development of Western means of progress, and laying down the lines along which modern India has developed. A mere list of his achievements would be a lengthy one. Above all, he set himself to improve the communications of the country: the Grand Trunk road was pushed on until it stretched right across Northern India, linking Calcutta with the far-distant town of Peshawar just below the Khyber Pass. A great scheme for railway building was drawn up, and work begun, to link the great towns together, while the telegraph was quickly stretched between town and town, until all the important centres were in touch with one another. The post was reorganised, and a letter could now be sent anywhere within British India for less than a penny. The development of river transport was encouraged, harbour works begun, and great canals for transport and for irrigation were constructed. To make sure of a steady supply of competent men, a number of schools of civil engineering were instituted. Nor did Dalhousie neglect agriculture. Tea was introduced into Assam, and the Governor's forecast of its great development has since been amply justified. Forest conservation was begun, while systematic surveys for coal and iron were made.

(5) Social and economic progress.

In social matters, too, Dalhousie was a great reformer: he set himself to improve the state of the prisons, and appointed special inspectors for this purpose. In educational affairs he endeavoured to encourage and improve the vernacular schools, while he started the inquiry which led to the establishment of the first universities. He carried on Bentinck's fight against

sati, and declared that the thags had been practically exterminated: the only thags now known to exist had given up their evil ways and were peaceably employed in making fabrics, some of which had been exhibited in the Great Exhibition of 1851.[1]

Dalhousie left India in 1856, and within a year there broke out the famous Mutiny of the sepoys in the Bengal Army of the East India Company. Although it would be quite wrong to say that the mutiny was wholly due to Dalhousie's policy, there is no doubt that his reforms had much to do with the general unrest which was growing in India. During recent years India had been forced along the road of Western development at a rate which was very alarming to the conservative mind of the Oriental. Vague rumours were afoot, and the employment of sepoys in Afghanistan, or across the seas in Burma, was very unpopular. It was commonly reported that the Government intended to break down the system of caste and to force all men to become Christians. The recent attempt to abolish the custom of sati was regarded by many as part of a general attack on the Hindu system. Dalhousie's policy of lapse was another cause of alarm: not only were the ruling families enraged at losing power in the annexed territories, but their vast crowds of retainers, and all who had hoped to gain profit by their rule, looked askance at the new system. This was especially the case in Oudh, where the local landowners considered themselves very harshly treated by the strict inquiry into titles which had been begun. The very development of mechanical inventions caused alarm, and as men saw the telegraph and the railway line spread their grip on India they shuddered and whispered in awestruck tones about this new magic which the British were introducing into India. The general feeling of discontent was kept alive by rumours in every bazaar of British defeats during the Crimean War, and it only needed some spark to set the fire alight. This came with the story of the greased cartridges.

Causes of Mutiny.

The army of the Honourable East India Company was composed partly of European regiments and partly of sepoys.

[1] See Dalhousie's famous Minute in Muir's *Making of British India*, p. 352.

The Indian battalions were recruited from Hindus and from Mohammedans, and had both native and British officers, though the huts of the latter were always separated in cantonments from those of the Indians. There were also Imperial troops stationed in India, but at the outbreak of the Mutiny there were only some 43,000 European troops as against 233,000 Indians. This was not Dalhousie's fault, for he had asked in vain that the regiments which had been called away to the Crimea should be replaced. A new rifle was issued to these troops in place of the old Brown Bess, with a cartridge which rumour said was greased with the fat of cows and swine: as the men had to bite the cartridge before loading, both Hindu and Moslem would be defiled. Feeling grew quickly, for the sepoys saw in the new ammunition part of a deliberate attack upon their caste, and in several places there were threats of trouble.

It was at Meerut, a great military station near Delhi, that the first serious outbreak occurred. Here, on May 10th, 1857, the sepoys mutinied, murdered indiscriminately any Europeans they could find, and set off for Delhi. The hesitation of the commander at Meerut, who had several European regiments, with cavalry and guns at his disposal, allowed the mutineers to reach Delhi unpursued and to persuade the sepoys there to join their cause and proclaim again the puppet Mogul as ruler of India. Thus a military mutiny had now become a political revolution: its success would depend upon how far the Moslem princes would rally to the Mogul. Meanwhile, at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, a similar mutiny had broken out; the sepoys there joined with the discontented townsfolk to besiege Sir Henry Lawrence, who had collected all the Europeans behind the walls of the Residency. The whole of Oudh, led by the discontented landowners, was in rebellion. At Cawnpore a ghastly tragedy had been enacted. The local mutineers had been persuaded by Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the old Peshwa, to return and besiege the small European garrison. By treachery the Nana massacred the British soldiers, who were being sent down the Ganges under an armistice. The women and children he retained as hostages, only to murder them with horrid

Mogul proclaimed at Delhi. 1857.

brutality when an advancing column under Havelock threatened Cawnpore.

To meet this terrible crisis men were sent from Ceylon, from the Cape, and from England; but before they arrived the mutiny was already in hand. Canning, the Governor-General, at once realised the importance of Delhi, to which centre mutineers were making their way from all parts, and he sent what troops he had to attack the place. At first they were too few, but when John Lawrence was able to reinforce them with men from the Punjab, the city was carried by storm. This was really the turning-point of the Mutiny: once again the Mogul was in British power, but this time he was deposed and sent away into exile as a state prisoner.

Recapture of Delhi. 20th Sept., 1857.

The heroic garrison at Lucknow held out awaiting relief, and this was brought by Henry Havelock. A poor man, who was unable to purchase promotion, Havelock had grown grey as a subaltern officer, but at last his service and skill had brought him to the front: he was a fine soldier and a good Christian, and won a great name both for himself and for his "saints," as men called his regiment with humorous admiration. With but 2000 men Havelock fought his way to Cawnpore in the heat of summer, and then crossed into Oudh, but was forced to fall back on Cawnpore by the sickness of his men. Reinforced there by Outram, who, though his senior officer, volunteered to serve under his command, Havelock fought his way on to Lucknow, and after desperate street-fighting in the suburbs managed to reach the Residency. But the relieving force was too few to carry away the beleaguered garrison, and for some weeks they had to await the arrival of another column. Meanwhile Sir Colin Campbell, a veteran commander sent out from England, pushed on to Lucknow, and after six months of gallant and desperate defence the brave garrison were at last taken to a place of safety. The stamping out of the Mutiny was now only a question of time. Campbell undertook a thorough campaign in Oudh, where he broke up the mutineers and restored order. Sir Hugh Rose, starting from Bombay, had marched through the difficult hill country of Central India. Just as his task

seemed completed, one of Nana Sahib's generals persuaded the Mahratta army of Sindhia to revolt and to proclaim the Nana as Peshwa. This definite bid for Mahratta support might have proved very dangerous, but it was quickly crushed by Sir Hugh Rose.

The Mutiny was thus a military revolt which took on a political significance by the proclamation of the Mogul at Delhi, and by the claims of Nana Sahib to be recognised as Peshwa of the Mahrattas. It failed chiefly because of the attitude of the native princes of India: the Mahratta chieftains gave the Nana no support, and Sindhia even fled from his capital rather than join his treacherous army. In South India, too, the Nizam and other rulers remained loyal to the Company. But the loyalty of the Punjab, which had only been conquered some eight years before, was of the greatest importance. Under John Lawrence's bold and tactful handling the sepoy regiments were disarmed, the Sikh population remained quiet, and Lawrence was soon able to send those much-needed reinforcements to Delhi which made possible the recapture of that great city. The Amir of Afghanistan, too, remained true to his treaties, and the north-west was secure; while from Nepal came contingents of Gurkhas, those hardy hillmen who proudly claim to be brothers-in-arms of the English rifle regiments. There is yet another important reason for the failure of the Mutiny: England was fortunate in possessing a number of able soldiers at her call, while the mutineers had hardly a leader of distinction, and though they were well trained and excellently armed, they failed before the attack of British troops. Thus the great Mutiny came to an end, and with it ended the Company, for the Imperial Parliament decided to take over direct control of India and to dissolve the East India Company.

Books.—See Note to Chapter IV. W. W. Hunter, *The Marquis of Dalhousie* [Rulers of India]. Personal reminiscences of the Mutiny in Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India*. Other Mutiny records are available in Nelson's series, *e.g.* G. W. Sherer, *Havelock's March*, etc.

1823. East India Company trading monopoly abolished.
1833. East India Company ceases to trade but remains a governing body.

1839–1842. First Afghan War.
1848–1849. Second Sikh War. [Punjab annexed.]
1848–1856. Lord Dalhousie Viceroy: great reforms.
1857. The Mutiny.

CHAPTER XIV

India since the Mutiny, 1858–1920

THE Act of 1858, which dissolved the East India Company, was merely the end of a long series of Acts limiting the Company's powers, and did not disturb the administrative system in India itself. In this sense the change was more apparent than real, but in some ways the change was fundamental. While the Company still existed it was subjected, every time that its charter was renewed, to a most searching inquiry by an independent body, a committee appointed by Parliament. Under the new system this was altered: instead of a periodic inquiry there was to be rendered annually by the Government of India a report on the Material and Moral Progress of the Country. Such a report was bound to become more and more formal, and the disappearance of inquiry by non-officials has been a great loss.

Results of Act of 1858.

The Act created a Secretary of State for India, to take the place of the President of the Board of Control, and gave him a Council with duties of advice and assistance which replaced the old Court of Directors. In India the Governor-General became the Viceroy, but his higher title did not endow him with greater powers. The disappearance of the Company meant that the Viceroy had one master instead of two: he could no longer play off the Board of Control against the Directors. Indeed, the improvement of communications and the telegraph brought India much nearer to London and the Viceroy much more under the thumb of the Secretary. In England the new arrangement gave greater powers to the

Secretary: he could act direct, instead of through the Company, and although he was supposed to consult with his Council on all important business, this was no effective check, and some secretaries are said to have treated their Council in a very autocratic way.

Under the Company the Civil Service had become a most efficient department, and after the early reforms of Hastings had developed an increasing tradition of purity and honest administration. The men it produced obtained a name throughout all India for their just and upright dealings, and it grew into the greatest bureaucratic system in the world. Many of the best brains in Britain are chosen annually by competitive examination for this work, and they go out to India to devote their lives to the service of that country. As an alternative to misrule by irresponsible chieftains or rapacious officials, government by skilled administrators responsible to an official superior was a great advance, but bureaucracy has its drawbacks, and the problem of obtaining intelligent and effective criticism of the administration became increasingly difficult after the Mutiny. The results of the disappearance of the Company in 1858 are, therefore, not entirely satisfactory, and after sixty years of great administrative development means are being sought to revive some of the better parts of the old regime, and to modify the grip of the bureaucratic system.

When the duties of the Company were transferred to the Crown, India consisted, as it does to-day, of two great divisions. First there is British India, made up of the three old presidencies enlarged by later conquests, and of a number of other provinces—such as the Punjab and Assam—which had been acquired by the Company. In each of these a separate government had been organised with a governor or commissioner at its head, who was helped by the usual executive council, and assisted in the details of administration by the Civil Service. Above all these separate governments was the Government of India, represented by the Viceroy with his Council, who had his headquarters at Calcutta, or in the summer at the hill station of Simla. These provinces were the only part of India

British India.

ruled directly by the British, and here only were the great works of irrigation and development carried out by the direct effort of the Government.

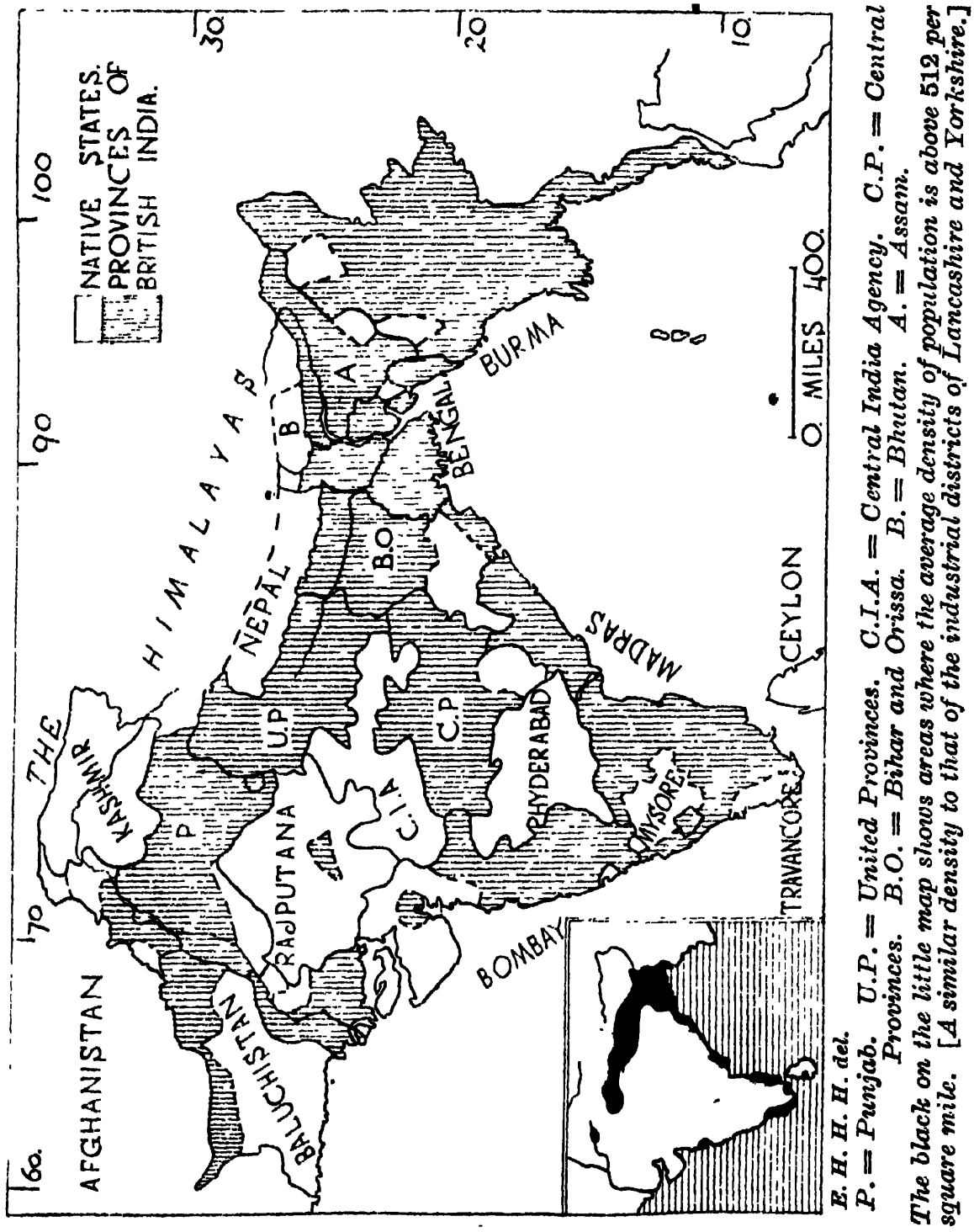
The rest of India is composed of native states varying in size from petty principalities consisting of a few backward villages to countries as big as European states, with as many as twelve million inhabitants. The native states play an important part in India, for they comprise about a third of its area and contain nearly a quarter of the total population. Dalhousie's policy had been to absorb these states whenever possible within the direct administration of British India, but that policy was repudiated by Canning in 1859, and since then Britain has worked to preserve the native states, restoring both Baroda and Mysore to native rulers after they had been administered for a time by the Government of India owing to the bad government of their rajahs. This new policy has met with great success, for the native states have formed a useful half-way house where the problems of East and West can be worked out under joint supervision. The native princes have proved very loyal to their engagements, and when in 1877 Disraeli arranged that the Queen should be proclaimed Empress of India, he gave a personal tinge to the rather abstract idea of the Government of India. At home Disraeli's proposal was derided as a piece of useless bombast, but he appreciated truly the importance of pageantry and colour in dealing with the East. The native states are bound to the British Raj by a variety of treaties, which guarantee their external security and the independence of the prince in internal affairs. The British Resident at the native court has a task requiring great tact and common-sense: he must not appear to infringe the independence of the prince, and yet he must endeavour to persuade him to good government and honest treatment of his subjects. In many states the chiefs are so progressive that the principal reforms of British India have been introduced, while others are still in a primitive state of patriarchal life. This strange medley of semi-independent states, some large, some small, but all owning the suzerainty of the British power, is an integral part of the British system in India.

The Native States.

The British Resident at the native court.

Thus the main lines of British power were already laid down by 1858, and have remained practically the same until to-day. Externally, too, there has been but little alteration, for with the annexation of the Punjab the natural frontiers of India had been reached. But the

Frontier policy.



trouble on the north-west frontier was still a source of alarm. Fear of Russia was still uppermost in men's minds, and soldiers

discussed whether it were best to meet the enemy on the line of the Indus, in the foothills of the Himalayas, or beyond the mountains on the further side of Afghanistan. This latter suggestion had many champions, but it needed one thing that was impossible to obtain, and this was the permission of the Amir of Afghanistan. Successive chiefs were firm in wishing to exclude both British and Russian influence, and when in 1876 the Viceroy, anxious to defeat the Russian schemes, urged the Amir to receive a British Resident, he was met with a polite refusal. Meanwhile in Europe, Russia and Britain were at loggerheads. After a successful war against Turkey, Russia had made that country sign the Treaty of San Stefano, but this agreement seemed too favourable to Russia, and at the Berlin Congress Beaconsfield forced her to amend it (July, 1878). As part of the diplomatic duel Russia sent an embassy into Afghanistan, and rather unnecessarily this was made a pretext for war with the Amir.

Afghan War, 1878–1881.

At first success crowned British schemes; the Amir fled and died in exile, and his son Yakub Khan made an alliance with the British. But soon the troubles of 1841 were repeated, the British Resident at Kabul was murdered and a period of bitter fighting set in, during which Roberts made his famous march from Kabul to Kandahar—318 miles in 23 days. In England Gladstone had returned to power in 1880, and the Liberal Government wished to withdraw from Afghanistan as soon as possible. Ripon, the new Viceroy, realised the impossibility of trying to force a weak ruler on a discontented nation: a bold step was taken, and Abdurrahman, who had for several years been an exile with the Russians, was recognised as Amir. The policy was entirely successful; the new ruler was supplied with arms and money, and all through his life remained loyal to his engagements. A few years later the British and Russians by mutual agreement defined the borders of Afghanistan, and it was recognised that no violation of that frontier by the Russians would be allowed.

Despite the friendship between the Amir and the British, there has been frequent trouble on the border with the wild tribes of the hills. Peshawar, the frontier station, has had to

send small expeditions to punish their aggressions; while the great pass is watched by the Khyber Rifles. The importance of this protective work, and the necessity of guarding the frontier, was recognised by Lord Curzon in 1901, when he organised this border-land as a special frontier province, but the fear of Russian aggression has steadily decreased, and the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 did much to smooth away misunderstandings.

In one place only has British power in India been widely extended since the Mutiny, and that is in Burma. Once again the bad behaviour of the Burmese Government, its ill-treatment of merchants, and its deliberate refusal of compensation or improvement led to war, and the matter was brought to a head by the knowledge that the King of Burma was negotiating a treaty with France. Mandalay was occupied within ten days after the troops left Rangoon, and the Government of India determined to do away with the source of trouble. The whole of Upper Burma, all that was now left of the Burmese Kingdom, was annexed, and became a part of British India.

(2) Burmese War. 1885-1886.

"With respect to the frontier raids," wrote Dalhousie in 1856, "they are and must for the present be viewed as events inseparable from the state of society which for centuries past has existed among the mountain tribes. They are no more to be regarded as interruptions of the general peace in India than the street brawls which appear among the everyday proceedings of a police-court in London are to be regarded as indications of the existence of civil war in England." This is equally true of the smaller frontier wars which have occurred since the Mutiny, for though in some cases they have proved both difficult and expensive, they are really only police operations on a large scale.

(3) Frontier Wars.

India is almost entirely an agricultural country: in England ninety per cent. of the population live in large towns, while in India the number is only ten per cent., and there are only some nine cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants. Most of the people earn their living as agriculturalists, often farming a few acres with the greatest care and patience. The old village community was a self-sufficing

Economic development.

unit, but the introduction of roads and railways is working a change in India, and by opening distant markets is altering the life of the country. India produces large quantities of cotton, while the tea which was introduced by Dalhousie into Assam has become a most important staple crop. Jute for the mills of Dundee, and rice from the paddy-fields of Burma, are other staple products of India.

When the Company first traded with India it brought back cotton goods woven on hand-looms by native workers, which competed with the woollen manufactures of England. Gradually the cotton industry grew in England and began to find a market for its goods in India, and with the introduction of machinery the English cotton goods quickly beat the Indian hand-made cloths. Lately, however, machinery has been set up in India, and a growing number of cotton-mills around Bombay are weaving the coarser cloths, in competition with the looms of Lancashire. Jute mills, too, have been built, and thus the raw material is manufactured on the spot.

The decay of the native industries is a constant text of the Indian Nationalist, who sees in the whole process a deliberate attempt to destroy local manufactures for the benefit of English mills. From the same point of view he condemns the adoption of a Free Trade policy, which was undertaken in 1878. The Lancashire millowners were most anxious to have the Indian import duty on cotton goods abolished, and their agitation was successful, though the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, declared that he only supported the proposal because he was convinced that a policy of Free Trade would be of great value for India as a whole. A small import duty was imposed in 1898, but it was balanced by a corresponding excise. Recently, however, India has commenced a policy of protection by removing the excise.

Since 1858 the whole administrative system of British India has become increasingly efficient. Great attention is given to the peasant cultivator, for the largest part of the Indian revenue comes from the land tax, and the peasant is the backbone of India. The whole question of land tenures has been carefully examined; the rules as to borrowing money, and as to the acquiring of land by

Administrative work.

purchase, have been regulated so that the peasant shall not fall into the hands of the money-lender or the speculator. Irrigation schemes are in operation in many places, while the canals in the Punjab have turned a desert into a fruitful countryside, and a million farmers are settled along their banks.

But the Government has had to face a terrible problem in dealing with the famines which occur in India at intervals, owing to the failure of the rains. India is so great a country that drought does not afflict the whole land at one time. Thus there is food if it can be brought to the sufferers. This is now undertaken by Government, and by means of roads and railways the famine districts are relieved, and public works opened for the employment of the able-bodied men who are out of work for the time being. The regulations for dealing with a drought are drawn up in the famine code, and any part of India can be given relief at a short notice. Though the more accurate statistics which are now compiled bring home the horrors of a drought, the new administration has altered the real meaning of famine, for in the old days the inhabitants of vast districts were swept away by literal starvation. In another matter there has been less success, and the plague which first appeared in India in 1896 has not yet been stamped out of existence.

All this special work, as well as the whole of the ordinary administrative work of British India, is carried out and supervised by the members of the Civil Service. The district officer, who is responsible for a tract of country often larger than an English county, is primarily responsible for collecting the revenue and maintaining the peace, the two essential functions of the old government. But his activities are never ended; he supervises the change in holdings, he arranges for loans to agriculturists who need them, he is a magistrate and responsible for the control of the inferior courts, and when necessary he arranges for famine relief. To the people of India he is the living embodiment of the mysterious power of government, and on his energy and honesty their welfare generally depends.

The work of the district officer.

As a natural reaction against this very efficient system of

bureaucratic government there has grown up in India since the Mutiny the Nationalist movement. The result of the clash of East and West, and of the introduction of Western education, was at first a tendency among educated Indians to despise their own civilisation, and to study and adopt Western ideas and Western ways. Now, however, although the high-caste Hindus are crowding into the Indian universities so fast that it is quite impossible to deal with them properly, there is a revival of Hindu religion and "national" ideals A new generation has grown up which does not remember India before the days of British control, and this generation has become very critical of the good results of British rule. Often in their eagerness to prove the greatness of their own people, the Nationalist writers draw a rosy picture of the past which would surprise their ancestors could they see it. This growth of criticism is the natural result of the development of education which has been fostered by the British for over a century, and its very existence is good, so long as it is reasonable and honest. The system of education in India has helped the Nationalist movement in two very distinct ways. The great decision that English should form the basis of instruction has given educated Indians a common language, a thing they never possessed before: while the very books which they read in their study of English—Burke, Macaulay, and such writers —have introduced their minds to new ideas, and moulded their political demands. The young Indian graduate has been brought up on British ideas of freedom and responsible government, and when he criticises the government of India he does so with the unmeasured vehemence and even the phrases of Burke. This development has only been possible since Britain has maintained peace and the rule of law in India, for as yet there is no such thing as an Indian nation. But the long period of peace has given a chance for educated people to think, and thus there is growing up, chiefly among the students of the universities, a feeling of unity, and a vague groping after methods of expression. Part of the discontent with the present system is due to the great numbers of students turned out yearly by

Nationalist movement.

Effect of Western education—

—and period of peace.

the universities, often with only a superficial training, who are unable to find posts of a kind to which they feel themselves entitled.

The Nationalists generally claim three main reforms. They wish for the grant of responsible government on the same lines as it exists in the Dominions of the Empire. They claim a very much larger share in the actual administration of their country; and while the thoughtful Nationalist does not wish to expel the British element from the Civil Service altogether, he wishes to restrict it as far as possible. Lastly, the Nationalist wishes to place a protective tariff on imported manufactures in the hope of encouraging the development of Indian industries.

Nationalist claims.

These demands have been gradually developed, but a great impetus was given to the growth of native claims by the rule of Lord Ripon, who was Viceroy from 1880 to 1884. The Viceroy was a confirmed Liberal who had previously held office as Secretary of State for India, and he came to his new post determined to infuse a liberal element into the machinery of government. It was Ripon who made peace with Afghanistan and who handed back Mysore to a native dynasty, but his social and political activities were still more important. He was anxious to encourage the development of local self-government, and so arranged for the election of district boards whose duties were to consist of the organisation of local administration; but here Ripon's faith was only partly justified, for the local boards were often quite incompetent, and were alarmed at his attempt to limit the power of the district officer. Ripon also proposed to extend the jurisdiction of native judges so that they could try Europeans, and this proposal raised a storm of protest from the Anglo-Indians which was hotly re-echoed at home. But what was perhaps the most far-reaching of Ripon's reforms was his repeal of the Press restrictions. By this means the native press was freed from harassing limitations, and at once enabled to develop freely. Unfortunately the vernacular press quickly became an instrument of violent and scurrilous abuse and exercised a thoroughly pernicious influence.

Ripon's policy. 1880–1884.

Ripon's policy, and the opposition which it had created among the Anglo-Indians, awoke the feelings of educated Indians, and they began to organise themselves to express their opinions. In 1885 there was founded the Indian National Congress which has since played a large part in Indian politics. From the first the Mohammedans regarded the Congress with suspicion, and it was composed almost entirely of high-caste Hindus, self-elected and representing the small but vociferous class of people educated in Western ideas. The Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, had encouraged the Congress, hoping that it would act as a safety-valve and assist the Government by turning its attention to questions of social reform. But the members of Congress soon found themselves at differences over such vital questions, though they all agreed on the need for political reform, and so they clamoured at once for a larger share in the administration and for the development of Parliamentary government. Meanwhile the improvement of communications had made such meetings much more easy; the congress habit grew, and meetings of every sort were frequently held. They were attended often by the same individuals, the professional classes, and the lawyers found a special delight in framing high-sounding resolutions, though they generally refrained from proposing practical reforms.

The National Congress. 1885.

Although India was an autocracy, there were not wanting the germs of a constitutional system: besides the District Boards of Ripon's time, and the municipalities of the larger towns, there had also been formed a series of legislative councils. In the old days, the Governor had possessed power to legislate by ordinance, but in Dalhousie's time a special Legislative Council for India was inaugurated, which consisted of the Governor-General's executive council strengthened by members from the other Presidencies. After the Mutiny this system was found to be clumsy, and by the Act of 1861 separate legislative councils were set up for the Provinces, as well as for the Government of India, and some Indians were appointed as members. These Councils, however, were not to be little parliaments; they had no right to ask questions or to deal with any matters except such laws as

might be laid before them. The growth of liberal ideas in England, and the demands of the Indians themselves, soon led to yet another change. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 arranged for the election by municipalities and by district boards of certain members for the Legislative Councils, though the right of election was thinly veiled by the use of the term "nomination." The powers of the Councils too were enlarged; they were allowed to discuss and to ask questions, but the Government retained an official majority by its appointed members, and could thus always control the business if it was considered necessary.

Act of 1892.

The Congress movement and the vague demands put forward by the Indian progressives met with but little help or encouragement from the great Civil Service in India. Some of the officials who had worked for so many years for the good government of the country had lost their sense of proportion; they thought of an efficient bureaucratic government as an end in itself. This lack of imagination, and the half measures of the Act of 1892, encouraged a violent movement among the extremists of the Nationalist party. They began to agitate against the methods and even the aims of British rule, they condemned the constitutional action of the Congress party, and they preached the necessity of crime to bring about their political ends. Affairs were now in such a state that it needed but a spark to set the straw alight, and there came not one spark, but a whole shower. Lord Curzon as Viceroy had wished to improve the administration of Bengal, and for this purpose had divided that province into two. In this striving after efficiency he ignored the loudly expressed sentiments of the Bengalis, and his action quickly led to trouble. The great victory of the Japanese over the Russians (1904–1905) showed that Europeans were not always invincible when fighting Orientals, while the Russian demand for an elected Parliament seemed to mark the triumph of liberal ideas. All these events had a great effect on India. An immense flood of enthusiasm poured through the towns of Northern India; students crowded to Japan to learn from this new Eastern country the secrets of regeneration, while in India numerous small factories

Growth of unrest.

Swadeshi movement.

were set up in the hope of doing without British manufactures, which were subjected to a widespread boycott. A sinister side to the movement was the wave of criminal agitation which swept across the country. Officials were assassinated, even Indians, if in Government employ. Bands of schoolboys were organised to commit outrages, and their associations were placed under the protection of Shiva or Kali, while the memory of the old Mahratta chieftain Shivaji was revived, and his veneration organised as a cult throughout the Mahratta country. Against this storm of anarchy the Government stood firm, but while it endeavoured to repress the evils of the movement, it had nothing to offer in answer to the more reasonable of the Indian demands.

Such was the situation which confronted the Liberal Government which came into power in England in 1906. True to their oft-asseverated principles they were bound to look with sympathy on liberal movements wherever they occurred, but anarchy and crime had to be suppressed. John Morley, the new Secretary for India, grasped the situation with a firm hand; side by side with measures of repression he carried out a scheme for the reform of the Legislative Councils, by which their size was enlarged, and in the Provincial Councils the official majority was abolished. Other alterations were made, an Indian was appointed to the Viceroy's executive Council and two Indians to the Secretary's Council in London. These reforms, however, proved of little real value. The elected members were really chosen by extremely few constituents, and in the councils they were cursed with the possession of power without responsibility; power to criticise every action of the Government, without the responsibility of formulating or carrying out any definite policy. The provincial governments, too, were closely controlled by the Government of India, which in turn was increasingly directed from Whitehall. In 1911 the Partition of Bengal was rescinded by the King-Emperor in person at a great Durbar at Delhi, and at the same time the Government of India was removed from Calcutta to the ancient capital of Delhi.

Morley-Minto Reforms. 1909.

Delhi Durbar. 1911.

It was the influence of the Great War of 1914 which raised

again the question of the future of India, and raised it in a form which called for a definite declaration of policy. The claim of the Allies that they were fighting on behalf of liberty was echoed in India, and the part played by India in the war led to her recognition in the War Cabinet: it was obvious that in any readjustment of Imperial relations the claims of India would have to be seriously considered. In the early days of the war India had been vaguely promised large reforms, but as time went on and the promises took no practical form people began to be impatient. At last, in 1916, at Lucknow, the National Congress drew up a definite scheme of political reform which practically amounted to Dominion Home Rule. At the same time the Moslem League, a body which had been formed in the agitation of 1906, agreed to the same scheme. This alliance between Hindu and Moslem extremists was important, for usually the two religions are bitterly hostile.

Effect of War in India. 1914.

In England the Secretary of State for India made a statement in the House of Commons on August 20th, 1916. "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This definite statement of policy laid down the principles which were in future to guide the relations between Britain and India, and thus it marks a turning-point in Indian constitutional development. The Secretary for India and the Viceroy carried out an inquiry to see what "substantial steps" towards self-government could be taken at once. They recommended a system of modified responsible government in the provinces, by which a number of "transferred" subjects, such as agriculture, education, local self-government, etc., should be dealt with by native ministers, helped by an enlarged council. "Reserved" subjects should still be left to the bureaucratic heads of departments. By this means they hoped to train Indians through responsibility

Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 1918.

to fit themselves for further power. The Government of India itself still remains a bureaucracy, though the Legislative Council is to be reorganised on parliamentary lines. A much greater number of Indians are to be admitted to the services. Finally, Parliament is to undertake a periodical inquiry into the working of the scheme, and to make the necessary adjustments, and place further subjects under popular control as it may see fit.

On paper the scheme may appear clumsy and difficult to work, but it is an attempt to train people in the art of self-government by giving them the great burden of responsibility. It is hoped that those who are so anxious to urge reform will realise, by holding office, the difficulties of sweeping changes, and so become practical statesmen. In any case, the working of any scheme of responsible government really depends on the co-operation between the present governors of the country and the educated Indians. Another problem arises from the small number of the educated classes; even a most liberal estimate shows them as a mere fraction of the vast population of India. If the coming changes in government mean only a transfer of power from an efficient bureaucracy to a self-seeking oligarchy of Brahmins or Moslems, who will exploit the peasant, the new developments cannot be for the good of India. But the great task in India will be the creation of an intelligent electorate: at first the most generous estimate can only find a total electorate of five millions out of a population of three hundred and fifteen millions. How far this task is possible the future alone can show, but with the Act of 1919 embodying these reforms India is now entering on a great experiment, the result of which no one can forecast.

Government of India Act, 1919.

Books.—Most of the books on this period are controversial, or else official Government reports and blue-books. T. W. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India* [Home University Library], is an interesting sketch. J. D. Anderson, *Peoples of India* [Cambridge Manuals], gives a brief account of the chief races of India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report contains a useful historical introduction. Easily accessible accounts of some of the frontier wars are published by Nelson, *e.g.* E. Candler, *The Unveiling of Lhasa;* M. Durand, *The Making of a*

Frontier; Winston Churchill, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force.* There is an interesting historical article on India in the *Round Table* No. 29 [Dec. 1917].

1858. East India Company abolished.
1878–1881. Afghan War.
1880–1884. Lord Ripon Viceroy: political reforms.
1904–1905. Russo-Japanese War. Swadéshi movement.
1919. Government of India Act.

CHAPTER XV

The New Egypt

BRITAIN'S interest in Egypt is largely due to her position in India: any country holding Egypt could attack India by way of the Red Sea, and quite cut off all communications with England, except by the long sea route round the Cape. Thus during the nineteenth century it has been Britain's policy to prevent other countries from obtaining control of Egypt. This has not always been easy, for Egypt was part of the Turkish Empire, and during the last century the "sick man of Europe" was rapidly breaking up, and the various European powers were either annexing portions of Turkish territory for themselves or helping to carve out new states such as Greece or Serbia. Britain herself did not at first wish to possess Egypt, and refused the suggestion that she should occupy it, but at last she found herself forced to do this and to supervise the organisation and administration of the country.

Napoleon in Egypt. 1798.

The great Napoleon dreamt of Eastern conquest, and invaded Egypt with a large army, but he soon found that he had to reckon with Britain. Sir Sidney Smith spoilt Napoleon's destiny by holding the little town of Acre in Palestine and so preventing a great Eastern campaign, while Nelson's victory of the Nile destroyed the French fleet. Napoleon realised that his plans had failed, and slipped back to France leaving his army to its fate.

The next great problem which Britain had to face was the growing power of Mehemet Ali. This Albanian adventurer had won his way by skill and the unscrupulous use of military power to the position of Pasha, or Governor of Egypt, and had forced the Sultan to recognise him. He organised an army and a fleet, and began a series of successful campaigns; he conquered the Sudan, he seized Palestine, and even threatened the Sultan himself. "We would have conquered Constantinople if you hadn't stopped us," said a dragoman to a British officer in Egypt recently, and this is probably true. Britain stepped in to bolster up the power of Turkey, and Mehemet Ali was forced to stop his victorious conquests; later, when he seemed once more to be determined on an aggressive policy, Britain forced him to withdraw to Egypt and to give back Syria to the Sultan (1841). Although Mehemet's attempts to encourage education, and to increase the trade of his country, show an enlightened policy, yet his love of military expansion cost vast sums of money, and the consequent taxation and government monopolies were ruinous to his people.

Mehemet Ali. 1806–1849.

The disadvantages of the long voyage to India round the Cape were very great, and a quicker route was needed, especially for mails and important passengers. This was found by means of Egypt, and an "overland" route had been established by which the mails were carried from the Mediterranean across the Isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea. Still only a little traffic could go by this route, and men began to revive an ancient scheme for cutting a canal through the isthmus. As early as 1830 the British Government had surveyed the course for a canal, but the plan was not taken up, and it needed the energy and imagination of a Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, to push the scheme to success. So doubtful were the British of the proposal, that the Government took no shares in the company which was floated, and it was even feared that a canal would divert the world's traffic so greatly that London would become a mere backwater. In 1869 the Canal was opened, and the sea route from England to India was thus shortened by some four thousand miles, though at first sailing ships made little use of the new route.

Suez Canal. 1869.

With the great development of steamships the Canal soon became a huge success, for coal was so dear that it was well worth while to save the money by paying Canal dues. The British Government soon changed its ideas about the canal. In 1875, only six years after it was opened, Disraeli seized the opportunity to buy all the Canal shares held by Ismail, the extravagant Pasha of Egypt. By this bold move the British obtained a large interest in the canal itself and a say in its administration. The Canal is still administered by a company, but for practical purposes it is run on an international basis: it has been declared neutral in case of war; and no distinction is made between any nation in the levy of Canal tolls. These rules for the status of the Suez Canal were taken as the basis for the rules for the new Panama Canal.

The development of trade with India and the East by way of the Canal, and the growth of Australia and New Zealand, gave Britain an entirely new interest in Egypt, but it was a very different series of events that made Britain the controlling power in Egypt. Mehemet Ali's grandson Ismail became Pasha in 1863, and soon after received the title of Khedive, or Viceroy, from the Sultan. Ismail was a man of most extravagant tastes and wasteful habits; he borrowed money wherever he was able, and spent it with reckless abandon. In the thirteen years from 1863 to 1876, he had increased the public debt of Egypt from three million to eighty-nine million pounds. The whole of Egypt was groaning under a system of oppressive taxation, and those who had subscribed to the various loans feared that they would never see their money again. Under these circumstances, the two powers most interested, Britain and France, conducted an inquiry into the finances of the country. Ismail was deposed in 1879, and succeeded by his son Tewfik, while the Dual Control of Britain and France was established to secure that a rigid economy was carried out in the finances of the country. This arrangement was brought to an end in Egypt by an outbreak of violence which was due to various causes. The necessary financial reforms were distasteful to many, while the army was full of discontented officers; feeling was aroused against Western interference, and a move-

The Dual Control. 1879-1882.

ment broke out under Arabi Bey, an Egyptian officer, which led to riot and bloodshed. Arabi adopted the catchwords of Western progress: he claimed Egypt for the Egyptians, and demanded that the Khedive should accept "responsible" ministers, of which number he was of course to be one, and thus he gained the ear of many Western liberals. The British Government under Gladstone was loth to interfere: it negotiated with the other powers, it called an international conference, and finally the British and French fleets sailed to Alexandria. Here matters came to a head: riots had broken out, and a demand was made that Arabi should stop making fortifications. When this was refused the forts were bombarded, and a little later sailors were landed to restore order in the town, which Arabi had given up to blood and pillage. Thus England found herself committed to restoring order in Egypt, but she had to do the work single-handed, for before the bombardment the French fleet had withdrawn. With much reluctance Gladstone sent troops to Port Saïd, whence Sir Garnet Wolseley led his men first to the lines of Tel-el-Kebir, which were successfully carried, and thence to the capital, where Arabi surrendered.

Arabi's rebellion. 1882.

Thus British power was established in Egypt; but it had been officially declared that the only object of this expedition was to re-establish the power of the Khedive. This was true, for Gladstone was most reluctant to increase Britain's Imperial responsibilities, but the logic of facts forced Britain to take over the control of the country. The Dual Control was gone: the country was disorganised by Arabi's rebellion, while the state of affairs in the Sudan was very threatening. Thus Britain was forced to stay in Egypt, at least until a new organisation was built up, and as time went on her responsibilities for Egyptian progress became increasingly great. Early in 1883, Lord Granville, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that it was the duty of the British Government to give the Khedive "advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress." A year later, he explained it was

British occupation.

indispensable that such "advice" should be followed by the Khedive on all important matters.

The man through whom Britain gave this compulsory advice was Lord Cromer, who first went to Egypt under the auspices of the Dual Control to reorganise the finances of the country. From 1883 to 1907 Cromer was British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, and to his wisdom and courage the development and prosperity of modern Egypt are very largely due. When he first went to Egypt he found a country over-burdened with debt, with a down-trodden and exhausted population: he left Egypt a new country, with a sound financial system, an elaborate system of irrigation, and the promise of increasing wealth from the development of the staple crop of cotton.

Lord Cromer (1883–1907): his difficulties.

Cromer's work in Egypt was hampered in many ways by the ill-defined position of Britain and the doubt about the future relations between Britain and Egypt. France particularly was very sore at recent developments. Up till 1882 she had very large interests in Egypt. After Napoleon's defeat French influence was still supreme in Egypt, French officers trained Mehemet Ali's troops, Frenchmen were to be found in every office of his administration, while French archæologists explored the wonders of ancient Egypt. French energy and skill had completed the Suez Canal, and thus opened a new highway between East and West; French money had been largely invested in Egyptian loans, and thus France had been Britain's partner in the Dual Control. But at every turn it seemed that Britain had reaped where France had sown: it was Britain who had foiled Napoleon's schemes, Britain had forced Mehemet back to Egypt, Britain had gained a large interest in the Canal, and now the Dual Control was gone and Britain the established power in Egypt in its place. It was natural for France to feel annoyed, and to forget that the developments of 1882 were due to her own refusal to co-operate with Britain. And French annoyance found expression in a constant attempt to frustrate British policy in Egypt, and in frequent inquiries as to when Britain would fulfil her promise and withdraw from Egypt.

Another difficulty was found in the system set up by the

Dual Control for dealing with Egypt's debt. By the Law of Liquidation of 1880, about half the revenue of Egypt was set aside to reduce the debt and pay the necessary interest, and to manage this affair various international bodies were set up in Egypt. These continued to exist after the establishment of British control, when their usefulness had quite disappeared. Thus Cromer had his hands tied, and it was not till the Anglo-French Entente of 1904 that any alteration could be made.

Another difficulty arose from the old arrangements made between the European powers and Turkey. Fearing the doubtful course of justice in the dominion of the Turk, the various European powers had early made a series of treaties with the Sultan, known as the Capitulations, by which their citizens were exempt from Turkish jurisdiction or taxation. These Capitulations extended to Egypt as part of the Turkish Empire, and thus there were a confusing series of consular courts, which tried cases in which Europeans were concerned, while the Government of Egypt found itself unable to make the Europeans living in Egypt pay their share towards the administration of the country.

But the worst trouble which Cromer had to face was the problem of Egyptian defence against the growing peril of Dervish raids from the Sudan. That country had been conquered by Mehemet Ali, but it was the haunt of slave-traders, who were often in league with the Egyptian rulers. Englishmen such as Gordon, acting under the Egyptian Government, had tried to stamp out the slave trade, but this policy had led to discontent. In 1881 the Mahdi appeared, claiming to be an inspired prophet sent to lead the Sudanese to the conquest of Egypt, and preaching a holy war against Christian and Turk alike. The Egyptian Government found itself powerless to deal with the Mahdi's fanatical supporters; the Egyptian army was in a deplorable state, and more ready to throw down its arms and flee than to face an enemy. The British Government feared to find itself entangled yet more deeply in Africa, and attempted to separate the Sudanese problem from the question of the occupation of Egypt. The defeat of Egyptian troops soon showed them that this was impossible, and they determined to order an evacuation

Loss of the Sudan.

of the Sudan. This policy was unpopular in Egypt, but the British Government sent out General Gordon to carry through this measure (January, 1884). It appears, however, that there was some misunderstanding in the matter, and Gordon, on arriving at Khartum, found himself shut up by the Mahdists. In England the Government was immersed in domestic affairs, and delayed action for month after month in the vain hope that something would turn up. Finally, in August, Lord Wolseley was despatched to Gordon's relief, but the advance was slow in the face of the enemy and the natural difficulties of the Nile and desert. When on January 28, 1885, a light column came in sight of Khartum, they saw the Mahdist flag flying over the town. Gordon had been killed just two days before. Thus the Sudan was evacuated, but hardly in a statesmanlike way: the blow to the Egyptian Government was such that the future reconquest of the Sudan became almost a necessity. In England, too, there was a great outburst of feeling, for Gordon's personality had caught the popular imagination; rightly or wrongly, the country felt that

Death of Gordon. January, 1885.