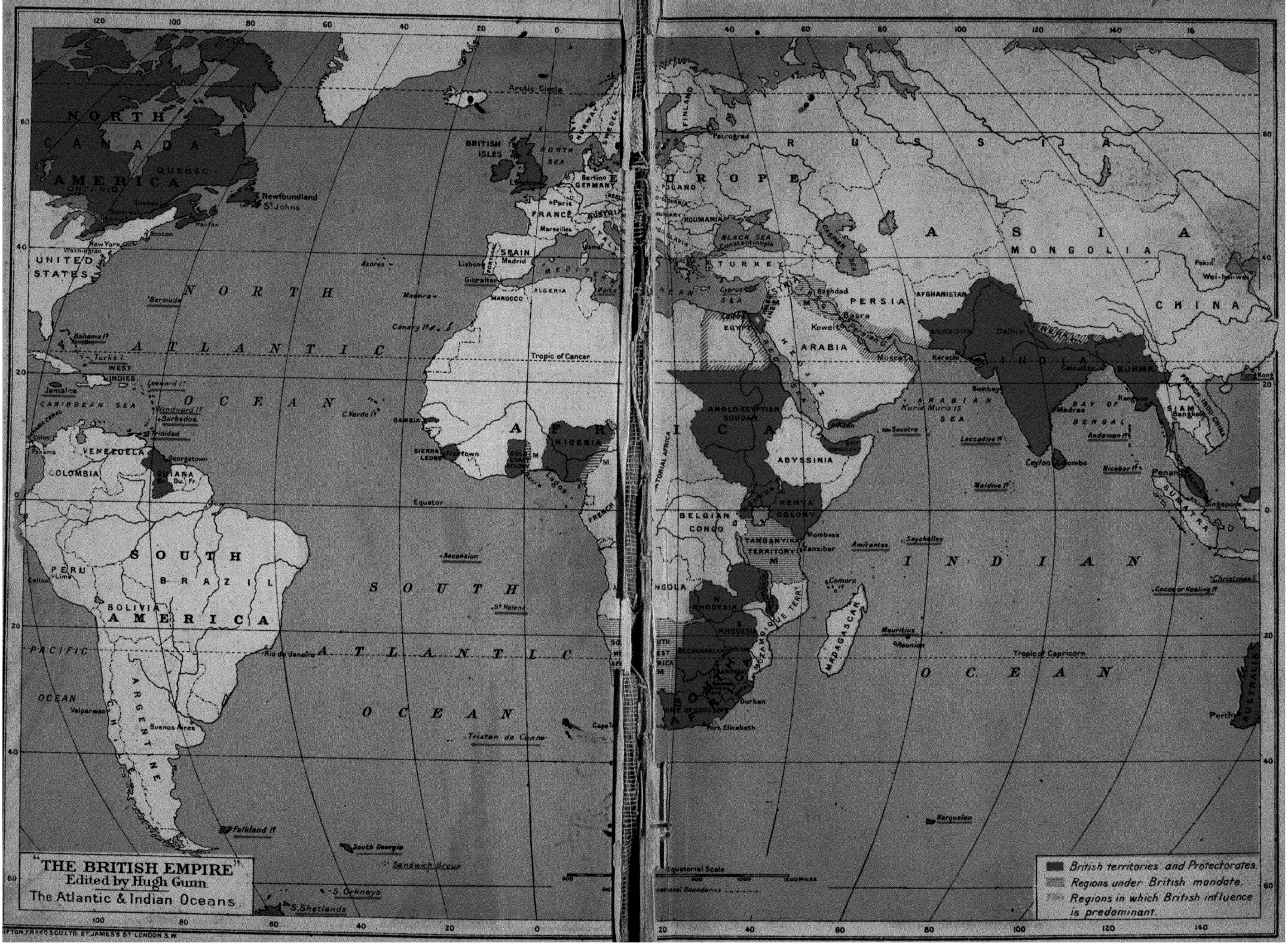
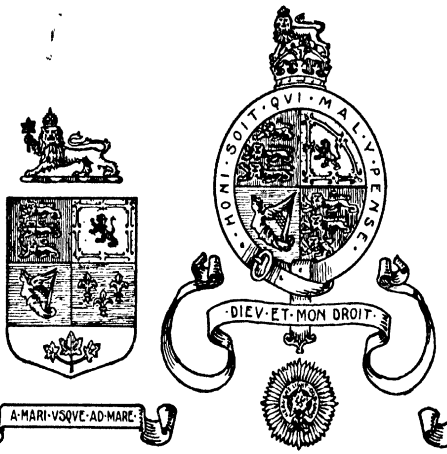
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"THE BRITISH EMPIRE"
Edited by Hugh Gunn
The Atlantic & Indian Oceans.
British territories and Protectorates.
Regions under British mandate.
Regions in which British influence is predominant.
Equatorial Scale
1000 Miles
NORTH AMERICA
CANADA
UNITED STATES
SOUTH AMERICA
BRITISH ISLES
EUROPE
RUSSIA
ASIA
MONGOLIA
CHINA
INDIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
TURKEY
ABYSSINIA
BELGIAN CONGO
AUSTRALIA
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
Petrograd
Paris
Berlin
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar
Baghdad
Basra
Koweit
Muscat
Kerachi
Bombay
Delhi
Calcutta
Rangoon
Pekin
Wei-hai-wei
Hong Kong
Singapore
Penang
Ceylon
Colombo
Madras
Socotra
Aden
Mombass
Zanzibar
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Cape Town
Perth
Rio de Janeiro
Buenos Aires
Valparaiso
Lima
Panama
Colon
Georgetown
Kingston
Jamaica
Bermuda
Bahamas
Newfoundland
St. Johns
Boston
New York
Washington
Quebec
Montreal
Halifax
Azores
Madeira
Canary Is.
C. Verde Is.
Ascension
St. Helena
Tristan da Cunha
Falkland Is.
South Georgia
Sandwich Group
S. Orkneys
S. Shetlands
Trinidad
Barbados
Windward Is.
Leeward Is.
Turks I.
Maldive Is.
Laccadive Is.
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
Amirantes
Seychelles
Comoro Is.
Mauritius
Reunion
Madagascar
Kerguelen
Christmas I.
Cocos or Keeling Is.
Sumatra
Java
Siam
Bangkok
Burma
Afghanistan
Baluchistan
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Black Sea
Constantinople
Cyprus
Malta
Gibraltar
Sierra Leone
Freetown
Gambia
Nigeria
Lagos
Gold Coast Colony
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Kenya Colony
Tanganyika Territory
Mozambique Terr.
N. Rhodesia
S. Rhodesia
Bechuanaland
Angola
Portuguese East Africa
Union of South Africa
Roumania
Poland
Hungary
Bulgaria
Servia
Greece
Finland
Sweden
Norway
Germany
Austria
France
Spain
Morocco
Algeria
Egypt
Arabia
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Malay Peninsula
Indo-China
Siam
Borneo
Java
Sumatra
Australia
Tasmania
New Zealand
Hawaiian Is.
Fiji Is.
Samoa
Tonga
Marquesas Is.
Society Is.
Tuamotu Archipelago
Cook Is.
Low Archipelago
Gilbert Is.
Marshall Is.
Caroline Is.
Ladrone Is.
Philippine Is.
Formosa
Japan
Yokohama
Shanghai
Hong Kong
Vladivostok
Petrograd
Finland
Roumania
Black Sea
Constantinople
Cyprus
Malta
Gibraltar
Sierra Leone
Freetown
Gambia
Nigeria
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Gold Coast Colony
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THE BRITISH EMPIRE

A Survey in 12 Volumes—each self-contained

Edited by

HUGH GUNN



INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

A WORD is necessary as to the origin and object of this series. The Management of the British Empire Exhibition (1924), in the early days of its organisation, approached the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute for advice and assistance in connection with the educational aspect of the Exhibition's work. The Editor of this series, who is a member of that Committee, happened during a period of enforced leisure to be spending a good deal of his time at the Institute, chiefly in its delightful Library. On its shelves he found entrancing reminiscences or records of men who went forth from these islands as Pioneers to brave the perils of uncharted seas and the dangers of unknown lands, inspired more by the spirit of adventure inherent in the race than by any calculated design for personal gain or lust for the acquisition of new territories. From these volumes could be traced the beginnings and gradual growth of remote colonies, through the early stages of awakening public interest, followed perchance by apathy or neglect until the advent of some world movement brought them into the fierce light of economic and international importance.

Though there lay upon the shelves an immense mass of valuable literature on almost every phase of Imperial work, it became apparent to the Editor that there was no series of volumes which gave a complete survey of the history, resources, and activities of the Empire looked at as a whole. He felt that there was need for a

series which would provide the ordinary reader with a bird's-eye view, so to speak, of these manifold activities.

The time seemed appropriate for such a survey. The Empire had emerged victorious from the greatest of wars. The Dominions which had contributed so magnificently to the victory had sprung, as it were, at a bound not only into the consciousness and acknowledged status of full and equal nationhood with the Mother Country, but also into definite recognition by Foreign Powers as great and growing World-Forces.

The decision to hold in London an Exhibition in which the vast material resources and industries of the Empire would be brought vividly before the public seemed also to demand that there should be a record and survey of the growth and development of this far flung congeries of countries and peoples that are called the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Editor accordingly consulted some of his friends, and was fortunate in securing their assistance and advice. The Management of the British Empire Exhibition welcomed the scheme as supplementing from the intellectual side what the Exhibition was doing from the material aspect. He has also been fortunate in obtaining the co-operation, as authors, of distinguished men, many of whom have played a foremost part in the public life or administration of the territories concerned, and all of whom have had wide personal knowledge and experience of the subjects which they treat. The Editor's thanks are especially due to these authors. They have undertaken the work from a sense of duty and from a desire to provide, at an important stage in our history, authoritative information regarding the great heritage that has been bequeathed to us, not only unscathed

but strengthened by the stern struggle through which it has passed.

Each volume is self-contained and deals with a special aspect of the Empire treated as a whole. The volumes are, however, co-ordinated as far as possible, and give, it is hoped, a comprehensive survey of the Empire.

The writers have had complete freedom as regards the statement of their views and it is to be understood that neither the Editor nor his advisers are responsible for such individual expressions of opinion.

The late Sir George Parkin was deeply interested in the scheme, and, but for his lamented death, would have contributed a volume to the series.

The Editor, in conclusion, desires to express his thanks to Lord Morris, and to Sir Charles Lucas, especially the latter, for the benefit of their advice and ripe experience.

HUGH GUNN,
General Editor.

LONDON, *April*, 1924.

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THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE

THE STORY OF THE EMPIRE

by

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.



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PREFACE

SUCCEEDING volumes in this series will deal with various aspects of the whole Empire, and will also contain accounts of its component parts. The present book is a purely historical sketch, and attempts, by chronological divisions, each of which covers the whole Empire, to emphasise the cardinal fact of continuous expansion from an island into a commonwealth.

C. P. LUCAS.

NOVEMBER, 1923.

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PART I

SECTION I

THE OLD COUNTRY

"THE communities embraced within the Britannic system," says Sir Robert Borden, "extend over one quarter of the world's land surface, and include more than one quarter of its population. They illustrate practically every stage of social, economic, and political development. The governance of this vast system involves almost every method of administration known to history." The following pages attempt to tell how and why Great Britain widened into this strange and wonderful Britannic system.

The "Old Country" is an island in the rough North Sea. It is a large island, as islands go. Nearly nine times as large as Sicily, it is a giant when measured by the islands of the Mediterranean world, but a pigmy by the side of the island continent of Australia. It is a well-balanced island, framed to be the home of well-balanced men. The different regions within it, like the different types of their inhabitants, supplement each other. The Scottish Highlands, the mountains of the Lake country and of Wales, the Cotswold and the Mendip hills, the Yorkshire moors, the plains of the Midlands and East Anglia, the rolling downs of the South, grasslands and cornfields, reclaimed fen and forest, all kinds of soil and landscape are gathered in "this little world." No country differs more from another than England in the weary dragging winter of the first months of the year from England in the flowering loveliness of May and June. But the seasons come and go with no unevenness,

extremes are rare, outdoor and indoor work interchange throughout the year. The first known visitors to the island in the long past ages came for its tin. In early modern history it was valued for its wool. In the nineteenth century its coal and iron gave it leadership in the industrial world, and, as furnaces and factories multiplied, the fight around the Corn Laws was the protest of a corngrowing land.

But, most of all, the Old Country is loved of the sea,

> "Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,"

and which has bidden the islanders run their own course, in Europe but not of it. So it was in Shakespeare's time, so it has been since; but in earlier days the sea brought wave on wave of invaders who made our history, and, potent for defence in war, it has been more potent still in bringing in and taking out men and merchandise in fruitful days of peace. For, beyond all other lands, Great Britain is a richly harboured island. At all points, on every side, in estuary and creek, the tide flows in and ebbs again. Thames, Mersey, Humber, Clyde, Tyne, Severn, many more, provide exits and entrances for ocean borne ships. Nature has given to Southampton and Portsmouth an unrivalled breakwater in the Isle of Wight. "Glorious Devon" provides the great inlet of Plymouth Sound. The island's shores have changed somewhat through the centuries, as here the sea took more and there took less, as silting river mouths were closed to ships of ever growing size. When intruders of the English stock first came in, the Isle of Thanet, where they landed, was an isle in more than name. The crumbling remnant of Dunwich church on the Suffolk coast marked where the leading East Anglian port before the Norman Conquest has

been buried in the sea. Encroaching here, on the Sussex shore the waters have receded from the land and the "Ancient Towns" of Rye and Winchelsea, in the early Middle Ages great among the Cinque Ports, have parted from the sea that made them great. When, in 1346, English ships were gathered against Calais, the Cornish port of Fowey was the largest contributor to the Southern fleet, and sent more vessels and mariners than London itself. A few years earlier, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, receipts from customs dues on wool and leather were larger at the port of Boston than at any other English port, including London. When, in May, 1497, John Cabot made for the unknown West, he and the *Matthew* started from what is now the heart of the City of Bristol. Later again the fishing trade with the new found land was on this side of the water largely centred in Poole harbour. Ports have waned or died away, others, like Liverpool, have risen with change of time and place, but always the sea has been the friend of Great Britain. Land's End is in the same latitude as the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In winter time on one side of the Atlantic are icebound lands and waters, on the other, what is known as the Cornish Riviera; and the kindly Gulf Stream tempers the far North of Scotland and its isles.

The island has no "hinterland," no back turned away from the world and the sun. It never had. On its western side, where there is no neighbouring continent, there is Ireland, which always called for sea passages and trade. At no time was Great Britain quite "the utmost corner of the West." Down the western side, as down the eastern side—the Saxon shore—came the seafaring, raiding Northmen, and midway between the Scandinavian coast of Ireland and the west coast of Britain, Norway claimed overlordship of the Isle of Man.

Such was and is the Old Country, with an outlook on all sides, to be entered on all sides, with so much quantity and such good quality within as to make visitors stay and take captors captive. Slowly, very slowly, through the ages it moved towards unity, but never to this hour has been cursed with uniformity. As Northern Europe rose higher on the horizon, so grew the island which was the warden of its sea routes; and when beyond the western ocean the New World came to light, when the island was found to be centrally placed on the land surface of the globe, slowly still, but most surely, trusting ever to the sea, Great Britain repeated its own story on an immense scale, and widened into a Commonwealth, all the vital elements of which had already existed, in embryo or in active life, in the Old Country.

SECTION II

BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

No peoples appear to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of any country. There were always beings of human shape before them. When Great Britain first came into history, the people in possession were the Britons, according to the standard authorities a Celtic stock, superimposed upon some earlier breed or breeds. From about the time of Alexander the Great the island was well known to traders of the ancient world, but its story began when, in 55 B.C. Julius Cæsar first landed on the coast of Kent. Rather over a century later the Roman conquest was, except in the Highlands of Scotland, an accomplished fact. The farthest Roman limit was a line between the Forth and the Clyde, but the main northern frontier of Roman Britain was Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland from Wallsend to the Solway, which Rudyard Kipling has made to live for us in *Puck of Pook's Hill*. South of this wall, for between three and four centuries, the island which was destined to be the core of the greatest of modern Empires was a border province of incomparably the greatest Empire and political system of the ancient world, on its extreme north-west. What in our days Britain has done for lands beyond the ocean, the Romans did for Britain beyond the Narrow Sea. They gave it roads, laws and comparative peace. They tamed the face of the land and the barbarism of its tribes. They policed the water as well as the land. From end to end of the country marks of their handiwork may be traced

to-day, towns are called after their names, and it is difficult to believe that the blood and tradition of this great race of rulers ever became wholly extinct in the island.

Yet Roman civilisation was outwardly blotted out, and prominent among those who supplanted it were our English ancestors. As the Western Empire crumbled, the legions were withdrawn from Britain, and with them departed unity and peace. Romanised Britain split up ; where Celts had not been assimilated or subdued they took courage and brought anarchy ; defence against enemies without was paralysed by distraction within. The Picts of Scotland, and the Scots, who were raiding Irish immigrants into the south-western districts of the country to which they gave their name, poured down beyond the Wall ; and new breeds came in from the other side of the North Sea. Pirates from the north-east, known to the Romans as Saxons, had long troubled intermittently the east coast of Britain, but the strong hand of the Romans had been felt on sea as well as land. When, however, Roman fleets, like Roman armies, disappeared, these freebooters came to stay. There were three kindred Teuton groups, Jutes, Angles or English, and Saxons, whose homes at the time were in the peninsula which links Denmark and Germany, and on the German North Sea coast. The Jutes gave their name to Jutland ; the Angles to England as a whole and in England to East Anglia, where they made their first home ; Saxons they all were to the Romans, and the generic use of the word was handed on, though the Saxons had their own allotments in Britain. Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, tell of South, East and Middle Saxons, and Wessex, loved of Thomas Hardy, was the sphere of the West Saxons, where Winchester became their capital. The first comers were a band of Jutes, who in the year 449 planted themselves in

the island of Thanet. They came, so runs the story, by invitation, to take a hand in British civil wars, and, having come, they turned from friends to foes and made themselves by force of arms at home. Hard and savage fighters, they enlarged their foothold in Thanet into a Kingdom of Kent; and meanwhile, following them across the sea, on the south and on the east, their kinsmen entered in. Small Teuton States were thus formed in the island, and, as in one or another good fighting men emerged, one or another had the pre-eminence. Nearly four hundred years had passed since the first landing in Thanet, when a West Saxon king, Egbert, became in some sort overlord of the island, and during the last thirty years of the ninth century, in his grandson, King Alfred, Wessex produced an English leader, in war and peace alike of surpassing greatness. Under this West Saxon line came signs of England as she was to be.

But still the tale was one of constant war; still over the sea came fresh invading hordes. The same reign, Egbert's reign, which saw the beginning of unity within, saw also the beginning of a new wave of barbarism, the coming of the Danes; and, as champion of Christian Saxon England against the pagans from the north, King Alfred rose to greatness. By Alfred's peace of Wedmore the honours were divided and England too. North of the Thames the Roman road, known as Watling Street, running from London towards Chester, formed the boundary between Danish and Saxon England, and the Danish imprint upon Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and the Eastern Midlands remains to this day. The West Saxon line, a line of men, regained supremacy. Hard-fighting kings were supplemented by the statesmanship of Dunstan, and Alfred's great grandson, Edgar, was outwardly supreme through the island and within all the four seas. Then trouble came again, and mutual butchery of Dane

and Saxon. With northern England largely on his side, King Sweyn of Denmark conquered the whole land. His son, Canute, found in Edmund Ironside a Saxon champion worthy of his steel, but Edmund soon died, and all England served, and gladly served, a Danish king. Twenty-five years was the span of Danish rule; the last of Alfred's line came back from exile, and at his death in 1066 there was one more invasion and one final conquest; English Harold, chosen king though not of royal blood, fell at the hands of the Normans, and for the last time in her history England lay "at the proud foot of a conqueror."

Invaded and conquered, at each blow the island bowed before the storm, bided its time and worked its destiny. Always it was the same story, the captors were taken captive and the island received their allegiance, while outwardly giving its own. Canute the Dane, as ruler of England, became a son of England and found his last resting place in the great shrine of Saxon Britain, Winchester Cathedral. Under him, England was joined to Scandinavia, but England annexed Scandinavia, rather than Scandinavia England. So it was with the Norman Conquest and the Norman conquerors. Here was no passing connection with the Continent, as in the case of the brief interlude of Danish rule, but a linking up which held for centuries. Yet it was England that annexed provinces of France, not Normandy or France that annexed England.

What was there in these invaders who came to tame the island and whom the island tamed? They were all, in less or more remote degree, brothers in blood, all of northern stock, Teuton, Scandinavian, Northman moulded in France. There was the Saxon, with his sense of freedom, his instinct of self-government, rooted in freedom and the countryside For

a while he had lost his prowess on the sea, but King Alfred brought it back to life, when he created a fleet to match the Danes; and when, many centuries later, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, English rovers harried the Spanish Main and sailed into all the corners of the world, they hailed for the most part from the borderland of Saxon England, from the ports of Devon. Meanwhile, what may have been wanting in the Saxon in this regard, the Danes more than made good. Boldest of seafarers, most ruthless of seafighters, they wedded the island more than ever to the sea. Close of kin with them were the Northmen who had gone raiding up the Seine, but who for a century and a half before the Conquest had in France grown from wayward infancy to man's estate, and having learnt to rule, brought that great quality and much more also to swell the island's store.

SECTION III

THE MIDDLE AGES

THUS, with the Norman Conquest came the dawn of permanent unity for the island, such unity as the Romans had given in their time. Six and a half centuries had passed since the Roman legions left our shores, over five more centuries were to run before England and Scotland were finally brought under one crown, but, from the date when William the Conqueror laid his firm, strong hand upon England, there was no looking back, and amid multitudinous civil wars, by slow degrees, the island grew into a realm and the islanders into a nation. In France, the Northmen had learnt a new creed and an alien tongue, they had made new laws and customs their own, they had adopted the feudal institutions of the land in which they had planted themselves, they had realised the strength which comes below from strong rule above, and had attained to a civilisation more advanced than the island had yet known. They seem to have had in high degree the faculty of assimilation, of blending with and merging themselves in other races. As in France they became Frenchmen, so in England they became English. Two centuries saw Saxon, Dane and Norman fused under a king who bore the old Saxon name of Edward, King Edward the First, and the same great king completed the supremacy of this mixed race of Northern origin over the Celtic fringe of Wales. He conquered Scotland too, but the conquest was for the moment only, and, with the exception of ill-defined

claims of suzerainty, not until England had wholly parted with the Continent did England and Scotland come together, and not until England and Scotland came together did our Overseas Empire become a living and a growing fact.

For, while the Norman Conquest made for unity within the island, on the other hand it linked the island's fortunes to those of the mainland, and all but 500 years passed before, with the loss of Calais in Queen Mary's reign, the last English foothold on the Continent of any permanence disappeared. Not, as in Roman times, the northernmost province of an Empire whose centre was in Southern Europe, nor, as in the brief interlude of Danish rule, the southernmost portion of a Northern Empire, England was now joined, more naturally and therefore more strongly, to Middle Europe, to its nearest neighbour, France, and in the reign of the great Angevin King, Henry II., it was the base of a power which dominated more than half France on the one side and much of Ireland on the other. As long as the face of southern Britain was turned to the Continent, and the minds of English kings were set on continental possessions, so long were the islanders headed in the wrong direction. Their mission lay across the ocean, not across the Narrow Sea. But the lands beyond the ocean were as yet unknown, except to the most venturesome of the same roving Northmen that had pillaged and peopled Britain, and the continental connection was not without value in training and moulding the islanders for the coming time. They now came out into a wider world than the Four Seas enclosed, and even the vain and wasteful warfare of Richard Cœur de Lion was not without its use. His crusading ambition carried Englishmen far afield and English ships into the Levant. His conquest and momentary tenure of Cyprus was a precedent, born out of due time, for

taking possession of islands far away. He provided adventures for the adventurous, and added to knowledge, dearly bought, but still of solid worth.

As even spendthrift kings did something for the coming time, so marriage connections did something also. William the Conqueror's Queen, Matilda, was a Flemish lady. With her coming other Flemings came also, foreigners multiplied in the land, and trade increased. Wool now became "England's Golden Fleece," and Cotswold sheep provided raw material for the fast rising factories in the busy towns of the Low Countries, for Bruges, Antwerp, and Ypres with its memorable Cloth Hall. Staple centres for the buying and selling of English wool were established in the island and out of it, and the wool merchants, the Merchants of the Staple, rose to prime importance. Then, as the years went on, England was ill content to be the handmaid of foreign manufacturers. Long before the Conquest rough cloth had been fashioned in England. Weavers were among the earliest of the London guilds. In the reign of Edward the Third Flemish craftsmen were brought over to teach the secrets of their art and, we are told in an old pamphlet, "all wool workers were invited to come and settle in England." More and more the English used their own wool and made their own cloth, and cloth became the supreme industry of southern Britain.

Before the nations of to-day had taken fixed form and shape, one ruler or another, in one country and another, was wont to give special privileges to foreign traders, in order to induce them to come in and stay, with profit to the land and to its lord. These traders formed in some sort self-governing colonies in foreign countries and under foreign sovereignty, licensed at once by the foreign ruler and by their own liege lord, if they owned allegiance to any one man. At a very early date, before the Conquest, Teuton merchants

from what became the cities of the Hanseatic League, then spoken of as "the Emperor's men," gained a privileged footing in England, among the earliest being traders from Cologne. All through the Middle Ages the Hanse merchants were conspicuous in the commercial and political history of England. We read of them as planted at the great wool and cloth exporting port of Boston, at Lynn and at other ports, but London was their chief dwelling-place. Here, in Thames Street, on the bank of the river, on the site now covered by Cannon Street railway station, they had a Guildhall with an adjoining courtyard and buildings known as the Steelyard, and the maintenance of one of the gates of the city, Bishopsgate, was at their charge. After the manner of the Hansards, and in rivalry with them, associations of English merchants were formed to keep English trade in English hands and to form centres for the sale of English cloth upon the Continent, in the cities of Flanders, Brabant and the Netherlands, and on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. Such were the Merchant Adventurers of England and the Eastland or Baltic merchants. The Merchant Adventurers of England were forerunners of the Empire. They had branches in various English cities, from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Exeter, but in England London was their main centre, and in origin they were an offshoot of the Mercers' Company. Their seat of government, however, was not in England, but on the Continent, in whatever city for the time being they made their chief place of residence. In Bruges they rose to greatness, and at Antwerp in Tudor times they attained the zenith of their prosperity, being known as "the English nation beyond the sea." When the Spanish troubles came, they passed on to the cities of the revolted Netherlands, and the first years of the nineteenth century found them not yet quite extinct

in the free city of Hamburg. In one city after another they formed a self-governing community with specially guaranteed rights, on a somewhat similar footing to that enjoyed by British merchants at the present day in the Treaty Ports of China, and they held their heads to the full as high as the sons of the soil. They were the ancestors of the great chartered companies, which became the agents of British trade and British settlement in all parts of the world, and in the record of these self-governing traders far more than in the annals of conquering kings are to be found the seeds of the future British Empire.

Townsmen they were, men of the city, though handling the produce of the countryside, and the growth of these associations was an index to the rise of the English towns, recognised by such statesmen as Simon de Montfort and Edward the First. On the western side of the island, Liverpool was overshadowed by Chester. Its great days were in the far future, and it waited for the finding and the development of the New World. Bristol was incomparably the greatest western port and city, for many generations among English cities second only, and a good second, to London. The Merchant Venturers of Bristol had no lot or part among the Merchant Adventurers of England with their strong London connection. They formed a wholly separate body and traded in other directions. Bristol trade with Ireland was of very early date and included before and, for a while, after the Norman Conquest, the export of slaves. To the north, to Denmark and to Iceland, Bristol vessels traded, while south they went to Bordeaux and to Spain. In exchange for Bordeaux wines they carried west country cloth, for Flemish clothworkers had been brought over to Bristol and that city became a great centre of the national industry. A twelfth century chronicler wrote of "the

famous town of Bristow, with an haven belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same from Ireland, Norway and other outlandish and foreign countries," and a later writer bore witness that the natural advantages of the city had been not a little improved by "the great industry of its citizens." The record of Exeter went back to Roman times, and too many to recount were the busy towns and ports of south-western England. Not a few, like Fowey, have had their day. Others, like Plymouth, have waxed and never waned. Chaucer picks out Dartmouth as in his time a typical western port, and at the beginning of the Tudor age John Skelton wrote,—

"There were, I saye, of all manner of sortes
Of Dertmouth, of Plymouth, of Portesmouth also."

Southampton exported wool from the staple centre at Winchester, and it was the port of call for Venetian and Genoese trading ships as long as those vessels plied from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. In East Anglia, Norwich became a most prosperous city, no English town owed more to French and Flemish immigrants. Prosperous, too, was its port of Yarmouth, a noted fishing centre. Boston, St. Botolph's town, was, as has been seen, at one time hardly second even to London in export trade, it was an outlet to Lincoln, as Yarmouth was to Norwich. Always the metropolis of northern England, York was in the Middle Ages a foremost commercial centre, Merchant Adventurers and Eastlanders gathered there, and its seaport was Hull, which over and above its export trade specialised in shipbuilding. Farther north again the Tyne, like the Thames, could not but be the mother of a great city, and at no time

in English history was Newcastle in the background.

But it was on the Thames, from first to last, that power and plenty gathered most. Alone among the capitals of the great nations of to-day, London is at once the greatest commercial centre in the land, either the foremost port or near the foremost, and the seat of government, owing its unchallenged supremacy to geographical position and to the great tidal river on whose banks it stands. Those who would understand aright the why and wherefore of the British Empire should study the record of its metropolis—its mother city. It tells of unbroken continuity, of centuries of expansion, of civic freedom and independence in constant contact with the Crown, of individual and corporate initiative, of incoming and assimilation of men from diverse lands, of political power based on and linked to commerce, of politics and commerce alike drawing strength and sustenance from the sea. Eighteen centuries and a half ago the Roman historian, Tacitus, noted the number of merchants and trading vessels that came to London. Saxon, Dane, Norman, all knew London's worth. Under the Saxon line the Teuton merchants came in, loading and unloading their vessels at the one wharf, Billingsgate. The presence of Italian financiers in the Middle Ages gave Lombard Street its name. In London the merchant guilds and companies were more in number and stronger in membership than in all other English towns. As shipping grew in size, requiring deeper channels, one outport and another fell away, but always the largest vessels came up and down the Thames. No change of time or circumstance put London out of court. The western world was brought to light, but the western ports of England did not supplant London, and still it grew. Drawing from and sending to all parts of the world, it was and is an

epitome of the Empire. No building in the Empire is so sacred to the sons of the Empire as Westminster Abbey. Its site was once an islet in the marshes which bordered the Thames above the City of London. Here the last King of Alfred's line, Edward the Confessor, built and was laid to rest in a great new Abbey Church. In that church William the Conqueror, practical and prescient, had himself crowned, the while he built a fortress, the germ of the Tower of London, to bridle the strength of the city. By the side of the Abbey Church was reared a Royal Palace with the Hall of William Rufus, and here more and more, as the reigns went on, the Councils of the Realm were called to meet within easy reach of London. Round the Abbey and the Palace grew up a flourishing village, and when staple centres for the wool industry were established by law in England, a wool-staple was planted at Westminster for which the port was London. London widened outside the city gates and beyond the city walls, and as the centuries went on it absorbed the surrounding villages, including Westminster. North, south, east and west it spread, and over the water it gathered in Southwark. Bacon, in his life of King Henry VII., classed it among the "wealthy and populous cities" which are "for greatness and fortune queens of their regions." After his time it became queen of many regions. Trade always led: political power followed where trade dictated: the great highroad of trade, and the line of continuity, was the waterway. As was London, so the Empire came to be.

"The Royal Navy of England," in Blackstone's words, is "the floating bulwark of our island," but before Tudor times there was no Royal Navy in England, and English kings contracted with their subjects for the safekeeping of the sea. Before Tudor times the sea meant pre-eminently the "Narrow

Sea," the English Channel and the Straits of Dover The sovereigns of England claimed overlordship of the Narrow Sea, and the claim seems more or less to have been recognised, but the strength which lay behind it varied greatly from reign to reign. The guardianship of the Narrow Sea was the special charge of the Cinque Ports, whose ships were given the title of "The Royal Navy of the Cinque Ports." The original five, Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney, Hythe, had been "enfranchised" before the Norman Conquest. To them were added the "Ancient Towns" of Rye and Winchelsea, and with the main members of this seaboard federation were grouped smaller towns of Kent and Sussex, which shared their charges and their privileges. These were explicitly set forth and confirmed by a charter of King Edward the First. The liberties and immunities granted were of the widest possible extent, and in return the Ports were bound at the king's summons to supply 57 armed vessels for fifteen days' service in any one year. Among the privileges which the charter confirmed were landing rights at the port of Yarmouth, which the fishermen of that growing port resented, and which led to troubles bearing a family resemblance to the difficulties of after ages on the coasts of Newfoundland.

The Barons of the Cinque Ports, as they were termed, were the normal guardians of the Narrow Sea. For special enterprises in time of war, levies were also made from the other English ports. Such levies in the reign of King Edward the Third were divided into two fleets, each under an Admiral, the dividing line being the mouth of the Thames. There was a Southern and Western fleet, which included the London quota, and there was a Northern fleet to which, at the siege of Calais in 1346-7, Yarmouth was by far the largest contributor. Calais on the French

side, Dover, a Cinque port, on the English, were and are the gate posts of the Narrow Sea, and the tenure of Calais in the later Middle Ages is an index to the quantity and quality of English sea power before the Tudor era. There was no organised English navy, sea power was in evidence in occasional musters and in seafights which were little more than landfights on water. The irregular watchers of the sea were also traders and buccaneers, fighting from time to time on their own as well as on their country's behalf. But the sea instinct was there and the tradition of keeping the sea as an open highway, which England carried on from the Narrow Sea to all the oceans of the world. In the reign of Richard the Second, successor to King Edward the Third who secured Calais for England, a statute was passed by Parliament of which the title was "a subsidy granted to the King so that the money that cometh thereby may be wholly imployed upon the keeping of the sea," and in this same king's reign appeared the first embryo of the Navigation Laws designed to further English trade and shipping, for it was enacted that "none of the King's subjects shall carry forth nor bring any merchandises but only in ships of the King's allegiance." Calais had been a base of piracy before it passed into English hands, and in English hands it remained for 200 years. After the Norman Conquest, throughout the centuries, no king or lord from the adjoining continent ever held an outpost on the shore of England, as the English held Calais, and that tenure gave substance to the claim of supremacy over the Narrow Sea.

"Keepe these two townes sure and Your Majestye
As your tweyne eyne so keepe the Narrow Sea."

These are the words which, with reference to Calais and Dover, the writer of the "Libel of English policy"

in the reign of Henry VI. makes the Emperor Sigismund use to King Henry V., and he sums up "the true process of English policy" in the line,—

"That we be masters of the Narrow Sea."

The Middle Ages ran their wayward course. England lost ground on the Continent, in territory but not in trade; at home she was torn by the strife of York and Lancaster. But losses on the Continent turned to the island's gain, and reactionary feudalism perished in the Civil Wars. Towns and traders survived and grew in strength. They backed a line of masterful sovereigns, attuned to the coming time, who stood for England, fostered trade and kept the sea.

SECTION IV

THE EARLIER TUDOR REIGNS

FROM the Battle of Bosworth, which brought Henry VII. to the throne of England in 1485, to the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, was a period of 118 years. During this time—the last 15 years of the fifteenth century and the whole of the sixteenth, there were only three generations of English sovereigns, only five sovereigns in all, and the combined reigns of two out of the five, Edward VI. and Queen Mary, covered no more than twelve years. Omitting this short interlude, three great rulers, father, son, and granddaughter, Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, reigned over England for more than a century. It was a century of surpassing importance. It determined whether there should be a British Empire and what manner of Empire it should be. It ended before the Empire was actually in existence, but it made its existence a practical certainty. In the first few years of the first reign, before the sixteenth century began, Columbus and Cabot made their memorable discoveries. Before that century ended, Drake had sailed round the globe, Gilbert had proclaimed English sovereignty over Newfoundland, and Raleigh was making tentative efforts at English colonisation in the New World.

The first of the Tudor Kings, Henry VII., in Bacon's words, "loved his own will and his own way," and his times were "rather prosperous than calm." The same words might be applied to his son, his granddaughter and their reigns. With an insecure title to the Crown, Henry VII. walked warily, "having the

composition of a wise King, stout without and apprehensive within." He gathered power into his hands by gathering riches, but withal he made good laws for his people, he preferred peace to war, he "could not endure to have trade sick," and well he knew that the greatness of England must be based on merchandise and on the sea. The Merchant Adventurers found in him a stalwart supporter against their Flemish rivals, and a Navigation Law, passed early in his reign, was designed to regenerate the sea power of England, "to make his realm potent as well by sea as by land." The Tudor despotism, of which this wise king laid the foundation, rested on the capacity of the rulers to interpret and to embody the instincts, the interests and the growing aspirations of their subjects. Modern history was crossing the threshold, a history of nations, not of faction fights of feudal lords and princes. England was coming of age, and unity under strong leadership was in demand to develop the resources and widen the outlook of an island realm.

The outlook was widened for all time when the successful venture of Columbus in 1492 was followed by the voyage of Cabot in 1497. The British Empire to-day includes the Bahama Islands, where Columbus first landed in the western world, and it would seem that but for hesitation on the part of the English king or for mischance, the great voyager's services and all that came from them might have accrued to England, not to Spain. But his enterprise gave a lead to others. Its success induced King Henry in 1496 to license John Cabot and his sons to sail with five ships at their own charges, but under the English flag, East, West, and North, to discover islands and countries not yet known to Christians, and to occupy and possess them under the English Crown, paying a royalty to the king, who contributed nothing to the

expense. Like Columbus, Cabot was a Genoese, but had been naturalised in Venice, and had found his way to Bristol. More than a year had passed since the issue of the Royal patent, when from Bristol, "thought ye metest port for Western discoveries," he sailed for the West, not with five ships, but with one small ship only, the *Matthew*, carrying a crew, mainly English, of not more than eighteen men. On St. John the Baptist's day, the 24th June, 1497, he reached the other side, and the many St. Johns in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland keep alive the memory of the day. Whatever was his first landfall, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, or Labrador, he had accomplished his purpose, traversed the North Atlantic Ocean, and landed on American soil. Back to Bristol he came safely in August, back to honour and reward. High hopes were raised, the Londoners joined in financing a second voyage, and he started again in 1498. The record of the second voyage is obscure, but it ended in disappointment, and of John Cabot history has no more to tell. His son, Sebastian, has been credited with a third voyage immediately afterwards, and in the first year of the sixteenth century two more voyages seem to have taken place, in which British merchants had Portuguese for their partners. English ocean enterprise was in its infancy, and leadership and guidance came from the great maritime republics of Italy, now drawing near to the end of their greatness, or from Portugal, whose sailors through the fifteenth century had been painfully working their way down the west coast of Africa, and before the century ended reached India round the Cape. No present gain came to England from Cabot's discovery, and no brilliant future was on the immediate horizon. It was no more than the beginning of a century of training, but it was the training which ensured the ultimate results. Very early it was

realised that the new found land was not the Indies or Cathay, it was not the final goal, nor did the stern shores of North America offer to Englishmen such attractions on the way as greeted Spanish adventurers in the sunny tropics, and carried them within fifty years to the height of Empire. North of the Spanish sphere the call was for further search to find a route to the East through or round a forbidding land, and what Cabot bequeathed to England's future was awakening and expanding naval enterprise, ventures of hardihood and endurance to North-West and North-East, and fisheries on the Newfoundland banks to which in no long time vessels of all nations resorted, and which called off Bristol ships from the Iceland trade.

In 1509, Henry VIII. began his stormy reign. If his father loved his own will and his own way, assuredly in this regard he was his father's son. Yet his reign stood for England as well as for himself. The Reformation added incalculably to the liberties of the island people and to the individuality of the island realm. The headship of the Church of England was vested in the King of England in lieu of a spiritual potentate in foreign lands, and the statute which barred appeals to the See of Rome contained the famous recital, " This realme of England is an Empire," meaning, as Blackstone tells us, that " our King is equally Sovereign and independent within these his dominions as any Emperor is in his Empire." It was a kind of premonition of what the future British Empire would be, an agency not of subjection but of freedom and independence, a Commonwealth personified in the Crown.

With Henry VIII. came a settled policy of a Royal Navy beyond all that had gone before. King's ships were a corollary of the Tudor Monarchy. Early in his reign we have a reminder of the Narrow Sea and its English guardianship. Scotland under James IV.

had developed strength at sea, and a notable Scottish privateering sailor, Andrew Barton, lorded it in the Channel to the hurt of the merchants of London.

> "To France nor Flanders dare we pass,
> Nor Bordeaux voyage dare we fare,
> And all for a rover that lyes on the seas,
> Who robs us of our merchant ware."

Thereupon the two Lords Howard, sons of the Earl of Surrey, went forth to fight and, having accounted for Barton, returned in triumph to the king.

> "Sir Andrew's shipp I bring with mee,
> A braver shipp was never none.
> Nowe hath your Grace two shipps of warre
> Before in England was but one."

Thus once more was asserted "the King's authority over the Narrow Seas," which, it is added, had been "studiously conserved ever by his ancestors."

The fight took place in 1511, two years after King Henry began his reign, but his father had been a shipbuilder, and he inherited more than one fighting vessel. Shortly after this date the *Regent*, which was the Dreadnought of the Navy, was lost in a victorious fight with the French fleet and she was replaced in 1514 by the *Grace à Dieu*, the *Great Harry*, of 1500 tons, the greatest ship of war that English waters had yet seen. A quarter of a century later the *Great Harry* was discarded by her namesake as obsolete and ships of more modern type were built, with less regard to size and more regard to gunnery and seamanship. Writing of Henry VIII. as a soldier, his biographer in the next century spoke of him as "of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in these kinds now daily appeared."

If this was his attitude with reference to land warfare, it was markedly so in regard to the sea. He was in his way a product of the new learning and his mind moved with the times. One ship of 700 tons, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, he bought from merchants of that great Hanse city. After his time she was lent by Queen Elizabeth to Sir John Hawkins for his privateering ventures, and eventually in the West Indies fell into the hands of the Spaniards, being, we are told, "the last great ship which was either builded or bought beyond the seas." England now built her own ships and cast her own cannon; the navigation law of Henry VII. was confirmed anew, and its title was "An Act for the maintenance of the Navy"; ports were fortified, a Navy Board was created, and, taking a lesson from Spain where the Contractation House at Seville, founded after the Western World had been brought to light, gave technical instruction to the pilots of the Spanish Navy, the King, in Hakluyt's words, "erected three several Guilds or Brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here upon the Thames, the other at Kingston upon Hull, and the third at Newcastle upon Tyne." The Guild or College at Deptford, "the Guild of the Holy and undividable Trinity and St. Clement at Deptford Strond," was the ancestor of Trinity House. Hard by was a royal dockyard, and Deptford became the head centre of the Royal Navy.

There was an English resident in Seville in this reign, Robert Thorne by name, whose father, a Bristol merchant, had taken part in one of the voyages to North America at the beginning of the century. In 1527 he wrote to the king a "Declaration of the Indies," in which he urged that a passage to the farther ocean would be found by the North Pole, that there were new lands and kingdoms to be discovered, "to which places there is left one way to

discover, which is into the North." In that same year two ships were sent out, one was lost at sea, the other reached the region of icebergs and turned south again. Nine years later, in 1536, there was another similar voyage, which all but ended in starvation. So far no ground had been made in North or North West, but both voyages testified to fishing vessels in Newfoundland waters, French and Portuguese among them, and "Newland" appears in an act of Parliament in 1541, relating to the sale of fish. In these same years the great river of Canada was made known to the world, but not by Englishmen. The discovery came from Little Britain, Britanny. In 1534, Jacques Cartier of St. Malo sailed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the next year he made his way up the river as far as the site of Montreal, and passed the winter of 1535-6 under the rock of Quebec.

Meanwhile, English ships and men were coming into evidence in other seas. From 1511 onwards we read of "tall ships" from London, Southampton and Bristol trading in the Levant as far as Beyrout, no longer leaving the field entirely to the merchants of Venice, and there is mention of an English agent, styled consul, in the island of Chios, in 1513. In another direction, too, the English were beginning to find openings for ocean borne trade, and English ships were faring south to the coast of Guinea, which the Portuguese had explored, exploited and monopolised, and where in after ages our countrymen made so much history, bad and good. The shipping magnate had long been in evidence in English ports. Such was William Canynge of Bristol, who in the reign of Edward IV. owned over 2800 tons of shipping and employed 800 sailors. About the same date, in the middle of the fifteenth century, John Taverner of Hull was a noted shipbuilder. But in the reign of Henry VIII. is first mentioned a name far better known in

the tale of English sea ventures, the name of Hawkins. William Hawkins of Plymouth, merchant and sea captain, father and grandfather of famous men of the sea, was, we are told, "a man for his wisdom, valour, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed and beloved of King Henry VIII.," and in or about 1530 he sailed to Guinea and on to Brazil. Twice more he sailed to Brazil, probably calling at and trafficking on the Guinea Coast, and with the second half of the sixteenth century we come to a succession of Guinea voyages. In 1541, on receipt of an application from the Portuguese Government for the shipment of English wheat to Portugal, King Henry tried to bargain for permission to Englishmen to trade at Calicut in India. But English commerce with India was to come later and without the leave of Portugal.

In the short reign of Edward VI. the English still gained ground year by year, the Merchant Adventurers grew stronger and more prosperous, their main centre being Antwerp, which, before the Spanish wars began, was the "packhouse of Europe." Led by Thomas Gresham, they financed—not willingly—the Crown, as the Hanse merchants had found money for English kings in previous reigns, and while at Antwerp they formed a highly privileged community, they prevailed upon the advisers of the young King of England to cancel the similar privileges which the Hansards had long enjoyed in London. A few years later, under Queen Elizabeth, the downfall of the German merchants was completed, and they lost for ever the special footing on which for centuries they had stood in England. Their successful English rivals from first to last were not a jointstock, but what was known as a regulated company. They were members of a great guild or federation under a common government and with a common policy, but, in the words of their secretary, with "no bank nor common stock . . .

but every man tradeth apart and particularly with his own stock." They were concerned with foreign trade, but the foreign lands with which they traded and in which many of them resided were near at hand. With the age of enterprise into far distant lands and seas came also the age of jointstock companies, deriving added strength and driving power from a common purse. Sebastian Cabot had long been in the service of Spain, but in his old age, in the year 1549, he came back to England, and in 1553 some London merchants, taking him for their counsellor and guide, determined to attempt to find a passage to Cathay not by the North-West but by the North-East. They formed "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchants Adventurers for the discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown," with Cabot for its first governor, each member contributing £25 to a common stock from which three ships were bought. They secured some kind of charter or licence from Edward VI., who gave a commendatory letter to the leader of the expedition, Sir Hugh Willoughby, and in May, 1553, the three ships sailed. They were separated in a storm, two of them, with Willoughby himself, found their end on the Lapland coast, where all on board were starved to death, the third, under Richard Chancellor, made its way into the White Sea, whence Chancellor went overland to Moscow, and in the following year brought his ship safely home with a cordial invitation from the Czar of Muscovy to Englishmen to trade in his dominions. Once more a voyage of discovery had failed to reach the goal, but much had been attained by the way. Soon after the ships had started, Edward VI. died, but in February, 1555, the company received a charter from Philip and Mary, and in Queen Elizabeth's reign, in 1566, it was incorporated by Act of Parliament with the title of "The Fellowship of

English merchants for discovery of new trades." Chancellor went back to Russia, securing privileges and developing trade. He, too, was lost at sea, but his mantle fell on a man as enterprising as himself, Anthony Jenkinson, who, setting his face towards Cathay, penetrated into Central Asia as far as Bokhara, and attempted to extend the Company's operations to Persia. This Muscovy or Russia Company, as it came to be known, was the first of the great joint-stock companies in England for foreign trade, and its birthplace was the City of London.

The grant of its charter was almost the only contribution of Queen Mary's reign to the onward movement of England. Of all the dynasties that have ruled over England since the Norman Conquest, the Tudors were of the purest English blood. She was the one exception. Child of a Spanish mother, married to a King of Spain, inheriting with her father's rights her mother's wrongs, as Queen of England she was out of place and out of time. Her fierce persecution of the Protestants only confirmed England in the tenets of the Reformation, the loss of Calais added gloom to a tragic reign, and the six years of reaction gave fresh impetus to all that was English in England, when her death in 1559 brought Queen Bess to the throne.

SECTION V

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE Expansion of England is a well-known term. It was coined by Sir John Seeley to teach us the true nature of the British Empire, but no other phrase so well describes the reign of Queen Elizabeth, before the British Empire was actually in being. It was an age of expansion of England, not of Great Britain, for Great Britain, too, was not yet in being. For England and the English the forty-four years of the great Queen's reign, from 1559 to 1603, were spacious times, and, as has been already noted, the men that made them spacious came more especially from Saxon England near the Celtic fringe, from "the havens in the West parts," not so much from the Danish side of the island. The exploits of these Devon sailors repeated, rivalled, and surpassed the boldest ventures of Dane and Northman, and no time in English history stands out as so attractive, so brilliantly bright, while at the same time so lastingly and so substantially fruitful, as the time of Queen Elizabeth. It was as an outburst of an English May after a winter prolonged into spring. It was like the coming of age of a young man full of strength in mind and body, with all the world before him and sure confidence to compass the world. Everything combined to make, in the most diverse directions, by the most diverse and often dubious means, amid accompaniments of shifting policy, of compromise between war and peace, for a single concentrated onward movement of England and the English under the most English of English queens.

We find existing trading companies strengthened and enlarged, and yet greater companies added to the number. But the companies do not absorb the individuals, and name after name of Elizabeth's reign has become the property of all ages. The individuals included sober statesmen as well as adventurers. The adventurers themselves were practical in the extreme, and their adventures were chronicled by Richard Hakluyt not merely as past feats of daring, but in order to lead to more. It was the blend of the businesslike and the picturesque, of the rover and the merchant, of the poet and the patriot, it was the partnership of individual, company, people, and sovereign that made the time at once so bright and so effective.

Unity in diversity has been the leading feature of the British Empire. Combination of oneness and dispersion marked the reign which was the immediate prelude to the Empire. England had just lost in Calais her last foothold upon the continent of Europe. That Englishmen still knew how to keep the Narrow Sea was shown when the Spanish Armada came threatening up the Channel, but Drake had already begun to teach his countrymen that the safety of England must be sought by offence more than defence, not so much by policing the home waters as by attacking the enemies of England in their own nests, and by taking toll of the riches which they brought across the ocean. The " Narrow Seas " were " found too strait," and the horizon, even for defence purposes, was far from home. The Reformation greatly added to the combined sense of nationhood and freedom. English more than ever in Church and State alike, the islanders saw the Roman Catholic creed allied to Spanish despotism, and its mandates enforced by the Spanish Inquisition. The late reign, with its fires of persecution, had been a half Spanish reign. Instinct

and actual trading ventures told Englishmen that the island's future lay on and across the ocean. Hard facts told them that in order to realise that future they must be matched against Spain. Youth, courage, the new learning, the call of the sea, love of adventure, love of freedom, love of gain, love of their country, all pointed in the same direction. Always growing, always sharpening their weapons and improving their methods and their agencies, as a matter of principle and as a matter of profit they broke into Spanish and Portuguese preserves and infringed monopolies all the world over. When the time came, as come it must, for a stand-up fight against Spain, for all shades of Christendom in England it was England first; and side by side with the Dutchmen, seafarers like themselves, the English successfully withstood, as they have withstood ever since, the attempted domination of the world by a single power.

The centre of it all was a woman, and a lonely woman, the English queen. As in after centuries the widowed Queen Victoria, the central figure of a world-wide Empire, gathered round her the chivalry and reverence of the manhood of that Empire, so it was, on the eve of the Empire, with England and Queen Elizabeth. Bacon summed her up as "a Prince of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety," but this is not the verdict of history. Love of admiration and display she had in high degree. Feminine she was in finesse, flirting and intrigue. But in her strange admixture of great and small, in her abounding courage, coupled with her love of compromise, she was a more typical Englishman than Englishwoman. Her head ruled her heart, and neither head nor heart was lost. She had not the beauty, the grace, as she had not the frailties, of the rival queen, the Queen of Scots, but in understanding of her people and in force of will, the Scottish

queen was to her as water unto wine. She was wedded to England alone, her people knew it and they loved her accordingly. They loved her even in her meaner phases, as in their own meaner phases she was not averse to taking part. Her captains feared while they loved, so masterful was her rule; but fearing and loving they went within limits their own way, discerning that, if it prospered, it would be the queen's way also; and, knowing it, the wise queen said of her instructions to them, "That they were like to garments, straitened at the first putting on, but did by and by wear loose enough." So, in herself not lovely and not lovable, she was near to the hearts of those she ruled, and Shakespeare's courtly phrase was not, like Cupid's dart, wide of the mark. To the newborn English nation she was "a fair Vestal throned by the West."

In the first year of the reign a moderate Navigation Act was passed, "an Act for the shipping in English bottoms." It was less stringent than the Acts of Richard II. and Henry VII., which it repealed, providing only that Englishmen who imported merchandise, corn excepted, in foreign ships should pay the higher customs duties imposed on aliens. All through the reign the policy of the queen and her ministers, as guided by Burghley, was to foster sea power but without hampering trade. Protection in the nineteenth century became a term of sinister meaning, as the enemy of free trade on which industrial and manufacturing England depended for the necessaries of life at reasonable prices. Men lost sight of the truth that in its origin protection was and meant protection in the simplest sense, the maintenance of English shipping by which and only by which England could be protected. The Act of 1566, which incorporated the Russia Company, provided that "for the better maintenance of the navy and the mariners of this

realm:" the company should not carry "any commodity of this realm to their new trade but only in English ships and to be sailed for the most part with English mariners," and, writing of the original charter to the East India Company, the historian Camden recorded that the great privileges granted to the company were "for the improvement of navigation, the glory of the Kingdom and the increase of trade." Improvement of navigation is placed first on the list of objects, and the keepers of the sea in this reign saw to it that navigation was improved. Land fighting on sea passed away, big ships were no longer held to be essential to victory, the new learning found its way into the sailor's craft, and Drake, Hawkins, and the rest won renown not for gallantry only, but for scientific seamanship. Frobisher was, we are told, "from his youth bred up in navigation." Davis wrote a treatise on navigation, "The Seaman's Secrets," and invented a new Quadrant. Hawkins "in his youth studied the mathematics . . . he was the first that invented the cunning stratagem of false netting for ships in fighting . . . he also devised the chain pumps for ships and perfected many defects in the Navy Royal." Drake was "more skilful in all points of navigation than ever was before his time, in his time or since his death," he was "skilful in artillery." There was, in short, a reformation in what the old writers called "sea causes," and the strength of it lay in the fact that the scientific man was also the man of action. The leading reformers were Hawkins and Drake. For twenty-two years, from 1573 till his death in 1595, Hawkins was Treasurer of the Navy. As Treasurer and Comptroller, he was in effect First Lord of the Admiralty, with his chief office at Deptford, and, though he did not escape criticism, the years of his administration were years of betterment for English ships and English sailors.

Successful in opening up trade with Russia, the Russia Company had signally failed in the original object for which it had been incorporated, the discovery of a passage to Cathay by the North-East. Accordingly men's minds turned back to the elusive North-West passage, and the Arctic regions of America to-day preserve the names of two noted Elizabethan explorers, Martin Frobisher and John Davis, the first a Yorkshireman, the second from Devon. Inspired by Richard Lok, a Londoner who had travelled much, Frobisher sailed for the North-West in 1576. He came back with promise of a passage, a Company of Cathay was formed in London with London money behind it, and high expectations were raised by traces of gold in a sample of ore brought home. In 1577 he sailed again; he brought back many tons of ore, and before it had been tested he sailed a third time in 1578. The end of it was another tale of complete disillusion, no gold was found and no passage to the Indies. A few years later, in 1585-7, three more voyages in the same direction were made by John Davis. They were voyages of substantial geographical value, for Davis knew his work, but the North-West passage was still to seek. In 1592, at the opposite end of the world, Davis was the first of all recorded voyagers to sight the Falkland Islands, a fact which it was found well not to forget in the story of the Islands in after ages, and the next to sight them two years later was another Devonshire sailor, Richard Hawkins, son of the Treasurer of the Navy.

Before he beçame Treasurer, Sir John Hawkins had done much voyaging, usually to his profit, not always to his credit. We have seen that with his father's ventures to Brazil in the reign of Henry VIII. began the visits of English ships to the coast of Guinea, and that from the middle of the sixteenth century

onward there was a succession of Guinea voyages, in which Martin Frobisher, among others, served his apprenticeship to the sea. The beginnings of British ocean borne trade in more or less regular channels, as opposed to occasional voyages, are to be looked for on the banks of Newfoundland and on the coast of Guinea. What Hakluyt calls "the first voyage to Guinea and Benin," being the first in the series of voyages, took place in 1553, the year in which Edward VI. died, and it was led by two commanders, one of whom was a Portuguese, a good guide into Portuguese Africa. Several voyages followed, there was honest trade in ivory, gold and Guinea copper, but in 1562 Hawkins came to Sierra Leone, secured 300 negroes, shipped them across the Atlantic, and sold them to the Spaniards in Hispaniola. It was not until the middle of the following century that the slave trade became to Englishmen a recognised and most lucrative traffic, but with this voyage English slave trading first began; the pioneer of it all was a man who was in the very first rank of Elizabethan sea captains; and Sierra Leone, the place where the first consignment of negroes was taken on board of English ships, was many long years afterwards, when the slave epoch was happily drawing to a close, the scene of the first English settlement for free blacks on African soil, and of the first English Crown Colony on the West Coast of Africa. For bad and good alike, the seeds of the coming time were sown in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Hawkins repeated his slaving exploits, employing in them a vessel lent by the Queen, the famous old ship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*. In the hard fight in which the ship was taken by the Spaniards, Hawkins and all with him were nearly taken also. It took place in 1568 at San Juan de Ulloa on the coast of Mexico.

Thus before the reign of Queen Elizabeth was half

through, in the Atlantic, both on the African and on the American sides, English traders and privateers were greatly in evidence and English slave-trading had begun to rear its ugly head, but so far no English ship had been seen in the Pacific or the Indian Ocean. The entry to those oceans was now to be forced by the greatest of all the English men of action in this memorable age, Francis Drake, "the master thief of the unknown world." He had been, as a very young man, with Hawkins, whose kinsman he was, in the fight at San Juan de Ulloa, and thenceforward, bent not on trading but on privateering, he set himself to prey upon Spanish shipping and to raid the Spanish Main. This was his occupation in the years 1570-3, and from the height of the Isthmus of Darien he looked down upon the Pacific and vowed if he lived to sail an English ship in the forbidden waters. In December, 1577, he started to fulfil his pledge. Down by Brazil and La Plata he sailed, and through the Straits of Magellan. Caught in the Pacific by storm and tempest, he was driven south, but beat up again. With one ship only left from five, the *Pelican*, renamed the *Golden Hind*, he sailed by Chile and Peru, and up the North American coast to not far short of the present border line between the United States and Canada. Turning south again, he struck across the ocean into the midst of the Spice Islands of the Portuguese, the East Indian Archipelago, then across the Indian Ocean and round the Cape. He called at the familiar coast of Guinea, and after two years and ten months at sea sailed into Plymouth Sound, "abounding with great wealth and greater renown." Not only was he the first Englishman to sail round the world; he was the first captain of any nation to do so, for Magellan had died on the way. It was an amazing exploit, not merely to pilot his little ship through a waste of waters unknown to

Englishmen, but, in doing so, for the best part of three years to run the gauntlet of the strongest power in the world. It was amazing as a feat of scientific skill no less than of daring and endurance. When we read, "And now drawing near the Equator, Drake, being very careful of his men's health, let every one of 'em blood with his own hand," we seem to be studying a first attempt to master tropical disease. There was every element in the voyage that bore on the future. Discovery was in it. He seems to have found out, when buffeted in the South Pacific, that the land below Magellan's Straits was no southern continent, as had been imagined, while his push to the North was in the hope of finding the western outlet of the North-West passage. Riches were in it, for great was the booty that he brought home to his Queen from Spanish ships, not unchivalrously handled on the Pacific Coast. English sovereignty was in it, and, it would appear from latest researches, plans for English settlement, for on the coast of California he set up "a monument of our being there as also of Her Majesty's right and title to the same," and called the country by the name of Nova Albion.

While great adventurers were coming and going on the seas, solid merchant companies, as distinguished from syndicates formed for speculative ventures, were, when already in existence, growing in strength, and new substantial companies were created. Queen Elizabeth, we are told, encouraged her own subjects to be the merchants. The famous long-standing corporation of Merchant Adventurers reached their highest status under a royal charter of 1564, granted to them under the full title of the Merchant Adventurers of England, and when towards the end of the reign they were prohibited by the German Emperor from trading in Germany, the Queen of England, who had already cancelled the special privileges of

the Hanse merchants in England, expelled the Hansards from her dominions and handed over the Steelyard to the Lord Mayor of London. The group of English merchants who traded with the Baltic had as old an ancestry as the Merchant Adventurers. They, too, received in 1579 a Royal charter incorporating them as the Eastland company. The Russia company has already been noticed, but first mention now comes of two companies which were brought to birth in this reign, and which lived to play a very leading part in the story of the Empire. Reference has been made to voyages of English ships to the Levant early in the sixteenth century, but until the reign of Queen Elizabeth Levantine merchandise was still mainly brought to England by Venetian vessels which called at Southampton. Venice, however, was now on the decline; one of her argosies, as they were termed, and to which Shakespeare refers in the *Merchant of Venice*, was in or about 1575 wrecked off the Isle of Wight, discouraging Venetian merchants, so it was said, from voyages into the northern seas, and at the same time a commercial quarrel took place between England and Venice. Englishmen realised that in the Mediterranean, as in other seas, the time had come to carry for themselves; policy as well as trade dictated the opening of direct and friendly relations with the Sultan of Turkey. In 1579 three English merchants were sent to Constantinople to negotiate for permission to trade in the Ottoman dominions and for amity with their ruler; their mission was successful, and in 1581 the Levant or Turkey Company received its first Charter of Incorporation. The main historical interest of the Levant Company lies in the fact that they secured from the Sultan, as the French and others had already secured, the special privileges known under the now familiar term of Capitulations, and this was the beginning of

the long and wide record of exterritorial privileges in non-Christian countries, followed up in the nineteenth century by Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, which made so much history for the British Empire.

By North-West and by North-East it had been attempted to find a passage to the Indies. The pioneers of the Russia Company had headed Eastward overland, Drake had broken into the Indian Ocean, and so, a few years later, had Thomas Cavendish, who also sailed round the world. On the coast of Guinea the English had almost made themselves at home, but not yet had their trading ships followed in the trail of the Portuguese farther down Africa, not yet had they exploited the main waterway to India and the far East round the Cape of Good Hope. In 1581, Portugal, to her ruin, came under the Crown of Spain; the year 1588 saw the débâcle of the Spanish Armada, and now the London merchants turned their minds in earnest to trading with the East Indies by the Cape. There was a trial voyage in 1591, on which a ship commanded by James Lancaster reached the Indian seas, but which ended in wholesale disaster. A second voyage was also unsuccessful, but the Londoners meant business and members of the Levant Company gave a lead. A meeting was held, presided over by the Lord Mayor, to form an association for establishing a direct trade by sea to India, the association was formed, funds were subscribed, and eventually, on the 31st of December, 1600, a Royal Charter of Incorporation was granted by the queen to "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." Thus the sixteenth century ended with the birth of the East India Company, the greatest of all companies, and before Queen Elizabeth died, the first ships, in charge of Lancaster and piloted by John Davis, gathered a rich harvest in the waters of the East.

Such was the expansion of England and such were the achievements of Englishmen in the days of Queen Elizabeth. In this wonderful and glowing time what was left out for after ages to supply? In the long unrivalled list of famous men of Elizabeth's reign no great soldier finds a place. English troops fought in the Low Countries, and among them a very notable figure, Sir Philip Sidney, met his death. But there was no Marlborough or Wellington, nor was there any English land fight in any land to recall the glories of Crecy or of Agincourt. The main fighting was concentrated on the sea; the sea, not the land, held the key to the coming Empire. No permanent overseas English settlement is to be credited to this reign, yet it saw the dawn and all but the sunrise of English colonisation. Advocates of new adventures across the ocean, prominent among them Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in their writings and pamphlets, added to the old prospect of finding a passage to Cathay the advantages which would accrue to England from providing new homes for the necessitous and unemployed in the mother country. On his last voyage to Newfoundland in 1583, Gilbert took with him all the making of a colony. Formally and definitely he declared British sovereignty over Newfoundland in the presence and, it would seem, with the acquiescence of fishermen and sailors of the ships of all nations gathered in the harbour of St. John's. He made laws and granted lands, and preliminary steps were taken on the spot for the planting of an English colony. No permanent settlement resulted at the time, and on his way home the promoter of the enterprise was lost at sea, but from his visit to the island and the steps then taken Newfoundland dates her claim to be the oldest British colony. Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, carried Gilbert's schemes to a further stage. In 1584 he sent out two ships to explore the North

American coast. Their captains sailed farther south by far than Newfoundland and brought back a good report. On the strength of their report, he sent out in the next year seven ships with over a hundred prospective settlers on board, and for two or three years an English colony had a precarious life on the shore of what is now the State of North Carolina. The life flickered out, but the name of Virginia remained to tell to after ages that the first attempt at English colonisation in North America was in the days of the Virgin Queen.

One thing more was wanting to this reign, the greatest thing of all. Elizabeth was Queen of England, not of Great Britain: not yet was the island united under one Crown. To this, as to so much else, Elizabeth's reign was the immediate prelude. The Reformation in Scotland under John Knox brought Scotland nearer to England and further from France, and the childlessness of the English Queen was a compelling cause in the same direction. What was not compassed in her life was achieved by her death; practical as ever, the English took occasion by the hand, the predominant partner accepted a Scottish king, and this was the first stage in the record of the expansion, not of England only, but of Great Britain.

PART II
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SECTION I

GENERAL

WITH the accession of the Stuarts, the Prelude to the Empire ended and the life of the Empire began. But although, when the Scottish King James became King of Great Britain, the island was at length under one Crown, the peoples and their Legislatures were not united, and in England almost from the first Crown and people drew asunder, and the Kingdom became a Kingdom divided against itself. Under Queen Elizabeth, in the first flush of conscious nationhood, in the face of national danger, and in the enthusiasm of national endeavour, the English had been a united people, and in the main yielded unfaltering allegiance to their English queen. But with a Scotsman on the throne, ill attuned to English feeling, claiming for the monarchy all that and more than the Tudors had claimed, but without their strength of character or their political insight, unrest soon began in Church and State alike, and in increasing degree Puritanism and Parliament were ranged against the Crown.

Thus, as the seventeenth century went on its way, the Old Country became a scene of ceaseless strife and perpetual undoing, of civil war and revolution, of constantly changing authority. It began with a Scottish, it ended with a Dutch sovereign on the throne of Great Britain. In the interval, for some years the monarchy was blotted out altogether, and the restoration of the Stuart dynasty was, after little more than a quarter of a century, followed by another revolution.

These conditions in the Motherland shaped and coloured colonisation beyond the seas. The standard motives for overseas settlement, to add strength and wealth to the home country, to extend her trade, to give to needy citizens new openings and opportunities, were gradually supplemented, and to a large extent superseded, by longing to leave a distracted land where security was wanting and liberty imperilled. Distant refuges were sought where, without forfeiting English citizenship, the sons and daughters of England might be free from endless worry and menace, live their lives on their own lines, and worship God in their own way. Hence, except at the very beginning, the early stages of English colonisation were associated with diversity, not with unity, with severing rather than with linking, with retention of kinship and recognition of home sovereignty, but at the same time with removal from home control. The spirit of independence went over the ocean to be planted in the new homes, and no effective system for governing colonies could be expected from a country where authority was ever being challenged and there was no continuity of rule. The self-governing instinct, always strong in the English race, was in any case likely to grow stronger in virgin soil and new surroundings far removed from the centre of control; but it was inevitably further strengthened by the conditions which prevailed at home. Harassed Puritans settled in New England, Royalists sought and found comparative peace in the Island of Barbados, and the special features of the greater part of the seventeenth century became to all time impressed upon the British Empire.

In an era of ferment and division, the familiar agency for English expansion, the Chartered Company, was of special value. It is true that none of the companies could avoid becoming involved, to a greater or lesser degree, in the factions of the time,

and they suffered accordingly. If a company had been brought to birth by one party, it was not likely, when the pendulum swung round, to enjoy equal favour from the other side. But, from whatever source the original patents were derived, whatever might be the personal leanings of individual associates, the Companies in their corporate existence stood outside political issues and were ostensibly neutral as between parties. As in past times the Merchant Adventurers of England had earned the title of the English nation beyond the seas, so the Chartered Companies of the seventeenth century, in India, in the Levant, on the West Coast of Africa, presented a national front in the face of foreign competition, and their national status abroad could not be wholly ignored by the Government at home. On the other hand, it was of their essence to stand well with the existing régime, whatever it might be. Their interests made for continuity, for union, not for discord. Trade was their principal object, but settlement as likely to lead to trade was also within their province. A chartered company founded the first permanent British colony, and, while the names of great men figure in the lists of shareholders, it is the companies, rather than the component individuals, that stand out in the new time.

As the companies handled both settlement and trade, so the spheres of trade and settlement overlapped, and moreover, as the century went on, settlement was at home regarded more and more in the light of trade. At the same time, geography, climate, and empty or crowded regions dictated roughly where the British race could live and multiply, and where British traders were perforce few among many and only sojourners in the land. The expansion of England in the form of colonisation, of *peuplement*—to borrow the French phrase, took place in North America and

the West Indian Islands. Expansion in the form of trade, of *exploitation*, found its field on the West Coast of Africa and in India.

¶ When the century began, the great fight with Spain had almost flickered out, and a year after Queen Elizabeth died, in 1604, her successor made peace. Before the century ended, the long duel with France had begun. But prior to 1688 the main foreign wars were with the United Netherlands. The war with Spain had made the Dutchmen our allies, the overthrow of Spain made them our rivals, strong, determined and dangerous rivals, competing in sea power and seaborne commerce. There were times when off her own shores and in her own seas England could scarce hold her own, and all the world over, but especially on the West Coast of Africa and in the Eastern seas, the Dutch were athwart her path. Protection, which, as a settled and systematic policy, the Mercantile System began in the seventeenth century and lasted far into the nineteenth, was in its origin protection against the Dutch.

SECTION II

THE FIRST TWO STUART REIGNS

In the year 1606 a Virginia Company was formed. A patent granted to its members by the king authorised colonisation along the whole North American coast, from the southern border of the present State of North Carolina, the scene of Raleigh's previous ventures, as far north as Maine. The Adventurers divided themselves into two groups, a Plymouth company of west countrymen, whose efforts, fruitless at the time, were directed towards the northern section of the coast, and a London company to which was assigned the southern area. The London company went to work at once, and on New Year's Day, 1607, the first band of emigrants was sent out. They were landed to the number of over 100 on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, within what are now the limits of the State of Virginia, and here was planted the first permanent British settlement beyond the seas. Virginia told of Queen Elizabeth; the settlement was named Jamestown in honour of her successor. Raleigh had no lot or part in the enterprise, he was a prisoner in the Tower of London with his mind set on an Eldorado in Guiana, but among the Adventurers the Elizabethan strain had not yet died out, and Elizabethan enthusiasm inspired Michael Drayton's ode "To the Virginian Voyage," speeding the voyagers on their way to "Virginia, Earth's only paradise." It proved a paradise only in the poet's imagination, for the early days of the colony were days of sore trouble and distress. Sickness and privation took terrible

toll of the first settlers, together with the reinforcements that immediately followed, and but for timely relief at the eleventh hour the colony had been starved out and its site left desolate. But the survivors won through to better times, the seed sown on American soil did not wither away, in due season it sprang up and bare fruit abundantly. In later times, Virginia was known as "The Old Dominion," and when the strife came between King and Parliament, the colony stood for the King.

In 1609 one of the leaders of the Virginia Company, Sir George Somers, was, while on his way to the colony, wrecked on the Bermudas, up to that date uninhabited by man, and his shipwreck gave occasion to Shakespeare's reference in *The Tempest* to "the still vex'd Bermoothes." The islands, which now gained a second name of the Somers Islands, were included in a new charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1612, but were in 1615 transferred to a separate company incorporated by Royal Charter "for the plantation of the Somer Islands," and were first peopled at that time. The settlers were soon endowed with representative institutions, and the Bermuda House of Assembly has had an unbroken life to the present day. In 1610, three years after the founding of Jamestown and twenty-seven years from the date when Sir Humphrey Gilbert proclaimed English sovereignty in the harbour of St. John's, a British settlement was established in Newfoundland, giving the island a second claim to rank as the oldest of our present colonies. Again it was the work of a chartered company, in which London and Bristol joined hands, and among the promoters was a great Londoner, Sir Francis Bacon. But it was principally a Bristol venture, and the leader of the small band of colonists was an alderman of Bristol, John Guy. They settled not at St. John's, but at another point in the Avalon

Peninsula, Cuper's Cove, now known as Cupid's Cove, and before many years were out Guy's colony was eclipsed by later settlements in the island.

Hitherto colonisation had not reflected the growing unrest in the mother country, and, so far as religion had entered into overseas enterprise, it had not been in any way a separating force. But already, in the later years of Queen Elizabeth, in the Eastern counties of England more especially, small congregations of Independents had grown up, refusing to conform to State ordered forms of worship, and men and women had begun to exile themselves for conscience' sake to the other side of the North Sea, where the Calvinistic Republic of the United Netherlands offered a more congenial dwelling place. Under the Stuarts, as pressure drew nearer to oppression, and the rules of the State Church became a heavier yoke, the Non-conformist instinct deepened and widened, and the port of Boston, which, in the Middle Ages had been conspicuous for exporting English wool and cloth, now became famous for exporting English citizens and their consciences. At the very time when the Virginian settlement was taking place, a small group of Puritans, hailing mainly from the village of Scrooby in Notts, found their way to Amsterdam and on to Leyden. But they were not content to lose themselves in a foreign land, and well content to dwell under the king's sovereignty, provided that it was in a realm where the king's sovereignty would not trouble their souls. They obtained permission from the Virginia Company to settle in their territory, no attempt was made to harass them when on their way they called at English ports, and eventually, in September, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers, as history has christened them, to the number of about a hundred, started from Plymouth for the New World. The Plymouth division of the Virginia Company had so far achieved no

results, but the leading spirit in the southern colony, Captain John Smith, had visited and prospected the northern area, giving it the name of New England, and in this same year, 1620, the Plymouth Company had been revived and reconstituted under the title of the Council for New England. The Pilgrim Fathers landed farther north than had been intended, in the neighbourhood of Cape Cod, and within the precincts of the New England Council or Company, at Plymouth on the shore of Cape Cod Bay, they made their new home. They were humble men, this first handful of Puritan emigrants, whose story has come down the centuries, but there were not wanting in England in the Puritan ranks men of high position and influence. In 1629 a Royal Charter was obtained from Charles the First for a Massachusetts Company, and the strongest by far of the Puritan colonies, the great Bay State, came to birth, with Boston for its capital. There had already been various other small settlements in the New England area: the centrifugal force which carried Englishmen from England was not spent when they reached America, nor, when dissent found a safe refuge, did it blossom into toleration. Religious differences combined with the spreading instinct to multiply townships and communities, which formed the germs of the New England states of later history, and some of which soon coalesced, as was the case in Rhode Island. There was ample room in British North America, not only for Anglicans and Protestant dissenters, but also for Roman Catholics. Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, who had joined the Roman Catholic Church, settled for a while in Newfoundland, but subsequently went to Virginia. Ill received by the Virginians, he secured a patent from Charles I. under which his son in 1634 established a colony on the Northern border of Virginia and on the shore of Chesapeake Bay. It was called

Maryland, after Queen Henrietta Maria, and the city of Baltimore bears the founder's name. No company was concerned in this case; the grant was to an individual proprietor, and religious toleration was of the essence of the settlement.

While colonisation was thus rapidly spreading along the mainland fringe of North America, the English were taking firm root in the West Indian Islands, where tropical climate was not a bar to white colonisation. The first permanent British West Indian settlement was in the island of St. Kitts. Here Thomas Warner, whose family name still lives and thrives in the West Indies, landed with a little group of settlers on the 28th January, 1623. Small as is the island, it found room about the same time for a band of French settlers, and French and English, usually at amity, shared the island throughout most of the remaining years of the century. Within ten years from Warner's arrival, the settlement at St. Kitts sent out offshoots to others of the Leeward Islands, to the neighbouring island of Nevis, to Montserrat, and to Antigua. Farther south and outside the Caribbean ring, an island, little larger than the Isle of Wight, became from 1625 onwards a British colony, great in heart and great in history. Whether Barbados had been inhabited or not before it became a British possession is not assured, but it was an unoccupied island when the British flag was hoisted on its shore in 1605. Twenty years later colonisation began. The island proved to be, as it is to-day, an exceptionally healthy dwelling-place for white men under the tropical sun, and before half a century was over the number of its British citizens ran into many thousands. The settlers were for the most part Royalists, like the Puritan colonists in New England refugees from trouble at home, but flying from Puritan ascendancy, not from Church or King. No foreign white nation

ever had even a temporary foothold in Barbados. It is the heir of an uninterrupted British tradition; and its representative institutions, in order of seniority, come next to those of Bermuda. Providence was the name given to one of the early Puritan settlements in New England. It was given also to an island off the coast of Central America, which was settled by a Providence Island Company, but only held for a few years, when it was uprooted by the Spaniards. The island was known as Old Providence, as opposed to New Providence in the Bahamas, into which scattered group of islands the first settlers came from Bermuda, establishing themselves in an island to which they gave the name of Eleutheria, now Eleuthera, to tell of freedom, which was always uppermost in the minds of these early pioneers of English expansion beyond the seas. All this spasmodic colonising took place in the reigns of the first two Stuart kings, and the colonies were known as Plantations. It was a term which aptly represented the facts of the case, for the time was a human seedtime, a time of planting the British race in the New World. Plantations in our modern sense were mainly of tobacco, a "scurvy weed," as the directors of one of the many companies styled it, but profitable withal. It was not until the middle years of the century that in the West Indies the reign of sugar began.

The first years of the century saw the planting of another European race in the New World and, as though the great spaces of North America did not provide ample elbow room for all newcomers, from the first French and English trod on each others' heels in keen and bitter rivalry. They competed on the mainland, they competed in Newfoundland, where Placentia was the main French centre, they competed throughout the West Indies. We have seen that the great waterway of Canada was first made known to the

world by the Breton sailor, Jacques Cartier. A year after the founding of Jamestown in Virginia, a greater Frenchman than Cartier, Samuel Champlain, possessed himself of the gate of the river and in 1608 founded the future capital of New France at Quebec. Quebec, however, was not the first French foothold in North America, for in 1604-5, under a Royal patent from the King of France, French pioneers had planted themselves on the inner side of the Acadian Peninsula, where the Annapolis Inlet breaks into the land from the Bay of Fundy. Here was established a small settlement called Port Royal, abandoned in 1607, but revived in 1610.

Acadia was ever a debatable land as between French and English, and under the name of Nova Scotia or New Scotland it was covered by a patent granted in 1621 by King James I. to one of his Scottish favourites, Sir William Alexander, a man of letters rather than of action. This grant was the first outward and visible sign of Scottish participation in the making of the Empire. Port Royal had the most varying fortunes. In 1613 the French station was for the time broken up by raiding ships sent from Virginia. After King Charles I. had come to the British throne and when, in 1627, there was war with France, Alexander combined with a London Syndicate of "Adventurers to Canada," and some Scotch settlers were sent out to renew Port Royal as a Scottish colony. At this time it seemed as though the French might be wholly ousted from North America. The Adventurers to Canada were well served by a bold and skilful privateer, David Kirke; he blockaded the St. Lawrence, and in 1629 Champlain at Quebec was starved out and compelled to surrender. It was one of the great "might have beens" in the history of the Empire. But the British tenure alike of Quebec and of Acadia was very brief, for by the treaty of St.

Germain en Laye in 1632 both were given back to France. The French planted a new Port Royal on the opposite shore of the Annapolis estuary to the site of its predecessor, Champlain came back to Quebec, and the fine story of New France went on its way.

In this era of colonisation the work of discovery was not set aside. The quest for a road to the East through Arctic seas was still continued, repeated attempts were financed by the Russia and East India Companies, or by members of those companies, and, after Henry Hudson had made his way through Hudson Straits and into Hudson Bay, a London Company of Discoverers of the North-West Passage was formed, under whom Baffin pushed farthest towards the Pole. Two voyages in 1631 ended this period of northern exploration, of which the main outcome was a British claim to the shores and regions of Hudson Bay and Dutch settlement on the Hudson River, which the great explorer Hudson had brought to light during an interval of service under the Dutch flag and while seeking, as ever, a waterway to the Indies.

America, the New World, was designed by man as well as by nature to be a scene of reproduction. New France, New Scotland, New England, New Netherland soon to be New York, one " new " name after another, told of dwelling-places wherein were to appear revised versions of the old homes. Very different, on the nearer side of the Atlantic, were the conditions of the West Coast of Africa. There was British expansion in this direction also, but solely in the form of trade. There could be no question of permanent settlement, of reproduction, on this unhealthy fringe of barbarism. All that was aimed at, all that was possible, was the establishment of stations on islets or on the surf-beaten shores of Guinea, forts or fortified factories, wherein, on their guard against white men as well as

black, agents and employees of trading companies bought and sold, sickened and died. The first comers to the coast, the Portuguese, had given most evidence of permanent tenure when on the Gold Coast they built the castle of Elmina, still standing in massive strength, from which, in 1637, they were ousted by their deadly foes the Dutch. The first British posts in West Africa dated from about 1618, in which year a Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa was formed. Fort Cormantine was planted on the Gold Coast, and much farther north there was some kind of station on an island in the Gambia River. The Gambia and the Gold Coast became and for the better part of two centuries remained the main areas of British trading enterprise on the African Coast. In the region of the Gambia, the chief European rivals of British traders were the French, who from the first had made the neighbouring Senegal their own. On the Gold Coast the most formidable competitors were the Dutch. During the first forty years of the seventeenth century the West African trade, for Englishmen, did not degenerate to any appreciable extent into the worst form of exploiting, traffic in human beings. The West Indian plantations were in infancy, sugar had not yet begun to call loudly for cheap imported labour, and the early slave trading exploits of Sir John Hawkins had not been repeated by at any rate the large majority of British traders to the coast of Africa. The slave traffic was in the hands of the Portuguese, then of the Dutch, and not until the century was far advanced did the English compete, only too successfully, in the loathsome industry.

Like West Africa, the East Indies were for Englishmen a scene of trade, not of settlement, but India was the dwelling-place of highly cultured peoples and the home of an old civilisation. Beauty in building is crowned by the Taj Mahal at Agra, which city was the

capital of the Mogul dynasty when the English first came to India, petitioning to be allowed to traffic within the great Emperor's dominions. The East India Company began as a compromise between a regulated and a jointstock company. There was joint stock, but only for single voyages, and it was subscribed at will by members of the company, not by the company as a whole, the subscribers running all the risk and taking all the profit. Some little time passed before the jointstock principle was adopted in its entirety. Nor was India in the beginning the main goal of English traders to the East. In these early days when in Great Britain livestock was largely killed off in winter time, the spices of the East were in great demand for seasoning or for medicinal purposes. Pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, and the like, as necessaries and not merely as luxuries, were valued to a degree which is hardly intelligible under the conditions of modern life, and the Spice Islands of the Eastern Archipelago were a lodestar to the voyagers from Europe. The first two ventures of the company were directed exclusively to the islands, and one outcome was the establishment of a trading centre at Bantam in Java. But in the islands the Dutch had gained a start; and, though the Netherlands East India Company was slightly younger than the British company, being formed in 1602, when it was formed, it embodied and was backed by the whole strength of the Dutch nation. For aggressive purposes, the Hollanders were infinitely better equipped and more highly organised than their British rivals. These were the years when Portugal was under the domination of Spain, and had thereby been dragged into the losing fight with the Netherlands. To the seagoing, trade-seeking Dutchmen a priceless opportunity was given of using their sea power and forcibly extending their commerce. They broke into

the Eastern seas, they attacked the Portuguese at every point, until the capture of Malacca in 1641, the year after Portugal regained her independence from Spain, marked the almost complete downfall of the Portuguese Empire in the Far East. Then in turn the victorious Netherlanders developed into as ruthless monopolists as their predecessors, and, where trade was concerned, they had no more love for their fellow Protestants, the English, than they had for the Portuguese. In these early days, and indeed for many long years, war or peace between governments and nations in Europe did not necessarily imply the same relations between nationals in far-off lands and seas, and there was no war between the Netherlands and Great Britain when, in 1623, the agent of the British company at Amboyna in the Spice Islands and his small staff of assistants were tortured and murdered by the Dutch Governor in these islands, strong in the backing of soldiers and ships of war on the spot. The endless record of tragedies perpetrated in the course of national rivalries contains nothing more infamous than the massacre of Amboyna, and, as the facts became known in England, public indignation seethed against the Dutch. But Stuarts, not Tudors, were on the throne; it was left to Cromwell many years later, at the conclusion of the first Dutch war, to exact some measure of compensation, and meanwhile the crime answered its purpose, it secured permanent predominance of the Dutch over the English in the East Indian Archipelago.

The story ran otherwise in India. The third of the East India Company's voyages in 1607 called at the mainland, and an English emissary of the company went up to the Mogul Court at Agra to secure permission to trade. At this date the Portuguese were still strong in India, though in declining strength, with their base at Goa, and they used all means of

force and intrigue to thwart the early efforts of the English to open trade at the Mogul port of Surat. Once more sea fighting, on a small scale but very good of its kind, carried the English forward. In 1612 and again in 1615 off Surat sturdy captains of company ships, Best and Downton, more than held their own against far stronger Portuguese flotillas; they fought under the eyes of the natives, who had little cause to love the Portuguese, they gained high repute for their countrymen, trade followed in the wake of prestige, a British factory was firmly established at Surat, and for many years it was the company's headquarters in India. The first beginning of the Surat factory was in 1612, but it was preceded by one year by a factory on the other side of India, which was established in 1611 at Masulipatam, a port of the native kingdom of Golconda between the mouths of the Godaveri and Kistna rivers. The interests of the company were well served at Agra for two or three years by a distinguished Londoner, Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in 1615. Employed by the company, he was at the same time, in their interests, accredited by King James as his ambassador to the Mogul Emperor. Stuart support, however, whether given to men or to companies, was always shifty and unstable, at one time and another interlopers gained their ear, cut into the Eastern trade, and committed piracies for which the native authorities held the company responsible. In 1635 King Charles I. gave a patent to a rival association, headed by Sir William Courteen; by the time that the new venturers were, after some fourteen years, merged in the original company, their competition and their misdeeds had wrought infinite mischief, and when the Commonwealth was substituted for the Monarchy, the fortunes of the East India merchants and British interests in India were at a very low ebb. By this time, however,

Great Britain and Portugal had come to terms in India and out of it, and a peace had been signed which has never since been broken. Dutch competition, moreover, was never so intensely bitter on the mainland as in the coveted islands, and in India the Netherlanders gave less trouble on the western than on the eastern side. The French, who in the eighteenth century were the great rivals of the English in India, in the first half of the seventeenth century had hardly appeared on the scene. Wise in his generation, Sir Thomas Roe had warned his employers to abstain from fighting and to confine themselves strictly to trade, and for forty years the company did not own a square foot of Indian soil, wherein to plant the seed of territorial dominion. At length, in 1639-40, one of their agents, Francis Day, acquired for his masters the freehold of a site for a fort on ground now covered by the City of Madras, and built a fort—Fort St. George—thereby incurring the displeasure of the Directors on grounds of expense. This was the tiny beginning of British India.

SECTION III

THE COMMONWEALTH AND CROMWELL

THE immediate prelude to the Empire, the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been marked by a great blossoming of the sea power of England. Sea power and trade combined had been indelibly stamped upon the Empire's title page. The sea, not the land, had been the main sphere of action, and among the men of action, sailors, not soldiers, left names to be the glory of the past and to inspire the future. The time of the Commonwealth was also a great time in the history of England, not, like the intervening reigns of the first two Stuarts, a somewhat mean and reactionary time; but it differed in kind from the era of Queen Elizabeth, it differed in respect of the parts played relatively by sea and land. The result of the Civil War, of heavy land fighting and ordered campaigns within the island, was that there has never been to this day a time in England when the army was such a paramount force as in the years which followed the Battle of Naseby, never a time when, outwardly at any rate, it so much outshone and gave a lead to the navy. Generals, not admirals, were the outstanding figures, the best admirals were, as in the case of Robert Blake, seasoned soldiers turned into sailors, and, though there was hard fighting enough at sea, as there had been on land, and Blake proved himself to be a most competent commander, there was little trace of the genius of the Elizabethan sea captains or of the great seamanship which shone in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was a kind of Roman time in English

history. The sea was kept by Englishmen, as by Romans, by strength of will and hand, rather than by naval instinct, intuition, and expert skill. Yet the Interregnum deserved well of the Navy, and Parliament and Cromwell fully realised what sea power meant for England. In the earlier years of the century the sun of her naval greatness had gone down; they were, in naval matters, years of deterioration and decay, and, though some improvement had been made while Charles I. was still on the throne—for, however unconstitutional was the levy of ship money, the sums supplied by the levy were duly spent on the ships—it was left to the Commonwealth, at almost ruinous expense, to restore the strength and solidity of "the floating bulwark" of the island. The quality of the regenerated navy was put to the test in the Dutch War of 1652-4, and it came well out of the ordeal, although the Dutch were led by the most renowned of their sailors, Van Tromp and De Ruyter.

Before war had formally been declared between Great Britain and the Netherlands, the rival fleets had already turned their guns on each other, owing to refusal by the Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, to salute the English flag in the Channel. The English still upheld in somewhat arrogant fashion their old time claim to the sovereignty of the Narrow Sea. But conflicting interests were at stake far more substantial than questions of salute. Here, at the very doors of England, was a foreign power built on the same lines as the English, intent on the same aims and objects, and it was at the zenith of its strength. The world was wide, but not wide enough to contain Dutch and English without fighting for the mastery. The Republic of the United Netherlands, says the great historian, Motley, was "seaborn and sea sustained," seaborn and sea sustained to a greater extent even

than England. The narrow strip of the Dutch homeland had largely been reclaimed from the sea, and all their sustenance and all their resources the Dutchmen drew from the water rather than from the land. Many years of war with Spain had developed Dutch sea power and commerce to an unrivalled extent; in shipbuilding the Netherlanders stood first in the world, and they carried merchandise at lower freights than any other people of the day. Their carrying trade threatened to develop into complete monopoly, and, faced by this menace, in order to protect and foster English shipping, the Long Parliament, in 1651, passed the first General Navigation Act. This Act provided that goods from countries outside Europe should be imported into England, Ireland and the English colonies only in ships built, owned, commanded, and, as regards the majority of the crew in each case, manned by Englishmen, and that goods from countries in Europe should be imported only in English ships or in ships of the countries in which the goods had been actually produced or manufactured. Thus, so far as imports into England and the English possessions were concerned, the Dutch carrying trade was cut down to carrying articles actually grown or made in the Netherlands. English ships included ships built and owned in English colonies, and Englishmen included the citizens of those colonies. No discrimination was made between home English and overseas English, they were placed on precisely the same footing under the law. It was a great pronouncement by the English democracy that the Empire, in its infancy, was a single unit, one and undivided. It was a first indication of a definite policy, based on a fixed principle, for the whole English community, whether at home or beyond the seas. This Navigation Act was a strong contributory cause of the Dutch War which came in the following year,

and when the war ended the Dutch had to put up with it and lost their monopoly. The sole object of the Act was to nurse the sea power of England, on which both Mother Country and Colonies depended for their existence, and this object was achieved. But beyond its immediate aim the law had very far-reaching consequences. It was the beginning of the standard colonial policy of Great Britain for nearly two hundred years. It was the precursor, as we shall see, of further Navigation Acts of far wider scope, in which trade considerations called the tune; and even this first measure of protection in the simplest and most salutary sense of the word, which accorded to colonists and home citizens precisely the same treatment, was little to the taste of the colonists and damaged their immediate interests. The New Englander, the Virginian, and the plantation owner in Barbados, paid more for imported goods and imported labour than when the Hollanders carried their supplies.

Whether it was good or bad, the Navigation Act was a determined measure, and those who framed and carried it were not afraid of taking a strong course and of incurring war. The Dutch War ended in April, 1654, and an expedition under the command of Major-General Sedgwick, which had been sent out by Cromwell before the conclusion of peace to take New Amsterdam on the Island of Manhattan from the Dutch, was directed against the French in Acadia. Once more Port Royal and all the other French posts were taken in 1654-5, and though shortly afterwards Cromwell joined hands with Mazarin, he refused to give back Acadia to France. Next he turned on Spain. In December, 1654, a joint military and naval expedition was despatched by him to the West Indies with intent to wrest from the Spaniards their great island of Hispaniola. The attack on Hispaniola

failed miserably, but the commanders, passing on to Jamaica, met with little resistance to their landing in that island in May, 1655, and they took it for England. Jamaica was the first British colony to be acquired by force of arms, and the expedition by which it was taken, muddled and mismanaged as it was, was the first enterprise of the kind in which British home and colonial forces co-operated, for the sailors and soldiers from England were, after arrival in the West Indies, joined by levies, indifferent and half-hearted levies, it is true, from the islands of Barbados and St. Kitts.

To take a Spanish island was one thing, to make it a British island was another. But Cromwell was resolved that Jamaica should become in fact as well as in name a British colony. To this end he invited settlers from the other British West Indian Islands, from Bermuda, and from New England, and he had recourse to compulsory as well as to free immigration. Orders were given to transport to Jamaica "all known idle masterless robbers and vagabonds" in Scotland, male and female, and young men and girls were ordered out from Ireland. From the beginning, when new worlds were first being discovered and exploited, it had been the practice of the western nations of Europe to find recruits for their oversea ventures in their prisons and among their criminal classes. After Cabot's first successful voyage, he was authorised by the king to enlist prisoners for his second expedition. A similar licence was given to Martin Frobisher. The ships which carried Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 on his mission to the Great Mogul deposited at the Cape some condemned criminals who had been reprieved and handed over to the East India Company to be carried overseas on board their vessels and "to make discoveries in those places where they should be left." Then the practice grew up of not merely

exiling beyond the ocean those who had broken the law or sinned against the Government at home, but also of definitely consigning lawbreakers to forced labour in the plantations. Before the days of the Commonwealth, white immigrants into Virginia were very largely not free settlers, but either criminals whose sentences had been commuted to servitude in the colonies, or immigrants of the pauper class who had indentured themselves to plantation owners for terms of years. As the century grew older, the numbers of these white bondsmen were multiplied from two different sources. On the one hand, kidnapping became a constant and a lucrative trade, the young and friendless in the streets of London or Bristol were smuggled on board ship and sold into slavery on the other side of the ocean. On the other hand, political offenders were plentifully supplied by the Government and the law-courts to the plantations in America and the West Indies. There was much deportation at the hands of Cromwell, after the Battle of Worcester and after Dunbar. At a later date there was a similar sequel to Sedgemoor and the Bloody Assize. Later again, deportation followed the Jacobite rising of 1715. It was not very long before, on the sugar plantations at any rate, forced white labour was in the main superseded by negro slave labour. Interest if not humanity dictated such a course. The white bondsman was not adapted, as was the African, to manual field labour under a tropical sun, and he was a bondsman only for a term of years, not a chattel for life. But though on the very threshold of British colonisation Bacon had preached the wise and righteous doctrine that "it is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant," transportation in one form or another accompanied the path of the Empire from the

days of its infancy in the seventeenth century until far on in the nineteenth century public opinion at home and overseas abolished it wholly and for ever.

During the Commonwealth, the English first came into possession of another island, a small island in the South Atlantic, but which has figured largely in our history, St. Helena. Its importance in old days was due to the fact that it lies in the direct line of the trade winds blowing from the South East, and vessels homeward bound from the Indies, after leaving the Cape, were carried straight to "St. Helen's Road," where fresh food, good water and healthy air awaited the scurvy-stricken crews. Together with all other lands and waters on this side of the globe, it had nominally belonged to the Portuguese; they had, to their credit, stocked it and formed some kind of station for first aid to ships, but they never garrisoned or really occupied the island. For a few years prior to 1650 it passed into the hands of the Dutch, but they again planted no fort or settlement on its shores, and in 1651, having decided to establish a permanent foothold at the Cape—a resolution which was carried into effect in the following year—they abandoned St. Helena altogether. The English East India Company then took possession of it, after the Restoration, in 1661, their right was confirmed by a clause in the Charter which they received from Charles II., and James Fort, or—as it is now—Jamestown, was christened after the then Duke of York, subsequently James II. In the two Dutch Wars of Charles II.'s reign, the island was twice taken by the Dutch and twice retaken, and finally a new Royal Charter, at the end of 1673, once more confirmed the Company as "true and absolute lords and proprietors" of the island.

In all things, Oliver Cromwell, most resolute of rulers, stood for England, and, so far as the interests

of the English trading companies coincided with and ministered to the interests of England, he stood for them. Complaints of monopoly did not disturb him, if monopoly seemed to be necessary, like the Navigation Act, as an effective weapon in the competition with foreign nations. Near home, he was a good friend to the Merchant Adventurers of England, and in 1656, when the Dutch War was over, he issued a Proclamation upholding them and their trade monopoly against English rivals and interlopers, their central marts on the Continent being the city of Dort in the Netherlands and the free city of Hamburg. The East India Company, as has been told, owed it to him that the Dutch were at length called to account for the outrage at Amboyna, and their monopoly, too, was confirmed by him in a new Charter granted in 1657, conflicting interests being combined and the Company being placed permanently on a jointstock basis.

SECTION IV

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

THE Protector died in September, 1658. In May, 1660, Charles II. returned to London and came to the throne. In Oliver Cromwell a great Englishman and a great ruler had passed away, the restored king was neither the one nor the other, yet his reign was most fruitful for the Empire. Clarendon, the king's chief adviser in the earlier years of the reign, is reported to have said of himself that "soon after the Restoration, he used all the endeavours he could to bring His Majesty to have a great esteem for his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them," and in the very first year of the reign, 1660, a new Navigation Law was passed, far wider in its scope than the Act of 1651. We have seen that the earlier Act had been designed solely to encourage British shipping, and that, with that object in view, it had provided that all goods from countries outside Europe should be imported into England and the English possessions only in English—including Colonial—ships. No restriction, however, had been placed on exports from the colonies to foreign countries. The new law re-enacted in the main the provisions of the Commonwealth Act, but it provided also that exports from the English colonies should be carried to foreign countries only in English—including Colonial—ships, and going still further, it enumerated certain staple products of the English colonies, including sugar and tobacco, which were not to be exported to any country except England or an English possession. The Act was

supplemented by later Acts of 1663 and 1672, in either case in the direction of greater stringency, and the following words in the Act of 1663 clearly indicated the purport of the laws. "And in regard His Majesty's plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his Kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it in the further equipment and increase of English shipping and seamen, vent of English woollen and other manufactures and commodities, rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this Kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying of them, and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantations trade to themselves. . . ." Other nations monopolised the trade of their colonies, and England by these Acts decided to take the same course. It was a course intended to increase English shipping, to keep the colonies in due dependence on the mother country, to make the mother country the manufacturing centre for the colonies, the source of or the conduit for their supplies, the distributing centre for their produce. The colonies were at the same time to benefit by the monopoly, they were to have protection in every sense, they were to reap the fruits of the growth of sea power and the increase in the British carrying trade, their merchant shipping was to have the same privileges as the home merchant shipping, their products were to enjoy preference in the home market over those of the foreigner. But they were to be dependencies, whereas self-government had gone out overseas with the colonists and was in their blood. The mercantile system might be tolerated while they

were in infancy, but it was incompatible with freedom, and with the British race there could be but one ending, sooner or later freedom was bound to prevail.

When the Spaniards acquired an overseas Empire, they lost no time in providing a system for its administration. The Royal Council of the Indies answered to a Colonial Office, and the Casa de Contractation at Seville to a Board of Trade. When the original charter was given to the Virginia Company by King James I., it seems to have been intended to create in England a Royal Council for the Colonies similar to the Spanish Council, but the intention was not carried out, and for many years there was no permanent Board or Office to transact the business connected with the colonial possessions of England. The nearest approach to permanent and systematic control over the colonies was embodied in the Navigation Acts ; otherwise there was a spasmodic succession of committees of the Privy Council or of Special Commissions for dealing with colonial questions. Thus, in 1671, a Council of Foreign Plantations was constituted—not a happy title to apply to English colonies, and from the Diary of John Evelyn, who had been appointed a member of the Council, it would seem that he and his colleagues were kept busily employed, especially in connection with the New England colonies, "since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown." In the following year the Council of Plantations was combined with a Council of Trade. The President of the Joint Council was a man of supreme ability, the famous or infamous Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, the Secretary was the philosopher, John Locke. This Council, however, had a very short life of hardly more than two years, and colonial questions were then once more relegated to a committee of the Privy Council, with

the title of the Lords of Trade. This arrangement held good until nearly the end of the century when, in 1696, King William III. created a Board of Trade and Plantations. These titles, Lords of Trade and Board of Trade and Plantations, tell to what extent British colonial policy was dominated by trade considerations. The Board of Trade and Plantations, which consisted of eight paid members in addition to, *ex officio*, Ministers of State, was a great improvement upon the makeshifts which had preceded it and, as it lasted till 1782, it assured a large measure of continuity in colonial business. But still it fell short of a Colonial Office in that it was an advisory body only and the executive power rested with one of the Secretaries of State.

While Spain had been falling from her high estate, France had been on the upward path, and Richelieu had consolidated the Bourbon monarchy. On his death in 1642, Mazarin took his place, and in the main guided the destinies of France until his own death in 1661, the year after the Restoration of Charles II. In 1643, Louis XIV., the Grand Monarch, then a child not five years old, began a reign which lasted till 1715. Mazarin was succeeded by Colbert, vigorous promoter of French shipping, overseas enterprise and trade; and the years drew on towards the second of the wars in which Great Britain was matched against a power that threatened to dominate the world. Cromwell had not foreseen the coming danger when he joined hands with Mazarin against Spain and in 1657 sent 6000 of his Ironsides across the Channel to co-operate with the French army under Turenne. In the following year the combined forces fought and won the Battle of the Dunes outside Dunkirk, then a port in the Spanish Netherlands, which had long been a nest of privateers. Dunkirk fell, was, by a previous agreement between Cromwell and Mazarin,

handed over to England, and, four years later, in 1662, was sold to France by Charles II. Charles, in the days of his exile, had sojourned both in the Netherlands and in France, and at the time of the Battle of the Dunes, when Cromwell was in active alliance with the French, France was his foe, not his friend. But he was French on his mother's side, his mother dwelt at St. Germain, he was at heart a Roman Catholic, in which faith he died, and as his reign went on he became little better than a dependent of Louis XIV. At the beginning of the reign the French were allies of the Dutch, but later France became to the Netherlands what Spain had been, a life and death enemy, and the English king, though not the English nation, abetted the designs of France. The first of the two Anglo-Dutch Wars of this reign, however, was, as Cromwell's war had been, a war of national competition for sea ascendancy and trade. The Dutch had fully recovered from the effects of Cromwell's war, the new Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663 had dealt a further blow to their commercial interests, and long before war was formally declared, Dutch and English were raiding and counter-raiding each other beyond the seas, especially on the West Coast of Africa. Declaration of open war was made at the beginning of 1665; at the beginning of 1666 the French co-operated with the Dutch, and the end came with the Peace of Breda on the 31st of July, 1667. During this war there was again very hard fighting in home waters, especially in what was known as the Four Days' Battle of June, 1666. The English navy had not yet lost the new life put into it by the Commonwealth, and though the king's brother, the Duke of York, his cousin, Prince Rupert, and even Monk, like Blake a skilful "general at sea," were no match for De Ruyter, by far the greatest seaman of his day, the English on the balance had somewhat the best of

the struggle. But there was a very bad time in June and July, 1667, immediately before the war ended, when through false economy on the part of the English government and division of the naval forces, De Ruyter entered the estuary of the Thames, burnt English ships of war at Chatham, and blocked the waterway to London, " a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishmen saw," wrote an eyewitness, John Evelyn, " and a dishonour never to be wiped off." The second Dutch War of the reign was in no sense for England a national war. It was a war engineered by her king who had bound himself to Louis XIV. by the infamous Secret Pact of Dover. It began in the spring of 1672. De Ruyter held his own against the combined British and French fleets at Southwold Bay or Solebay, and at the Texel. In February, 1674, Parliament and people in England forced Charles II. to come to terms with the Dutch, and the Peace of Westminster ended the series of wars between Great Britain and the Netherlands for the mastery of the sea. Discreditable to England as had been the latest phase of these wars, mean and treacherous as had been the conduct of her king, glorious as had been De Ruyter's championship of his country and its liberties, in the end the substantial fruits remained with Great Britain. The Netherlands were not broad-based enough to bear interminably the strain of competition with a rival power of greater resources, more favoured in geographical position, and—most of all—not linked to the Continent, but possessing in the Channel " a moat defensive to a house." The French armies had been sweeping into the Netherlands, the war went on, though England stood aloof, until a short breathing space was given by the Peace of Nymeguen in 1678. Ten years later the Stadtholder of the Netherlands became the King of Great Britain, and in the long world war in which Great Britain and

the Netherlands stood shoulder to shoulder against France, the Dutch had a land frontier to defend, and it fell in the course of nature to the English to take the lead on the sea. From 1674 onwards the Netherlands were never again a protagonist against Great Britain.

As has been said, overseas fighting between the two naval powers long preceded the formal declaration of war in 1665. The English commander, afterwards Admiral Sir Robert Holmes, in 1662-4 played havoc with the Dutch forts on the West African coast, which was more than recouped by De Ruyter, who also made himself felt in the West Indies. In the West Indies, too, when the French came into the war on the side of the Dutch, they overran the English Leeward Islands, and the English half of St. Kitts was still in French hands when the war ended, being subsequently, by the Treaty of Breda, given back to Great Britain, under the terms of which Treaty Acadia was once more given back to France. As between the Dutch and English, the basis of the Treaty of Breda was that either power should retain what it had taken in the war. On the Guinea Coast the Dutch came out of the war better than the English, but while the latter lost their old main fort at Cormantine, they gained from their rivals Cabo Corso, or Cape Coast Castle, which became their headquarters on this coast. On the other side of the Atlantic, Surinam in Guiana, where there had been an English settlement since 1650, was lost to the Dutch, but this loss was far more than counter-balanced on the mainland of North America by the acquisition of New Netherlands on the Hudson River. Regardless of Dutch rights, King Charles in the spring of 1664 had made a grant to his brother, the Duke of York, of all the territory between Connecticut and the Delaware River, a small expedition was sent out, it was

supported from New England, and in the following August New Amsterdam was surrendered without fighting. Left in British hands by the Treaty of Breda, when the second war came, the colony was, in 1673, again without fighting, retaken by a Dutch fleet, but the Treaty of Westminster once more and in perpetuity transferred it to Great Britain, and New Netherlands became New York. Before the English had appeared on the scene, the Dutch on the Hudson had absorbed a Swedish colony on the Delaware River. Into this inheritance also the English entered, and into the intervening territory, which became known as New Jersey. Quakerism had a footing in New Jersey, and on its borders in 1682 came to birth the great Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, bearing the name of the first proprietor, William Penn. Penn received his grant from Charles II. in 1681, and, Quaker as he was, he had the support and the personal friendship of the Roman Catholic Duke of York, now on the eve of becoming James II. Thus under the restored Stuarts, the northern and southern British colonies in North America were linked up in a continuous line, and meanwhile English colonisation was extending still farther south, for the Carolinas came into being under a patent which, in March, 1663, Charles II. granted to eight proprietors, including Clarendon, Shaftesbury, and George Monk, now Duke of Albemarle. It covered the whole coast between the southern border of Virginia and Florida. Settlers came from Virginia, New England, Barbados, over and above immigrants from the mother country. Scottish Presbyterians were among the early colonists, and French Huguenots. John Locke devised a constitution which, being the creation of a philosopher, was unworkable in practice, two separate colonies were evolved, North Carolina, the region which Raleigh had tried to colonise, and South Carolina, the capital of which was Charleston,

both colony and capital bearing witness by their names to the king in whose reign they came to life. Six of the Carolina proprietors in 1670 received a Royal grant of the Bahama Islands, which now formally became a British colony.

The series of voyages to the Arctic regions, which ended in 1631, had not opened a North-West passage to the Indies, but had found Hudson Bay, and had left the English with such rights or claims in these regions as attach to prior discovery. In 1668 an English ship again appeared in the Bay, sent out with the object of initiating a fur trade with the Indians. It wintered in James Bay at the mouth of a river, to which the name of Rupert River was given. It came back to England in 1669, and in May, 1670, King Charles granted a Royal Charter to "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." The Governor was Prince Rupert, and among his colleagues in the company were Albemarle and Shaftesbury. They were constituted lords and proprietors of all the lands and seas within the entrance of Hudson Straits, so far as they had not already been granted to British subjects or to the subjects of some other Christian Prince or State, they were given complete monopoly of trade, and the lands were to be reckoned "one of our plantations or colonies in America, called Rupert's Land." Such was the origin of the great Hudson Bay Company, second only to the East India Company in the history of British chartered companies. From the first, its rights were challenged by the French in Canada, and through the remaining years of the century French and English fought each other in these desolate regions and took and retook the various little forts and stations in the Bay. Good reason had the owners of New France to be uneasy at the course of British expansion in North America. The

elimination of the Dutch on the Hudson River had given into British keeping a water highway into Canada, the whole Atlantic seaboard southward from Acadia had become a British sphere, and, if left to take root on the northern side of New France in Hudson Bay, the English might well make their way into the wilds of the North-West and intercept the fur trade, which was the staple trade of Canada.

This reign of Charles II. was a noteworthy time alike for the confirmation of old charters and for the formation of new chartered companies. In 1661 the old Merchant Adventurers of England company, by this date on the downward grade, received its last charter, which confirmed the existing rights of the company with a provision inserted in favour of the City of London—one of many indications of the ever-growing predominance of London over the other cities of the island. Another declining company, that of the Eastland Merchants, who traded with the Baltic, also in the same year secured a renewal of their charter, but a little later in the reign, by an Act of Parliament of 1672, the Baltic trade was largely thrown open. Among new companies, special mention must be made of " The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa," which was incorporated in 1662 and, after a troubled life of ten years, during which the Dutch War did infinite harm to British interests in West Africa, was glad to surrender its charter and its interests in favour of a new company with wider scope and stronger powers, better able to stand up against Dutch rivalry. This was the Royal African Company of England, which was incorporated under Royal Charter in 1672. The Duke of York was a member of both companies, and in the second the king himself is said to have had an interest. The earlier company definitely contracted to supply the British West Indian colonies with 3000 negroes a

year, and the staple enterprise of both companies was the slave trade. From 1660 onwards the English, to their eternal discredit, became systematic slave traders, at first for their own colonies and afterwards for others also. It was a carrying trade; the English colonies had been supplied by the Dutch; the Navigation Acts struck at the Dutch carrying trade; in the course of business and in furtherance of national interests the English became carriers of this human merchandise, and in the eighteenth century carried more slaves than any other nation. There is no space in this book to enter into the details of the slave trade, and there is happily no need to insist upon its iniquity. Reference will be made later to the movement which abolished the evil, and here only two points of historical interest in connection with it call for notice. Though the slave trade flourished, the Royal African Company did not. The reason was that even in an age when monopolies were plentiful, and even in connection with this odious business, the voice of free trade would be heard. Private traders in England fought the exclusive privileges granted to the company; West Indian sugar planters reckoned that by open competition they would obtain their labour at lower price. After William and Mary came to the throne, the African trade was, by Act of Parliament passed in 1697, virtually thrown open to all British subjects, though, with the help of a Government subsidy for the upkeep of the forts and stations on the West African coast, the company continued in existence until 1752, and was then succeeded by another state-aided corporation. The second point is that the slave trade largely contributed to the rise of the one port in England which has been a serious rival in volume of shipping to the Port of London. With the expansion of the New World, with the growth of the demands and supplies of the New World—and in the forefront

of the demands was the call for West African labour—with these new conditions came the rise of Liverpool. London and Bristol had large interests in the slave trade, but it was estimated that before the end of the eighteenth century five-sixths of the ships that carried the slaves were connected with the Mersey.

In Charles II.'s reign the East India Company prospered greatly, and John Evelyn tells us in his Diary that in 1682, after he had been for twenty-five years a shareholder in the company, he sold his "East India Adventure of £250 principal for £750 to the Royal Society," which was incorporated in this reign and of which Evelyn was a leading promoter. The king gave the East India Company a new Charter in April, 1661. By this Charter and by subsequent Charters granted by him and by his brother, when the latter became king, the company's position was much strengthened. Among other advantages which accrued to it were enlarged powers for employing warships and raising naval forces, and a great port and naval base was assured to the Directors when, in 1661, Bombay was ceded to King Charles as part of the dowry of the Portuguese princess who became his wife. After it had been most reluctantly handed over in 1665 by the Portuguese authorities at Goa, it was, in March, 1669, granted by the king to the company to be held from the Crown "in free and common soccage" on payment of a farm rent of £10 per annum. It was an island foothold, such as the English love, its tenure was of immense advantage to the company, and in 1687 it superseded Surat as the headquarters of the Western Presidency and the chief British centre in the East. Shipbuilding began at the port as early as 1671, and great was the subsequent record of the Bombay Marine—the Indian Navy—not in Indian waters alone. Here, too, were the first beginnings of the company's military forces.

The earliest native corps was raised in Bombay, though the development of an organised Sepoy army came at a later date and on the other side of India; and the survivors of 500 soldiers, largely ex-Cromwellians, who had been sent out by the British Government to take over the island from the Portuguese, formed the nucleus of the first white regiment in the company's service, the Bombay Fusiliers, who eventually became the 103rd regiment of the line, the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. The possession of Bombay gave much impetus to the onward movement of the company from the status of traders on sufferance of native rulers to that of territorial proprietors contemplating an Eastern dominion. In a despatch written from India in 1671, we find Bombay spoken of as a colony, and on the eve of the Revolution in England, in December, 1687, the Directors wrote to the President and Council of Fort St. George at Madras expressing a hope "that they will establish such a polity of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both at that place, as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come." So far had the leading minds in the company diverged from the path of trading pure and simple, which Sir Thomas Roe had marked out. By the date when this despatch was written, troubled times were again beginning for the East India merchants in India and out of it, but they had good cause to look back with satisfaction on the quarter of a century which had passed since the Restoration. Even the Dutch wars had not seriously damaged their interests. By the Treaty of Breda, the Dutch regained Pulo Roon, one of the Banda islands, which Cromwell had forced them to cede, they attacked St. Helena, as we have seen, and took it for the moment, and they harassed British commerce in the Eastern seas, but in India itself the

English East India Company suffered no substantial injury from their powerful rivals, and the accession of James II. found them still prospering with a good friend in the new king.

Few and evil were the days of James II.'s reign, but at any rate it stands to his credit that both as Duke of York and as king he promoted overseas enterprise, and still more that he was a consistent upholder of the navy in which he had served and which at times he had commanded. During his short reign he began repairing the mischief which had been wrought in the later years of his brother's reign, through parsimony and dishonest and incompetent administration. "The measures he at once took to restore it both in numbers and efficiency," writes Captain Mahan, "were thoughtful and thorough," but the end of his reign found the French navy, which Colbert had built up, stronger and more efficient than the Dutch and English fleets combined, as was conclusively proved when in 1690 Tourville defeated the allied naval forces off Beachy Head.

The Revolution which brought William and Mary to the throne was a turning point in the history of the Empire as in the domestic history of England. The powers of Parliament, which under the Stuarts had been largely in abeyance, were more than revived, the monarchy became a constitutional monarchy, slowly but surely the dominance of the House of Commons was asserted, and the practice grew up of choosing the King's Ministers from the party which at any given time held a majority in that house. The last two Stuart kings had bound themselves to France, King James had been an open and aggressive Roman Catholic. To France and to Roman Catholicism the English nation as a whole was diametrically opposed; the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 had brought over to England crowds of Huguenot refugees;

the protagonist against the designs of France was the Dutchman who became King of England. The Revolution therefore affected the development of the British Empire mainly in two directions. It brought overseas questions and the fortunes of the British overseas possessions directly under the cognisance of Parliament, and it began a duel with France for the first place on the ocean and beyond the ocean which lasted intermittently down to 1815.

It has been seen that an Act of 1697 virtually threw open the West African trade. Similarly, Parliament gave its support to the enemies in England—and they were many—of the East India Company. Profuse bribery of the King's Ministers procured for the company in 1693 a renewal of their Charter by the Privy Council, but the outcry was great, and in the following year the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect "That all the subjects of England have equal rights to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." The company was menaced from various quarters. The Scottish Parliament in 1695 gave its sanction to the formation of a "Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies," the only outcome of which, however, was a disastrous attempt to form a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien. Far greater was the danger caused by the incorporation in 1698 of a new English company, "The English Company trading to the East Indies," to which was granted the exclusive right of trading to India after the expiration of three years, granted as a breathing space to the old or London Company. But the old company had very substantial assets in its factories and possessions in the East, it invested largely in the stock of the new company, it used the three years' grace allotted to it manfully and with skill, it obtained an Act of Parliament which guaranteed its continued existence, French wars and competition

emphasised the necessity for a single English front, and, after a preliminary agreement between the two companies in 1702, a final union was achieved in 1708, and henceforth there was one company only trading to the East Indies, "The United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies"—better known as The Honourable East India Company.

In India, as in England, the company had gone through deep waters. The Mogul power was waning, the Marathas were rising, native feuds and unrest were inimical to trade. In pursuance of their resolution to become more than traders, the company rashly plunged into war with the Mogul Emperor, Aurangzeb, with the result that they were driven out of Bengal, and were in 1690 compelled to pay a fine to the Emperor and make an ignominious peace.

From about 1634 they had had trading footholds in Bengal, their principal factory being at Hughli, where Portuguese and Dutch also traded. After peace had been restored, they went back to Bengal, and, guided by a man of ability and local knowledge, Job Charnock, they planted themselves in a group of native villages lower down the river than Hughli. Here in 1696 they began to build a fort, called Fort William, they procured a formal grant of the villages from the native governor of Bengal, the grant was confirmed by his overlord, the Mogul Emperor, and gradually there grew up a great city by the side of the fort—the city of Calcutta. Some years previously they had, in 1682, established a factory at Cuddalore on the Coromandel Coast, south of Madras, and hard by Pondicherry where the French had already formed a station. At Cuddalore, on a site bought from the Marathas, they built a fort, Fort St. David, which played a prominent part in the wars of the eighteenth century. Outside India, in 1685, a settlement of great importance in the later history of the company

was established at Bencoolen on the south coast of the Island of Sumatra.

The flight of King James and the accession of King William brought on immediate war with France. The victory of the French navy at Beachy Head in 1690 was two years later offset by a crushing defeat inflicted upon them in the Battle of La Hogue. But British seaborne commerce suffered much at the hands of the French, and the inland borders of the British North American colonies were subjected to forays from Canada. These colonies, especially Massachusetts, co-operated in the war. Port Royal and other French settlements in Acadia were sacked by an expedition sent from Boston, and a little later the New Englanders made a bold, though wholly unsuccessful, attempt on Quebec itself. In Hudson Bay the French had the upper hand in a series of raids and counter raids, and the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 left to France all the stations in the Bay, with one exception.

But the Peace of Ryswick, like the Peace of Amiens a hundred years later in 1802, was only a momentary respite from actual fighting, the call of time after a first round; and the century went out with the war of the Spanish Succession on the threshold, casting its grim shadow before. It had been a memorable century. Among the nations of Europe which competed for world power, Spain and Portugal had fallen from the first rank, the Dutch were being outgrown, France, with her double seaboard, her rich home resources, her enterprising and enduring people, her matchless power of recovery, was revealing all her strength, and for a century and more Anglo-French competition was to form the main thread of the story of the British Empire. When the seventeenth century began there was no British Empire; when it ended the Empire was far on its way. With our race it had been a great time for settlement and for trade, but not

for conquest. All the seeds of the Commonwealth as it stands to-day had been sown. Diversity beyond the seas was the inevitable and permanent outcome of an infancy cradled in unsettled conditions at home. The elements of self-government and popular representation had been carried across the ocean. The chartered company, the great British agency for trade leading on to dominion, was potently at work. The base of it all was ever the sea. Strongly in evidence, too, were the leading features of the Empire in its first and now obsolete phase. The mercantile system was fully adopted. The original and worthy purpose of the Navigation Acts, to strengthen the sea power of England, fell into the background, and colonies became regarded as dependencies to feed the trade of the Motherland. The slave trade and transportation supplied forced labour, black and white, to the plantations In all points, good and evil alike, the nearer future of the Empire and the more distant also bore the imprint of the seventeenth century.

PART III
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

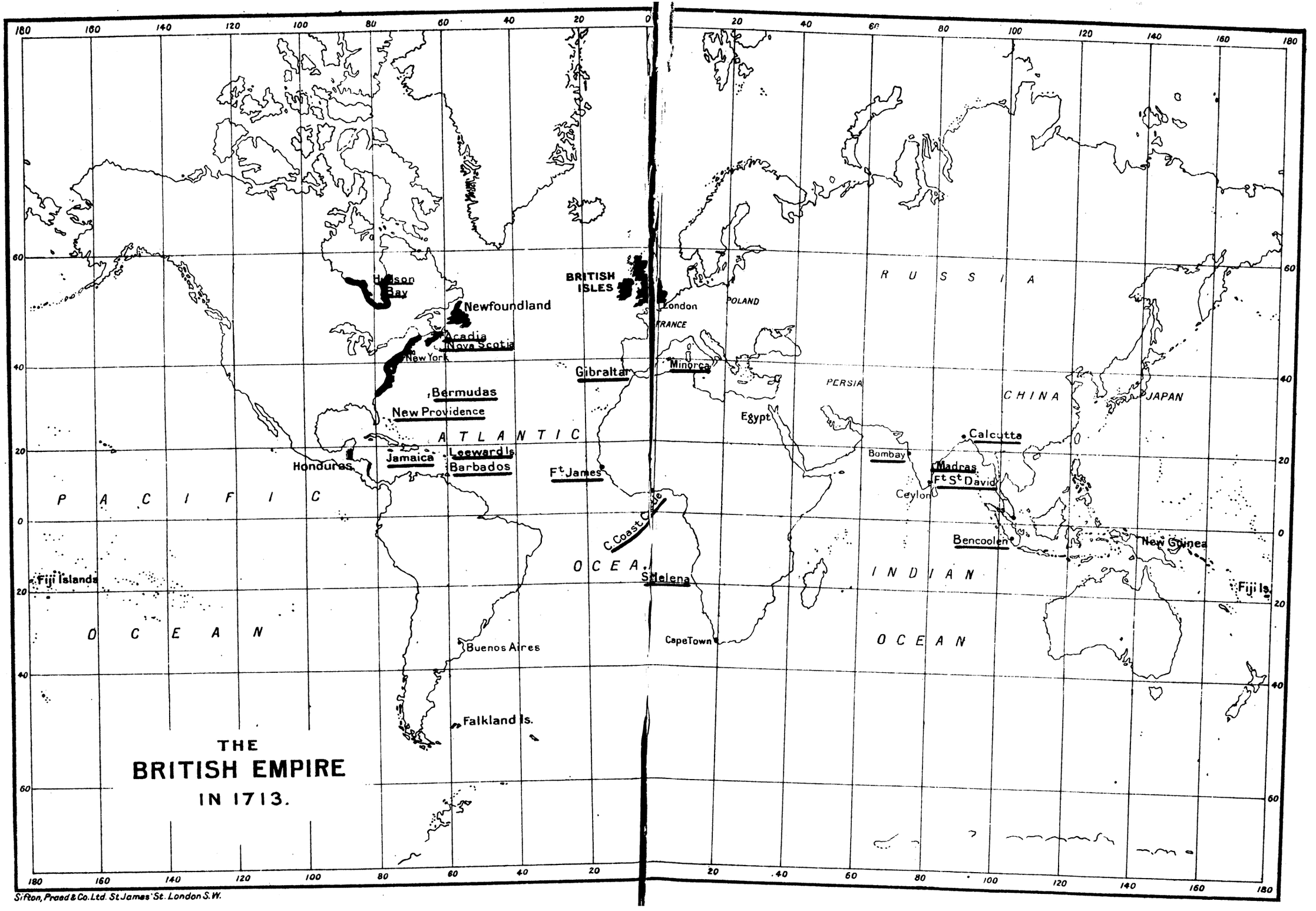
SECTION I

To 1713

In the spadework for the future British Empire, done in Tudor times, Scotland, a separate nation from England under a separate sovereign, had had no lot or part. No Scottish ships had joined in hunting the Spanish Armada round the coasts of Scotland, no Scottish adventurer had broken with Drake and Hawkins into the Spanish preserves of the New World. So also in the first century of the life of the Empire, the seventeenth century, although the title of King of Great Britain had been created and Scotland had provided the king, the peoples remained separate peoples and the expansion that took place was the expansion of England, not of Great Britain. Sir William Alexander, as we have seen, had, by royal grant, acquired a claim to a New Scotland—Nova Scotia, intended to be held as an appanage of Scotland and as an offset to New England, but such transient success as he achieved in the attempt to materialise his claim was due to throwing in his lot with London adventurers, and New Scotland came to nothing. A fair number of Scots emigrated during the century to the English overseas possessions, but the majority emigrated against their will, sent out forcibly by Oliver Cromwell, in whose time Scotland was a conquered country and for a brief moment sent perforce members to a single Legislature for Great Britain and Ireland, the short-lived Parliament of 1654. The conditions of the seventeenth century forbade co-operation between England and Scotland in Empire making,

and in proportion as the work of expansion was the work of England alone, was the jealousy with which the English regarded any intrusion into the sphere of their handiwork from the northern part of the island. The Navigation Acts of Charles II.'s reign were not applicable to Scotland, for Scotland was not an English possession, and the creation by the Scottish Parliament in 1695 of the company for overseas enterprise, which four years later ended its short and ill-fated career on the Isthmus of Darien, met with keen resentment and strong protest from the English Parliament.

Darien, where Francis Drake had long years before taken the vow, which he kept so faithfully, to carry the English into the Pacific, was the grave of attempts at single-handed Scottish colonisation. The failure at the moment raised the bitterest feeling in Scotland against the English who had been hostile to the scheme, but it turned the minds of canny Scottish business men to consideration of the infinitely greater advantages to be derived from partnership with the English in overseas enterprise than from attempting to compete with far stronger rivals already largely holding the field. English statesmanship, in turn, discerned the gravest danger ahead in a separate Scottish Legislature which had not adopted the Act of Settlement vesting the succession to the Crown in the House of Hanover. The early years of the eighteenth century saw protracted negotiations for a "Treaty" to federate or unite the two Kingdoms. The English —most wisely—insisted on Union as against Federation. Acts were passed in both Parliaments—with the greatest difficulty in the northern Parliament; Presbyterianism was specifically safeguarded as the established creed of Scotland; there was to be full freedom of trade in what was now styled the United Kingdom, "Scots ships to be British ships" being



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the side note to one section of the English Act; and from the 1st of May, 1707, England and Scotland were united into one Kingdom, with one Parliament, the Kingdom of Great Britain. The immediate result was not encouraging. National feeling in Scotland was deep and dour, and the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 had yet to come. But, as the years went on, feelings gave way to facts. In increasing degree the Clyde shared in the Atlantic trade, and the amazing growth of Glasgow was an index to the advantages which Scotland derived from the Union. In turn, on battlefield and in council chamber, as explorers and pioneers, missionaries and settlers, Scotsmen proved themselves invaluable partners in the work of making, holding and developing the Empire.

The Act of Union was passed almost contemporaneously with the final union of the two competing English East India Companies. Both unions were great factors in the onward march of the Empire. The Act of Union with Scotland was passed in the middle of a great war with France under Louis XIV., even as, in 1800, the Act of Union with Ireland was passed in the midst of the struggle with France under the leadership of Napoleon. James II. died at St. Germain in 1701, and in an evil hour for France Louis XIV. recognised his son as King of Great Britain. This threw England heart and soul into the war of the Spanish Succession, the war to prevent the Spanish Empire from falling into the hands of France. Before William III. died in 1702 he had named Marlborough to command the British armies on the Continent, and Marlborough was high in the favour of the new sovereign, Queen Anne. In 1704 came the Battle of Blenheim. In this war, once again, Britain shone on land far more than on sea. Sir George Rooke was a thoroughly competent admiral of tried good service,

and so was Cloudesley Shovel. But it is the name of the great English general in these years, the name of Marlborough, that lives for all time and for all the world. His victories were the hammer strokes which, after he had been superseded and disgraced, forced the French king to sign the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Neither on the sea nor beyond it was there any success which to outward appearance contributed in an appreciable degree to checkmating the plans laid by Louis XIV. for dominating the world. Beyond the sea the war had little effect in the East Indies or on the West Coast of Africa. It was more in evidence in the Western hemisphere. In North America, when the war began, French and Indians from Canada, as in former wars, raided the New England frontier; and in 1710 a combined force from home and from New England once more took Port Royal in Acadia, this time to hold it in perpetuity. A far greater enterprise was planned for the following year, 1711. In April of that year fifteen men of war, with transports carrying 5000 regulars, most of them veterans from the army in Flanders, sailed for America. They reached Boston in June, and Massachusetts, ever to the front in patriotic effort for the Empire, added another 1500 men. A month later the expedition sailed for the St. Lawrence to take Quebec and conquer Canada. Never was there a greater fiasco. General and Admiral alike, Hill and Hovenden Walker, the former a Court favourite, were wholly incompetent men; some of the ships ran on rocks in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, several hundreds of lives were lost, and without even coming into touch with the enemy, the commanders threw up the task which had been committed to them and the great scheme came to nothing at all. Such a failure under the eyes of the colonists boded ill for the future of Empire co-operation in North America. Dismal as was the record of

this expedition, there had been a yet more disgraceful episode, happily almost unique in the annals of the British navy, in West Indian waters at the beginning of the war. Hard-fighting Admiral Benbow, who had but lately returned from these seas, was sent out again in 1701, and when he learnt that war had been declared in the following year, he attacked a French squadron off what is now the coast of Colombia. He had seven ships against four or five, but his captains were mutinous, four of the seven ships held aloof altogether from the action, and, gallantly as the English flagship upheld the fight, the French made good their escape. Badly wounded, Benbow reached Jamaica and brought his cowardly followers to account by courtmartial before he died. His tombstone is in the parish church of Kingston in Jamaica.

Nearer home on the sea there was but one fight that deserved the name of a battle, the Battle of Malaga off the coast of Spain. It was fought in 1704, the year of the Battle of Blenheim, but was in no sense a counterpart on sea of Blenheim on land. It was an indecisive fight, a day's cannonading in which no ship was taken or sunk on either side, and, though the fruits of the action accrued to the Allies rather than to the French and Spanish fleet, there was no trace in it of superior English seamanship. British commerce, too, throughout the war suffered severely from French cruisers, and yet Mahan's verdict on the War of the Spanish Succession is that "Before that war England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* seapower without any second." The Dutch, still strong on sea, were valuable allies, but they were relatively in fast declining strength. The French were becoming exhausted by long years of immense effort in land warfare and were deteriorating on the sea. The Spaniards, by no means for the last time,

suffered disasters through being dragged into a French war on the side of France, and what other nations lost the island nation gained. The Mediterranean now comes prominently into the story of the Empire. Before the eighteenth century the English had no fighting base in that sea. Tangier, with its good harbour on the Straits of Gibraltar, had been ceded by Portugal to England at the same time as Bombay, and, like Bombay, as part of the dowry of Charles II.'s queen, but it had been abandoned in 1684 on grounds of expense. At length, in the memorable year 1704, the want of a base at the western end of the inland sea was made good, for in August of that year Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and the French fleet which fought the Battle of Malaga later in the same month was on its way to attempt to recover the Rock for Spain. Its loss to Spain was confirmed by the Peace of Utrecht, and the same Treaty gave to Great Britain another base within the Mediterranean, Port Mahon in Minorca, which was taken in 1708 by General Stanhope, at the strong instance of the Duke of Marlborough. Twice Minorca was retaken from Great Britain in the course of the eighteenth century, three times it was regained, but finally it was handed over to Spain by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

By the seizure of Gibraltar, England acquired her first fortress colony, and the Rock was the earliest addition to the Empire in the eighteenth century. It was the spoil of war, and, in contrast to the record of the seventeenth century, the path of the Empire throughout the eighteenth century was marked by gains and losses through conquest and defeat. The gains brought by the Treaty of Utrecht were very considerable. They included in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Minorca, and in the West Indies the French half of the Island of St. Kitts, which now became solely a British possession. But it was in North America that the

Empire profited most. Here the French were eliminated from the lands and waters of Hudson Bay, from Newfoundland, and from Acadia. The net was being gradually drawn around New France. Yet the treaty contained the seeds of future trouble. It provided for French fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast, which caused endless friction for nearly two centuries. It did not define the limits of Acadia, and it left to France the Island of Cape Breton, on which the French planted the fortress of Louisbourg, the strongest fortified position on the Atlantic coast. One other provision of the treaty must be noted, as marking the commercial importance of the slave trade. It gave to Great Britain what was known as the Assiento or Contract, the monopoly of supplying Spanish America with slaves from the West Coast of Africa, which had been previously held by France.

Thus the end of the second world war for England, of the first of the British world wars with France, found the island united at last, with its warships in front of all others on the seas, and its carrying trade in the foremost rank. Possession had been taken of the gateway of the Mediterranean, while in North America great strides had been taken at the expense of the French and to the advantage of the British North American colonies. But none of the successes in the war had been achieved beyond the Atlantic, the colonists had had no part in Blenheim or Ramillies, and from what they had themselves seen and known, they had little reason to appreciate efficiency on the part of the mother country or lively care for their interests. There had been too many delays in sending help and too much disappointment when it was sent to make the War of the Spanish Succession a war to unite the Empire.

SECTION II

1713—1748

QUEEN Anne died in 1714, the year after the Treaty of Utrecht. In 1715 Louis XIV. died, having been King of France for 72 years. The accession of the House of Hanover brought Great Britain into close connection with North Germany and gave her a complete foreigner for a king in George the First. The result was to add further strength to the House of Commons and to the Ministers who commanded a majority of votes in that house. The Septennial Act, which was passed in 1716, also contributed to ministerial power by prolonging the normal life of Parliament. The Whigs, who had stood for and by the Hanoverian succession, now entered into a long heritage of office, and among them the outstanding figure was Robert Walpole. He was First Minister of the Crown for a short period from the autumn of 1715 to the spring of 1717, and after the South Sea Bubble had burst at the end of 1720, from 1721 to 1742 again Prime Minister, he guided the fortunes of Great Britain and the Empire for fully twenty years continuously. His sound good sense and his ability as a financier had placed him in opposition to the mad scheme whereby the South Sea Company promised to rid the country of its National Debt and, when the crash came, the nation turned to the Whig leader with much the same feeling of confidence in his personal guidance as attached to the Conservative Peel in the middle years of the nineteenth century.

The period of his administration stands out in strong

contrast to the times of perpetual warfare on a great scale which preceded and followed it. As a peace minister he was in the very first rank. All his efforts were directed to keeping his country aloof from continental wars and to maintaining amity with France, most dangerous of potential enemies. Furthermore, in the field of finance and trade he was enlightened beyond his time. While he was in power, both at home and beyond the seas great was the growth of British commerce and British resources, but, *pari passu*, while there was respite from war, grew the resources of rich and populous France, ever renewing her strength, as though endowed with the gift of perpetual youth.

From 1713 to 1744 France and Great Britain were not again at open war, but the times were full of trouble and unrest. The Jacobite rising of 1715 came to nothing and strengthened the hands of the Whigs, but in 1718 relations with Spain led to actual fighting, though not as yet to formal war, for fighting did not necessarily coincide with formal war. The Treaty of Utrecht had left Spain ill content, and an able and powerful Spanish minister, Cardinal Alberoni, laid plans to retrieve his country's losses and restore its former greatness. The British tenure of Gibraltar was a standing irritant to Spain, Minorca was another menacing British base, the Assiento contract was now in British hands, held by the South Sea Company, and over and above what the contract conceded, there was a tradition dating back to the days of Queen Elizabeth of illicit British traffic and plentiful British privateering on the coasts of the Spanish Main. Against Great Britain, therefore, in particular, Alberoni directed his designs, involving a network of foreign intrigues. But for some long time France and Great Britain were in line, resolved to prevent a recrudescence of European war, and off Cape Passero in Sicily

in August, 1718, an English fleet under the elder Byng annihilated what there was of a Spanish navy. Yet these years were not a bright period in the naval annals of Great Britain. A squadron sent a few years later, in 1726, under Admiral Hosier to blockade Porto Bello on the Spanish American coast, but ordered by Walpole to blockade only, not to fight, ended in shocking mortality among the officers and crews, and in the death of the admiral himself. When, in 1739, there was open war with Spain, Admiral Vernon to some extent retrieved this disaster by taking Porto Bello in that year, but subsequent attempts which he made in 1741 on Cartagena and on Santiago in Cuba failed completely. Nor did an action off Toulon in February, 1744, bring credit to the navy. It was fought between a British fleet under Admiral Matthews and a mixed French and Spanish fleet. War had not yet been declared between France and Great Britain, but French warships were ordered to escort on their way home a Spanish squadron which had been forced by the English to take refuge in Toulon harbour. In the action the British admiral was not backed up by his second in command, the fight was a drawn fight, and a series of courts-martial which followed on the British side and from which Matthews himself was not exempted, were evidence that all was not well with the navy and that the public knew it. One captain, however, emerged from the battle with marked distinction. This was Hawke, subsequently first in the line of great British admirals who shone from the Seven Years' War onwards. The name of one other English seaman in these years is deservedly held in honour, that of Admiral Lord Anson, whose voyage round the world from the end of 1740 to June, 1744, earned him great fame. Sent out with a small squadron of six ships, he rounded the Horn and harried the Pacific coast of

Spanish America. There were many mishaps, and out of the six ships he brought home by the Cape of Good Hope one vessel only, his flagship, the *Centurion*; but the expedition served its purpose and paid its way, its leader showed determination and constancy of a high order, and the voyage had a pleasant savour of Elizabethan times. Competent as he showed himself to be in this memorable voyage, as also in an action which he fought, with great superiority in numbers in his favour, against the French off Cape Finisterre in 1747, Anson's services were more valuable to his country on land than at sea. As a member of the Board of Admiralty almost continuously from 1745 till his death in 1762, he took a leading part in reform of naval administration, and the high efficiency of the navy, which was so marked in the latter half of the eighteenth century, dated from his time and was largely due to his personal work.

In 1733 the youngest of the old British North American colonies was born into the world, its name, Georgia, bearing witness that it was added to the list under the House of Hanover. Its founder was General James Oglethorpe, of Jacobite parentage, and it was designed to be a new and better home for inmates of the Debtors' prisons in the Old Country. Like the settlement at Sierra Leone later in the century, it was the offspring of philanthropy. "It was," writes Mr. Doyle in his history of the English in America, "the first attempt to devote a colony systematically and exclusively to the relief of pauperism." With its early years are associated the names of John and Charles Wesley, and a little later of Whitefield, for the great Methodist movement was beginning to make itself felt. But Oglethorpe was a soldier as well as a philanthropist, and the new colony was important as a frontier outpost between South Carolina and the Spaniards in Florida. British commodores,

Anson among them, patrolled the coast; Oglethorpe brought out Highlanders to be a garrison on land; and shortly before war was declared between Spain and Great Britain, some hundreds of British regulars had been sent out to strengthen the new border colony.

War with Spain came in 1739. Walpole, struggling to maintain peace, was overborne by public opinion and by reports of Spanish injuries to British traders, probably invited by British injuries to Spanish trade. He retired in 1742, and the war widened into a general European War, the War of the Austrian Succession, in which Great Britain stood on the side of Maria Theresa. On the Continent there was no repetition of the triumphs of Marlborough, though in 1743, before France and Great Britain were formally at war, British troops enabled George II. to win the Battle of Dettingen, and, after France had declared war at the beginning of 1744, the stubborn fighting of British infantry almost averted the defeat of Fontenoy in 1745. In 1745 Great Britain had her hands full, for it was the year of the second and last Jacobite rising. The Highland clans rallied once more to the Stuarts, Charles Edward, the heir of the line, occupied Edinburgh, won the fight of Prestonpans, and marched southward into England. Derby was his farthest point, England would have none of him, and, falling back to Scotland, after one more success, in April, 1746, he saw his cause once and for all shattered at Culloden.

By far the most notable British feat achieved in this war was in the main the handiwork of the New Englanders, above all of the men of Massachusetts. In the eventful year of 1745 they raised an expeditionary force, chose and chose well a commander from the ranks of their local militia, William Pepperell, and with the help of a small British squadron under

Admiral Warren, which came up from the West Indies, they besieged and took the French fortress of Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island. Relatively to place and time it was a very great achievement, but what the colonists had taken from France the home government gave back to the French when the war ended with the Peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748. It was one of many instances in which the colonies could with reason attribute to the mother country indifference to or neglect of their interests. Between the Old Country and the New inevitably, as the years went on and as Americans multiplied to whom England was but a name, divergence of feeling and policy tended to grow. The most patriotic of the old North American colonies, the Bay State, Massachusetts, was at the same time the most penetrated with the spirit and tradition of Puritan independence. Many strains had been entering into all these colonies, adding to their virility, but not necessarily nor usually to the strength of the British connection. French Huguenots, German and Austrian Protestants had been coming in, Presbyterian Scotsmen and, dourest of all, Ulstermen, many of whom had left their homes in North Ireland because those homes had been blighted by English proscription of Irish industry. Cleavage between the Old Country and the New bid fair to come, if ever the colonists of the New Country could forgo cleavage among themselves.

The Peace of Aix la Chapelle provided for mutual restitution of conquests as between France and Great Britain, and while under its terms Louisbourg was given back to France, Great Britain regained Madras, with which the New Englanders had no concern. It has been noted above that these same years which saw growth and development of British trade and British colonies, saw also an equally marked recovery of France. In the West Indies, under the terms of

the Treaty of Ryswick, the French at the end of the seventeenth century had acquired from Spain the western half of the Island of Hispaniola, which in French hands in the middle of the eighteenth century led by far in rich productiveness all the sugar growing areas of the world. More conspicuous still were the strides made by the French in the East Indies. In India they hardly appeared at all on the scene until in 1664, on Colbert's initiative, a French East India Company was formed. Ten years later, following the example of the English in the case of Madras, eighty-five miles south of Madras on the Coromandel coast, on a site ceded by a native ruler, they founded their future capital in India, Pondicherry; and in the same year, 1674, in Bengal they secured a site for a factory at Chandernagore on the Hughli River, a little higher up than Calcutta. Here they built a factory in the last decade of the seventeenth century. But they were weak in India outside Pondicherry as long as the Dutch were strong, and not until the company had been reconstituted in 1720 was substantial progress made. Concentrating their strength, as they became weaker relatively to other nations, the Dutch in or about 1712 abandoned their Island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and three years later, after the Treaty of Utrecht had given peace to Europe, the French took possession of the island, renaming it Île de France. The neighbouring island of Bourbon had long been in French hands, in 1721-2 the regenerated French East India Company began to colonise Mauritius, and in 1735 a most able and far-seeing Frenchman became governor-general of the two islands. This was the Breton sailor, Mahé de Labourdonnais. Under his vigorous administration Mauritius attained high prosperity; at Port Louis he called into existence a French naval base for the Indian seas, and when about 1740 war between

France and Great Britain came perceptibly nearer, he laid his plans to overmaster British shipping and break up British commerce in the East. In times past he had served in India, and in India in 1742 another great Frenchman became governor-general at Pondicherry, Joseph Dupleix. Dupleix had risen in the French company's service. Placed in charge of Chandernagore, he had shown unusual ability, and as governor-general, bold in conception and prompt in action, he laid plans for a French Empire in India, to be worked out through alliances with the native powers and by the employment of Indian soldiers trained and disciplined in European fashion and led by Frenchmen. British interests overseas were never menaced by two more formidable antagonists than Labourdonnais and Dupleix, but fortunately for those interests the two Frenchmen were not at one with each other. At the time, off the Coromandel coast of India, Great Britain was most indifferently served upon the sea, and in September, 1746, at the instance of Dupleix, Labourdonnais attacked and took Madras. There was little or no resistance, for on land as on sea the English in the East were for the moment conspicuous for feebleness. Labourdonnais engaged to hold the town to ransom, but Dupleix refused to the be bound by the terms of his rival's agreement with the English governor and kept Madras. He then attacked Fort St. David but was beaten off, and in 1748 he was himself besieged at Pondicherry, but held his own. The Peace of Aix la Chapelle followed and Madras was restored to Great Britain. At the time when it was so tamely surrendered to Labourbonnais's ships, there was within the walls of the fort a young clerk in the British East India Company's service who saw to it that as far as in him lay there should be no more tame surrenders by the English in India. His name was Robert Clive.

SECTION III

1748—1763

TREATIES after fighting are of two kinds; one kind is a peace, the other is a truce; one ends an act, the other only a scene in an act. The Treaty of Aix la Chapelle was of the second kind, it gave a respite but no more. The scene which it closed had been one in which Great Britain had not done great things nor brought to light great men. She had, in Mahan's words, "saved her position by her seapower, though she had failed to use it to the best advantage," and the most telling stroke on her side had been struck by the North American colonists at Louisbourg. But the drama of the British Empire was widening and moving fast. The time was close at hand when the main battlefields of Great Britain were to be looked for and found not on the continent of Europe but beyond the seas in East and West, and when the men of the time, whose names still live, were to derive their greatness and their fame from association with the Overseas Empire. Of all the wars in British history, without exception, the Seven Years' War, now nearly on the threshold, was most pre-eminently for Great Britain an overseas war. For her the stage was laid, not in Europe but beyond the sea or on the sea, and though, when the curtain fell, the ending was short of what Chatham, the organiser of victories, had planned, it fell upon a vastly increased and strengthened British Empire. In 1763 the old British Empire reached the height of its

greatness, twenty years later it was shattered for ever.

What were the main features of this old Empire in the middle of the eighteenth century? Its strength overseas was overwhelmingly in the West. In the West, in North America, Great Britain owned the Hudson Bay regions, Newfoundland and Acadia, all confirmed to her in full sovereignty by the Peace of Utrecht, and she owned the long line of the thirteen North American colonies from Maine, then part of Massachusetts, to Georgia. These colonies were pre-eminently the scene of British overseas settlement, here was to be found reproduction of the Old Country in the New World, here was the home of transplanted freedom. It was wholly an anachronism, though British statesmen only realised it too late, to regard these new Britains primarily as feeders of trade and to attempt to restrict them accordingly. Georgia carried the line of the thirteen colonies far into the subtropical zone, and further south again, in the tropical Caribbean Sea, the British West Indian Islands formed another sphere of British overseas enterprise in the West. These islands had been, and still were to an appreciable degree, a sphere of settlement, but they had long become and were to an ever increasing extent becoming trade dependencies more than colonies. The reign of sugar had developed into an exclusive tryanny; year by year, as the result of sugar growing, the slave population more and more outnumbered the whites, and absentee proprietors multiplied. Never perhaps in the whole history of the world did so small an area produce so much wealth relatively to the total world production, exercise so much influence for war or peace, and excite so much international cupidity, as did the West Indian Islands in the middle of the eighteenth century. When in Great Britain the gains of the Seven Years' War were being

weighed up prior to settling the terms of the Peace of 1763, the Island of Guadeloupe was set in the scale against Canada. To the Empire in the West the West Coast of Africa had become a mere appendage, and in the main it was given over to the slave trade which supplied the Western Hemisphere with field labour. British power in the Mediterranean was still in its infancy, but it was founded upon a rock, the Rock of Gibraltar. In the East was growing trade, but not yet to be ranked with the trade of the West Indies, and in India the seeds of dominion were about to grow with extraordinary rapidity, though in the midmost year of the century, 1750, they were threatened with something like extinction at the hands of French competitors. St. Helena was a distant British outpost of India.

The Treaty of Aix la Chapelle had given Madras back to the East India Company, but it was recovered through no feat of British arms in India, and under the eyes of the natives of India the French had outshone their rivals. At the time of the treaty, and for a short while afterwards, the outstanding personalities in India were Frenchmen who showed in high degree the genius of the French for attuning themselves to native races. Dupleix was the leading actor on the stage, and he was well seconded by a capable French soldier and political agent, Bussy. By entering into native politics, joining in native wars, supporting one or other of native claimants, and employing for support or opposition disciplined native troops, Dupleix in 1750 had become in some sort recognised by the natives as Súzerain of Southern India. Yet the French company whom he served was far weaker in resources than the British East India Company, and what he had achieved, together with the means by which he achieved it, pointed to the English the road to his downfall and their own success, the men were

forthcoming for the place and the time, and Dupleix and Bussy were more than matched by Clive and Stringer Lawrence. Lawrence, whose monument will be found in the nave of Westminster Abbey, was the father of the Indian army, the commander of the East India Company's forces at this date, the friend and military instructor of Clive. Clive, having left the counting-house for a soldier's life, took the first bold step which changed the fortunes of Southern India. In August, 1751, he seized the fort of Arcot, the political capital of the Carnatic, and held it against French and Indians through a memorable siege, proving himself to be second to none as a leader of native soldiery. Lawrence and Clive then broke the siege of Trinchinoply, where the English nominee to the throne of the Carnatic was beleaguered by the French and their adherents, a Franco-Indian army was compelled to surrender, and Dupleix's sun began to set. All this time there was no war between France and Great Britain, and the rival companies in India were fighting as allies to native potentates. The British company could stand the strain better than the French, and in 1754 Dupleix was superseded by a representative of the French company sent out from home, who concluded a provisional treaty in January, 1755.

As in India, so in North America. French and English were at each other's throats in so-called time of peace. Having given back Louisbourg to France by the treaty of 1748, and having on the mainland side of the Nova Scotian peninsula a French population influenced against British sovereignty, the British Government in 1749 set itself to redress the balance. British settlers, largely old soldiers, were sent out to found on the Atlantic side of the peninsula the city of Halifax, called after the Earl of Halifax, the First Lord of Trade and Plantations

at the time. South-west of Halifax on the same side, three or four years later, a German Lutheran settlement was planted at Lunenberg. No adjustment of the inland boundary was forthcoming from the French, whose policy seemed to be directed to bringing the Acadian peasants over into French territory and deterring those who remained on what was now British soil from becoming loyal subjects of the British Crown. Strong action was therefore taken in 1755. French military stations established as raiding bases on the Isthmus which joins Nova Scotia to the mainland were broken up, and two-thirds of the French residents within the Nova Scotian or Acadian Peninsula were expatriated and dispersed abroad. It was a harsh uprooting of country folk, and a measure of doubtful political expediency ; the fate of the Acadians herded into exile supplied pathos to Longfellow's *Evangeline*, but they were in truth to no small extent the victims of the policy of their own countrymen.

But French designs in North America had far wider scope than merely creating border troubles for the English. As Dupleix formed a great groundplan in India, as he looked to the sons of the soil, under French leadership and guidance, to rear the structure and translate his conceptions into realities, so it was with the French in North America. In the seventeenth century the course of the Mississippi had been traced down to the sea by the bold French explorer, La Salle. As that century went out and the eighteenth century came in, the French colony of Louisiana was brought into existence at the mouth of the great river ; and as the eighteenth century grew older, a scheme for a French Empire in North America matured. It was to link up Louisiana in the south with Canada in the north by controlling the waterways, the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi with the portages between

them, and coming in behind the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, to confine them to the coast-line and cut them off from the boundless spaces of the west. It was in reality no more than a brilliant dream, for the English in North America many times outnumbered the French, and their base was the open sea; the natives of North America were few in number, far too few for what the French had in mind, and it was impossible that French and Indians could hold in any permanence two sides of a triangle against much greater strength on the third side. Yet for the moment, as the French, more concentrated in purpose and in action than their rivals, prospected the water-ways and established a chain of forts from the Great Lakes to the headwaters of the Ohio, the position was menacing to the British colonies.

The key to the Ohio valley was where the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers join to make the Ohio, and where is now the city of Pittsburg. As they converged towards this point, the advancing lines of French and English came into collision, and though prominent on the British side was an able young Virginian, George Washington, the French had the better of it in the first moves of the game. In 1754 they built their fort, called after the then Governor of Canada, Fort Duquesne; they beat off local attempts to dislodge them; and when in the following year two regiments of the line had been sent out from England and a substantial expeditionary force under General Braddock marched on the fort, a fight in the backwoods ended in a wholesale British disaster. It was not merely in the Ohio valley but at all points of the frontier line that French and English were colliding and trying their respective strength. On the main highway between Canada and the British colonies, the line of the Richelieu River, Lakes Champlain and George, and the Hudson River, the English

fared better. Here was William Johnson, one of the few men on the British side who could rival Frenchmen in capacity for assimilation with Indian ways of life, and in bush-fighting near Lake George in the late summer of this same year, 1755, he gained an advantage over the French, wounding and capturing their commander, Baron Dieskau.

The regulars on the French side in this fight had been sent out from Brest in May, 1755, escorted by French ships of war, two of which were intercepted and taken by Admiral Boscawen off Newfoundland. Yet war was not declared. In April of the following year, 1756, the French, taking the English by surprise, sent a strong expedition from Toulon to Minorca and besieged Port Mahon. Admiral Byng the younger, having failed to relieve the fortress, a failure for which he answered with his life, the fort was surrendered at the end of June. While the siege was running its course, the two powers at length mutually declared war. It widened into the Seven Years' War, in which Great Britain's ally on the continent of Europe was Frederick the Great of Prussia. The loss of Minorca had not been a promising beginning, and other misfortunes followed. In May of this year, 1756, the Marquis de Montcalm, a brilliant French commander, reached Canada, and it was not long before he made himself felt. At Albany, on the Hudson River, from the main water highway into Canada a north-westerly route to the Great Lakes diverged, following the upward course of the Mohawk River and by creek and portage reaching the southern shore of Lake Ontario. At its outlet to the lake there had been for thirty years a British fort and trading station, Oswego. It was an outpost of marked importance, giving access to the trade of the west and covering the country of the friendly Five Nation Indians. In August, 1756, Montcalm, with a strong

force, moved swiftly and secretly against it. After a siege of barely four days the garrison surrendered, guns, supplies, numbers of prisoners fell into the hands of the French, and the fort was blotted out. Great was the consternation among the British colonists in America, and bad was the impression made on native Indian minds. Nor was it otherwise in England, where Horace Walpole rated Oswego as "of ten times more importance even than Minorca." The year 1757 did not redeem its predecessor. In the summer, large naval and military forces were collected against Louisbourg, but the operations were belated, there was no concert of action, and the enterprise entirely collapsed. Its failure coincided with another triumph for Montcalm. Early in August he overmastered Fort William Henry which Johnson had planted at the southern end of Lake George, and the sequel to the surrender of the garrison was a massacre of some of the English by the Indians serving on the French side.

In East, as in West, there had been disaster, but the tide turned earlier in East than West. While French and English had been bitterly fighting each other in southern India, in Bengal they had traded side by side at Chandernagore and Calcutta on the Hughli River in comparative peace. The peace was broken not by Europeans but by a new native ruler of Bengal, who, turning against the foreigners in his territory, and especially against the strongest of them, the English, in June, 1756, enforced the surrender of Fort William at Calcutta, the surrender being followed by the never-forgotten tragedy of the Black Hole. Clive had but lately returned from England to be governor of Fort St. David. Sent up to Bengal with Admiral Watson, at the New Year in 1757 he recovered Calcutta, and on the following 23rd of June won the memorable Battle of Plassey, which delivered Bengal

into British hands. With Watson, he had already driven the French from Chandernagore, and at a later date he found a pretext for overpowering the Dutch, who also had a station on the Hughli at Chinsura.

In the same month in which the Battle of Plassey was fought, Chatham, William Pitt as he then was, came firmly into power, recalled by the voice of the people against the wishes of the king who had dismissed him after a short tenure of office in the preceding April. Leaving to the Duke of Newcastle the name of First Minister of the Crown, together with the pickings of office, as Secretary of State he kept in his own hands the foreign policy of Great Britain and the sole direction of the war with France. Clean-handed in an age of corruption, of rare genius alike in speech and action, imparting to others the confidence which he felt in himself, he had the nation behind him in unrivalled degree. Choosing good men to carry out his policy, he inspired them to their best, he called out the patriotism of the colonists as no English minister had done before, under him sailors and soldiers, colonists and home Britons, one and all worked together, and Great Britain went from strength to strength. Shortly after he took office, Fort William Henry fell, and the year closed darkly for the British cause in America. But in 1758 there was a different tale to tell. There was a thought out plan, there were no more delays nor insufficient numbers, 20,000 regular soldiers were employed in America during the year and were supplemented by strong colonial contingents. In February a fleet started across the Atlantic under the command of Admiral Boscawen, whose sobriquet was "Old Dreadnought," a hard fighting sailor, fearless of responsibility, of tried good service alike in East and West. His ships convoyed and co-operated with large military forces, whose

leader was General Jeffrey Amherst and one of whose brigadiers was Wolfe. Louisbourg was the destination; before July ended Louisbourg was in British hands, together with between 5000 and 6000 French prisoners of war, and the capture of Cape Breton Island was followed by that of Prince Edward Island, then the Île St. Jean. Later in the year, in November, a force consisting mainly of colonists and commanded by a sound and steadfast veteran, Forbes, occupied Fort Duquesne and secured the Ohio valley. Only in the centre, on the main route into Canada, was there a setback. Here the General, Abercromby, leading a mixed force of regulars and colonials, 15,000 in all, was not equal to his task. His brilliant second-in-command, Lord Howe, beloved of the colonists, who placed a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, was killed in a backwood skirmish. Two days later an attack, without artillery preparation, on the French Fort Ticonderoga at the end of Lake Champlain was repulsed with grievous loss, and one more was added to the laurels of Montcalm. It was the last. Amherst replaced Abercromby, and in 1759, slow but sure, he moved northwards down Lake Champlain, the French, as he advanced, abandoning their forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Along the Mohawk River route he sent expeditionary forces which reinstated Oswego and pressing on farther captured the French Fort at Niagara, one of the keys of the west. Meanwhile Wolfe, who had gone home in the previous autumn, came out again to attempt what had so often been attempted in vain, the capture of Quebec, bringing with him in Admiral Saunders as efficient a naval colleague as Boscawen had been. The story with all its light and shade does not bear telling in few lines. The siege began before the end of June, the Battle of the Plains took place on the 13th of September, Wolfe and Montcalm in death were not

divided, and on the 18th, Quebec surrendered to General Townshend. Another of Wolfe's brigadiers, General Murray, with a weak and ailing garrison, held the city through the winter. In April, 1760, the French made a bold bid to recover it, and defeated Murray outside its walls. But they failed to press their advantage. In the middle of May British ships came up the river and the siege was raised. Then followed a general advance on Montreal where the French still held out, the French leaders negotiated with Amherst, terms of capitulation were signed on the 8th September, 1760, and the picturesque story of New France came to an end.

Early in this same year, 1760, Clive started back to England, having revolutionised the position of Europeans in India and made his countrymen supreme in Bengal. During his absence in Bengal there had been further fighting in the Carnatic. In 1758 a brave soldier of Irish parentage, the Count de Lally, was sent out by the French Government and achieved initial success by taking Fort St. David. He then laid siege to Madras, but to no purpose, and the fortunes of France in India went from worse to worse. The French were at the end of their resources, there was discord among the leaders, there was weakness both on land and sea. On this side of India, between Bengal and the Carnatic, in the days of their prosperity they had acquired the Northern Circas, and Masulipatam had fallen into their hands. Before the end of 1758 they were driven out by an able British officer, Forde, sent down by Clive from Bengal, while in the Carnatic itself in January, 1760, Lally was finally defeated and Bussy taken prisoner by Sir Eyre Coote at the Battle of Wandewash. A year later Pondicherry surrendered.

It was the same story all the world over. The French lost all their West African posts and settlements,

they lost most of their West Indian islands. In the greatest of all these years, the year 1759, when Quebec was taken, the British infantry once more proved their superlative excellence at the Battle of Minden, Boscawen battered the Toulon squadron in Portuguese waters, and in November, in a sea fight which recalled the glories of the days of Elizabeth, amid storm and tempest, rocks and shoals, Hawke literally drove the main French fleet from Brest ashore in Quiberon Bay.

George II. died in October, 1760, Bute had the ear of his successor, and a year later Pitt resigned. But the impetus which he had given still carried Great Britain on. The Family Compact brought Spain into the strife on the side of France, and war was declared at the beginning of 1762. In that year Martinique was taken from the French, Moro Castle, which guarded Havana, and Havana itself, were taken from the Spaniards, and in the East Indies Manila was also lost to Spain. American and West Indian levies co-operated in the fighting in the West. The force that took Manila came from India and two-thirds were native troops. Overtures for peace were made by France, in November the preliminaries were settled at Fontainebleau, and on the 6th of February, 1763, the Peace of Paris was signed. The net gains to Great Britain were :—In North America, the whole of Canada and Louisiana east of the Mississippi ; in the West Indies, Grenada and the Grenadines and three out of four islands which had been declared neutral, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, the fourth, St. Lucia, being assigned to France ; in West Africa, the whole of Senegambia, the Island of Goree being given back to France. All these gains were at the expense of France. In addition, Great Britain recovered Minorca, and while Pondicherry, after having been dismantled, was given back to the

French, it was only under strict limitations provided by the Treaty that the French retained any footholds in India. Spain paid for her entry into the war by ceding Florida to Great Britain, renouncing any fishing rights or claims off Newfoundland, and engaging not to molest the woodcutters who for many years past had steadily followed their calling on the coast of the Gulf of Honduras.

SECTION IV

1763—1783

WE have seen that before the Seven Years' War the West predominated to an overwhelming degree in the overseas British Empire. After the war the predominance was greater than ever. With the exception of French fishing rights on the coast of Newfoundland, in the matter of which the Peace of Paris not merely confirmed the Peace of Utrecht but added the cession in full right to France of the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, the whole of North America east of the Mississippi from the Arctic regions to Florida inclusive, belonged to Great Britain, and British Islands were multiplied in the West Indies. It was a most onesided Empire. The only element of equipoise was to be found in the growing results of Clive's handiwork in India. How markedly it was a Western Empire is shown by the title given to the new Third Secretary of State, whose office was created in 1768 and lasted till 1782. He was styled in the alternative, Secretary of State for the American Department, or Secretary of State for the Colonies. America and the Colonies were synonymous.

The Seven Years' War had been a signal triumph for British prowess and had been attended by great material gains. Its nobler side had been the flood of patriotism which inspired Chatham and which Chatham in turn inspired. The age of John Wesley and of Samuel Johnson cannot have been wholly devoid of religious feeling and high principle, and its favourite hero, Wolfe, turned to the *Elegy in a Country*

Churchyard at the climax of his fate. But, taken as a whole, in Britain's Empire at this hour of its greatness there was little trace of the things of the spirit. A present-day view of the Empire on its better side would rightly credit it with having been a great dispenser of freedom throughout the world, both of political freedom and of freedom of trade, and also with having been in the front rank in ruling native races with justice and sense of responsibility. It has been seen that British citizens took freedom with them when they crossed the ocean, and it is fair to the home government to bear in mind that they did not withhold but countenanced and granted representative institutions and local assemblies even as, within narrower limits, the Romans in their Empire planted coloniæ and municipia. Local freedom within wide limits had been conceded and allowed to grow, but none the less the standing outlook in the Old Country upon the overseas Empire was one which regarded colonies as dependencies and especially as trade dependencies. The Mercantile System was not concerned with freedom nor was the Seven Years' War a war of Liberation. It was fought, no doubt, to preserve the liberties of Great Britain and her dependencies, but it was not fought to enlarge freedom. It was fought to strike down a rival, to add to power, resources and territory, just as Great Britain's ally on the Continent, Frederick the Great, fought to preserve national existence and to keep, if possible to extend, illgotten gains, but without the remotest intention of adding to liberty. At the end of the war slavery and slave trade were at their zenith, and outside the baneful domain of slavery—a very wide domain—the process of ruling native races had hardly begun. There was no question of ruling in the case of North American Indians or West Indian Caribs or the black slave dealers of the West African coast.

There had to be a dominion in India before there could be any ruling in India, and dominion in India can only be said to have begun after the Battle of Plassey. The end of the Seven Years' War, having removed the French menace to the North American colonies, brought the British Government more than ever face to face with the problem of freedom as between those colonies and the mother country. It brought that Government face to face with the problem of ruling another white race, the French in Canada. It brought it face to face with the problem of ruling native races in India, where the position was complicated by the fact that the immediate rulers-to-be were a trading company. The fateful twenty years, 1763 to 1783, in which Great Britain fell so low after having been so high, were in reality years of a great and salutary awakening. The downfall of the old Empire was a necessary prelude to building up a structure on a broader base, with better cement, and in these disastrous years were laid the foundations of the coming time. When the best men in England ranged themselves on the side of the revolting colonists, they were standing for freedom in the Old Country as well as in America, they were standing for responsible government which did not exist under George III. In 1776, the year after the War of American Independence began, Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations*, which was a complete exposure of the Mercantile System. Shortly before the war, Clive's actions in India were made the subject of Parliamentary attack and inquiry—a sign, as was the later trial of Warren Hastings, that, whether ill or well informed, moral sense was coming to life. These same years were rich in scientific invention, they were the years of Watt and Arkwright, of the early development of forces which, apart from all other factors, compelled the coming of a new era.

After the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, the break up of the Mogul Empire had gone on apace. This it was that made for French and English in India both their difficulties and their opportunities. There was no longer one native authority but many, the power tending to pass from the centre to the Subadars and Nawabs, the Governors and Deputy Governors of the various provinces. After the Battle of Plassey the Nawabs of Bengal were mere puppets in British hands and the real power lay with the East India Company. The beginning years of the new order brought disgrace on the British name. Clive's great achievements had been coupled with indefensible dealings; before he went home in 1760 the new Nawab had been crippled by extortionate demands; and after Clive left, the ill-paid servants of the company in Bengal ran riot in greed and oppression. Native uprising against intolerable extortion was quelled by Major Munro in 1764 at the hard-fought Battle of Baxar, which was a victory over Emperor and Nawab combined, but the crisis called back Clive to Bengal in 1765. He did much to stem the tide of corruption and led the company a further step in the direction of territorial dominion by taking over the responsibility for collecting and administering the revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This, however, was done in the name of the native ruler and by the agency of native officers. Known as the Dual System, it was an unsuccessful compromise: abuses continued to be rife: in 1772, when Warren Hastings first became Governor of Bengal, the directors determined to take the collection and administration avowedly into their own hands, employing for the purpose their own white officers, and Hastings laid the first foundations of a civil service whose splendid record is unrivalled in the annals of the rule of native races. In 1773 Lord

North's Regulating Act was passed, and came into effect in 1774. It was an assertion of direct Parliamentary supervision and control over the East India Company, now that the company had become the ruler of a large and growing dominion, and ill-gotten wealth was flowing from India into political life in England. Hitherto the Presidencies in India had been entirely independent one of another, but the Act created a Governor-General of Bengal with a Council of four, to whom was given authority over the other Presidencies in their relation to the native powers in India. The first Governor-General was Warren Hastings.

In this same year, 1774, the Quebec Act was passed. It was a wise and tolerant measure for the government of the new subjects of the British Crown, the French Canadians, and it was inspired by a broad-minded and sympathetic soldier who then governed Canada, Sir Guy Carleton. But various provisions in the law gave fresh offence to the old subjects, the British colonists in North America. They were now on the eve of breaking from their allegiance; in December, 1773, cargoes of the East India Company's tea had been thrown into Boston harbour to prevent its being landed and paying Customs Duty, and violence in America was in an evil hour met in England by coercion Acts passed in 1774. We have seen that New England traditions were traditions of aloofness from home control. A century and a half had not weakened the spirit of independence, nor, in the absence of steam communication, had England and America been brought appreciably nearer each other. Each generation of the British race in America was more American than the last, more moulded by the New World, less in harmony with the social, political and industrial conditions of the Old. The Home Government had alternated between neglect and

interference. The retrocession of Louisbourg in 1748 had been a grievous disappointment to the colonists. On the other hand, they were suspicious when armies were sent to their aid. The Seven Years' War had exhibited the mother country in a mood of generous co-operation, but the co-operation carried with it object lessons which showed how poles asunder in outlook and temperament were the colonist and the home Briton. In the most dramatic achievement in the war, the taking of Quebec, the colonists unfortunately had hardly any share, and the conquest of Canada removed the strongest of all motives for unity, danger from a common foe. The war had added greatly to the money liabilities of Great Britain. The demand which came soon after the war that the colonists should contribute to the cost of their own defence bill was in its essence reasonable enough. But attempts to tax them without their consent opened the floodgates of militant Nationalism and, badly handled, the situation developed into open war. The first shots were fired in the skirmish at Lexington in April, 1775. Led by Montgomery and Benedict Arnold, the Americans at the outset of the war overran Canada up to the walls of Quebec. But Carleton held the city through a winter siege, and by the end of the summer of 1776 had driven the enemy out of Canada and gained the upper hand on Lake Champlain. He was the one man at the time and on the spot who, if he had been given a free hand, might have steered Great Britain through the storm. But the Secretary of State for the American Department, Lord George Germain, thought otherwise. Carleton was superseded in command of the troops operating from Canada by Burgoyne, who had been conspicuous in attacking Clive in the House of Commons, and in October, 1777, came the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. This catastrophe brought France into the war on the

American side in 1778; Spain came in in 1779; still later the Dutch were also involved. The Americans gained a great access of sea power from their allies; Great Britain, single-handed, was beset at every point and on every sea; and French ships of war, skilfully co-operating with Washington's forces, compassed a second and final surrender, the surrender of Cornwallis and his troops at Yorktown in October, 1781. This ensured American independence, but before the war ended Rodney, by his victory over the French fleet at the Battle of the Saints in West Indian waters in April, 1782, gave back to his country the leadership on the sea, and in the following September French and Spaniards were finally beaten off from the Rock of Gibraltar, held indomitably by General Eliott through three years and seven months of siege.

The closing scenes of this bad time, therefore, were not unworthy of Great Britain's past, nor was it otherwise in India. In southern India, between 1763 and 1774, there had been troubled years, and the Madras Government had conspicuously failed in its dealings with the native powers. There had been war with Haidar Ali, an able usurper on the throne of the State of Mysore, and in 1769 he had practically dictated his own terms of peace. Meanwhile, the Maratha Confederacy of the Deccan, whose power had risen on the wreck of the Mogul Empire, was menacing the whole of India. Under the Regulating Act, questions of war and peace in India were transferred or intended to be transferred from the Governments of Madras and Bombay into the hands of the Governor-General and his Council, and fortunately for Great Britain Hastings was Governor-General from 1774 to 1785. Paralysed as he was at times by poisonous opposition in his Council, led by Philip Francis, he set himself not only to remedy the mistakes

made by recklessness or incompetence in the outlying Presidencies, but also, if possible, to compensate in the East for the disasters which his country suffered in the West. In 1780 the outlook was threatening in the extreme, more threatening, perhaps, than at any other time in the history of the English in India. Hastings was faced with war from every quarter; war with Mysore; with the powerful Principality of Hyderabad; with the Marathas; war with the French, whose brilliant Admiral, Suffren, fought a series of indecisive actions with Sir Edward Hughes; a little later, war with the Dutch. The tide began to turn in southern India when, in 1781, Haidar Ali was heavily defeated by the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, sent down from Bengal. Peace was made with the Marathas in the following year, 1782. Negapatam was taken from the Dutch and kept in perpetuity, and their great port of Trincomali in Ceylon was taken also but regained for them by Suffren. French designs on India were held at bay until the Peace of Versailles in 1783 ended the war as between France and Great Britain, and when, in 1784, peace was made with Tipu, Haidar Ali's son—a peace which the Madras Government unwisely negotiated, and of which Hastings strongly disapproved as unduly favourable to the Mysore chieftain, India was once more for a brief spell at rest and the British hold on India was as secure as ever.

Articles of Peace as between Great Britain and the victorious colonists were agreed upon at the end of November, 1782, but their final declaration awaited the settlement of terms with France and Spain. Eventually the Peace of Versailles was concluded on the 3rd of September, 1783. Great Britain recognised the thirteen old North American colonies as "free sovereign and independent States," with an international boundary which for a century and more was the source of

perpetual friction. She parted with Florida and Minorca to Spain, with the West Indian Island of Tobago to France, and the French regained from her all their possessions in Senegambia. The position in India as between the European powers was unchanged by the war, except that Negapatam passed from the Netherlands to Great Britain.

SECTION V

1783—1802

THE Peace of Versailles was signed in September, 1783. In the following December William Pitt the younger, born in the year of his father's most signal triumphs, 1759, became Prime Minister of Great Britain, only twenty-four years of age when he began his long term of leadership. Like Walpole, a great peace minister, but of finer fibre than Walpole, a disciple of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a friend of Wilberforce, in politics, in finance, in trade, he was liberal and reforming, far in advance of his time. Under him for ten years, 1783 to 1793, when war with Revolutionary France began, Great Britain went from strength to strength, and her Empire, or what was left of her Empire, prospered and widened amazingly. It almost seemed as though, when the first Empire collapsed and the thirteen North American colonies became an independent nation, the Old Country was rid of an incubus and entered into a new and altogether wider life. This was to a large extent the actual case. The old system had become impossible, the parting had become inevitable. The disaster consisted not so much in the actual severance as in the fact that the severance was the result of civil war, and that the successful colonists were not, as might have been expected, softened towards the Old Country by the fact of success, but handed on the soreness to later generations. As the years went on the lessons of the war of American Independence

entered into the hearts and minds of British statesmen, and inspired the broader and wiser colonial policy of the nineteenth century. The loss of the United States was the making of Canada. In lieu of a prospect, almost amounting to certainty, of being merged in the far stronger and more populous British possessions to the south, when those possessions became a foreign nation, and because they became a foreign nation, Canada was set on the path which has placed her at the head of the young nations of the Empire. The immediate result of the war was the incoming of the United Empire Loyalists, the creation of the Province of Upper Canada or Ontario, and of New Brunswick, and the grant of representative institutions to Upper and Lower Canada by Pitt's Act of 1791. The loss of the United States again was largely responsible for British settlement in Australia. But the chief gain which was the outcome of the most signal of British defeats was that the new Empire, as contrasted with the old, became in a constantly increasing degree a well-balanced Empire, whereas the old Empire, as has been sufficiently emphasised already, was altogether weighed down on the side of America.

In the eighties of the eighteenth century, almost as fruitful of interest in the story of the British Empire as the eighties of the nineteenth century, over and above the making of British Canada, three events took place, all in the direction of broadening the base of the Empire, and all of them the fruits of peace, not of war. In 1786, through the agency of Captain Light, a discerning man whose foresight was inherited by his son, the surveyor who long years afterwards chose the site of Adelaide for the capital of the new colony of South Australia, the East India Company acquired the Island of Penang at the northern entrance to the Straits of Malacca, paying to its native owner, the Sultan of Kedah, an annuity of

$6000 per annum. It was first occupied on the 12th of August in that year and, inasmuch as that day was the then Prince of Wales's birthday, for a long time the island bore the official title of Prince of Wales Island. In 1800 the acquisition of the island was supplemented by acquiring for an additional annuity a strip of the opposite mainland, which became known as Province Wellesley. This was the first beginning of the modern history of British Malaya.

The next year, 1787, saw the beginning of the modern history of British West Africa. Slowly but surely in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the forces of religion and humanity were gathering strength in opposition to the vested interests which upheld the iniquity of the slave trade, and in 1772 a great step forward was taken when, through the pertinacity of Granville Sharp, the celebrated judgment was secured from Lord Mansfield that a slave on setting foot in England became free. But the immediate result of the judgment was to turn adrift in the streets of London a number of black men who, in gaining their freedom, lost the maintenance which their former masters had provided. In aid of these destitute freedmen, a voluntary "Committee for relieving the black poor" was formed, and it was decided to establish a settlement for them on the West Coast of Africa. The Government consented to pay the cost of transport, and the first party of emigrants reached Sierra Leone, in May 1787. A grant of land for a settlement was obtained from the local chief and from the king of the country, and in 1788 the cession was confirmed by a Treaty in which the king gave his allegiance to the King of England, indicating that the grant was made, not to private individuals, but to the British Crown. A company having been formed and, in 1791, incorporated by Act of Parliament, the ceded lands were in 1800 made over to the company, but in 1807,

the year of the abolition of the slave trade, by another Act of Parliament, this decision was reversed, the Crown took back the colony from the 1st of January, 1808, and Sierra Leone became the first British Crown Colony on the West Coast of Africa. This was the beginning in British West Africa of the era of the colony as opposed to the régime of the fort and the factory, it was the beginning of the end of slavery, it was the beginning of the opening up and development of Africa. As slavery and the slave trade had locked up West Africa and stereotyped and intensified its barbarism, so the decline and fall of slavery, of which Freetown was the earliest outward and visible sign, meant the unveiling of the Dark Continent. The object of the founders of the Sierra Leone Company was defined as " the introduction of civilisation into Africa," the explorer was the pioneer of civilisation, and in 1795 Mungo Park, one of the many Scotsmen to whom Africa owes so much, made his way inland to the upper waters of the Niger.

Great as was the historical importance of the Sierra Leone venture, more important still in making history was an enterprise which started in May, 1787, the same month of the same year in which the first free negro settlers were landed in West Africa. Dutch explorations, which had given to Australia as far as it was then known the name of New Holland, and to which the names of Tasmania and Cape Leeuwin still bear witness, had not extended to the eastern side of the island continent, and it was left to Captain James Cook, in 1770, to search out the coasts of the present states of New South Wales and Queensland, to take formal possession of them for the British Crown, and to christen the land New South Wales. With him in the *Endeavour* was a botanist, Sir Joseph Banks, who gathered plants and flowers on the shores of a bay which gained the name of Botany Bay.

When, as the result of the War of American Independence, the North American colonies ceased to be a dumping ground for transported offenders from the Old Country, a proposal made by Banks in 1779 that a convict settlement should be formed in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay was reconsidered and adopted, and power having been taken by Acts of Parliament and Orders-in-Council, Captain Arthur Phillip was sent out with a first band of convicts and their military guards to Botany Bay. Arriving at Botany Bay in January, 1788, Phillip found a far finer harbour a few miles to the north, which Cook had not entered. This was Port Jackson, now commonly known as Sydney harbour. On the shore of Sydney Cove, where is now the busily thronged Circular Quay, the British flag was hoisted on the 26th of January, 1788, and the beginning was made of a convict station, which was the first permanent British foothold in Australia or in all the Southern Seas. The evils which were the inevitable accompaniment of transportation to a far-off land led in due course to abolition of the system, but it had served the purpose of British expansion. From the very first "our territory called New South Wales" was defined in Governor Phillip's commissions as including the whole eastern half of Australia as far inland as the 135th degree of East longitude, together with the adjacent islands. To find a new outlet for British convicts, the British Government in effect appropriated half a continent, together with Norfolk Island and Tasmania. Thus within five years from the date of the great loss in America, without any fighting whatever, three wholly new openings had been registered for the Empire—on the Straits of Malacca, on the West Coast of Africa, and in the far south, all of which proved to be each in its own way of untold value.

All through the eighteenth century, as has been seen

already, between Spain and Great Britain there was either open war or nominal peace, sometimes attended with actual fighting, sometimes with friction which verged on war. The two main scenes of fighting or of friction were the Mediterranean and America. In the Mediterranean, Gibraltar was held by Great Britain against repeated Spanish attempts to recover it, and Minorca constantly changed hands, but remained eventually with Spain. Apart from the main wars into which Spain entered, usually following the lead of France, in the latter half of the century there were three Anglo-Spanish incidents or sources of collision, two of which ended peaceably and the third in fighting. All three took place in or near America, all were the outcome of Spanish claims dating back to the time when the New World was an appanage of Spain.

Anson's voyage round the world had directed attention to the want of a port of call for British ships in the South Atlantic. In 1765 possession was taken of a harbour on the West Coast of West Falkland, which was named Port Egmont, and here in the following year a small station was constructed and occupied. Shortly before, in 1764, the French, on the initiative of their great explorer, Bougainville, had planted themselves in East Falkland, but were bought out by the Spaniards in 1766. In 1770 the Spaniards, regarding the station at Port Egmont as an act of trespass, sent a force from Buenos Ayres and compelled its evacuation. There was a great outcry in England, the crisis called forth a political pamphlet from the pen of Dr. Johnson, but a compromise was effected in the following year, whereby the station was restored to Great Britain, but the question of sovereignty was left undecided.

The second incident occurred in the far north of America, and on the Pacific side. As the result of

Captain Cook's Pacific explorations, and with the approval of the East India Company and the Government of India, some British merchants, in the year 1786, initiated a fur trade between North-West America and China. In 1788 they established a small trading station on an inlet on the ocean side of Vancouver Island, which was called after the name of one of the trading vessels, Nootka Sound. In 1789 Spanish warships appeared on the scene and, on the ground that the sovereign rights of Spain were being infringed, seized the vessels within reach, took possession of the station, and imprisoned British subjects. Again the two nations were brought to the verge of war by a Spanish claim which even the peace-loving Pitt characterised in the House of Commons as " the most absurd and exorbitant that could well be imagined." By a Convention, however, concluded in October, 1790, restitution was made and war was averted. This incident is of special historical interest as being concerned with the beginnings of British settlement in what is now the Canadian Province of British Columbia. The beginnings came from the Pacific and had no connection with what was then known as Canada.

In the seventeenth century, with its many buccaneering and colonising ventures, British subjects were much in evidence, trespassing, trading, privateering, squatting on the coast of the Spanish Main in Central America and in the islands off the coasts. The short-lived settlement in the Island of Old Providence has been already mentioned, and on the mainland opposite was the territory of the Mosquito Indians, always in close amity with the English and in special relations with the Government of Jamaica, over whom British protection was in some sort exercised down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Farther north, beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, is the Bay of Honduras.

Here were the Bay Islands, much resorted to by British subjects, and here on the eastern side of the Yucatan Peninsula, in the course of the eighteenth century, the logwood cutters, to whom reference has already been made, gradually became concentrated in the neighbourhood of the Belize River. They were of British allegiance, finding in Jamaica the source of such authority as they recognised, and they became known as the Baymen, at perpetual feud with the Spaniards, who regarded them as perpetual trespassers. The Treaties of 1763 and 1783, and a special Convention of 1786, tried to provide a *modus vivendi* on the basis of securing the Baymen against Spanish interference while recognising the sovereign rights of Spain, but a final solution was not found till the year 1798. In that year, Spain and Great Britain being then at open war, the Governor of Yucatan, with a strong expeditionary force, bore down upon the woodcutters' colony, whose centre at the time was the islet known as St. George's Cay, off the mouth of the Belize River. Determined to root them out once for all, he met with men equally determined to make an end. The Baymen forsook their homes, took to their boats and schooners, and with the backing of one British ship and a handful of British troops, in waters and among shoals that they knew well, they won a complete victory, and from that date the colony of British Honduras existed by right of conquest and not on sufferance from Spain.

The privileges of the East India Company depended on its Charter, which was renewed, usually with modifications, at intervals of varying terms of years. In 1781 it was renewed for ten years, but the renewal was coupled with further State control. In 1783, Fox, then in office in the short-lived ministry formed by his coalition with Lord North, brought in India Bills which embodied far-reaching changes, and the defeat

of his measures brought Pitt into office. Pitt forthwith in 1784 carried an India Act, which completely subordinated the company to the Government by the establishment of a Board of Control, the President of the Board becoming a Cabinet Minister and in effect, though not in name, Secretary of State for India. This system held the field until, after the Indian Mutiny, the East India Company ceased to be. In India, under the provisions of the Act, the supreme power was vested in the Governor-General with a Council of three, who in such matters as concerned India as a whole—war, diplomatic relations, and revenue, were given definite control over Madras and Bombay. Warren Hastings had already sent in his resignation before the Act was passed, and left India early in 1785. His implacable enemy, Philip Francis, was already in England, ready to provide material for attack on Hastings's administration. Burke took the matter up in the House of Commons, procuring a vote of censure on two counts, and in February, 1788, began the famous trial in Westminster Hall, when Fox and Sheridan joined Burke in pressing the charges. Seven years passed before, in April, 1795, Hastings was finally acquitted. The verdict of history by no means endorses all his high-handed proceedings, but it leaves no room for doubt that the good done by him far outweighed the evil, that he was a reformer of Indian administration, a true friend to the Indian peasant, a tower of strength to the Empire when the fate of the Empire was in the balance, and one who merited, though he did not receive, the tribute paid to Lord Clive that he "rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

The trial, in spite of all its vindictiveness and exaggeration, proved that there was a new spirit of humanity and justice abroad, and a reformer of the highest character succeeded Hastings in 1786. This

was Lord Cornwallis. Though he commanded the force which surrendered at Yorktown, he had shown in the American War no mean capacity as a general, and his character, devoid of all taint of self-interest, inspired general confidence and esteem. Once for all, by insisting upon ample salaries for the company's servants in India, and by prohibiting all other sources of gain from private trade or commissions, he rooted out corruption. He organised the judicial system, following up what Warren Hastings had begun, and for good or ill—for opinions as to the wisdom of the measure have widely differed—but with a single eye to the public good, he effected the well-known Permanent Settlement of the land revenues of Bengal. Like Pitt, his personal friend, he strove to avoid war, but the result of previous entanglements was a second war with Mysore in 1790-2, which resulted in the defeat of Tipu and the annexation of a large part of his dominions. Cornwallis left India in 1793, just after war between France and Great Britain had been declared. For between four and five years his successor, Sir John Shore, a servant of the company, pursued with indifferent success a policy of neutrality as between contending native powers in India, until, in 1798, he was replaced as Governor-General by a man of wholly different type, Lord Wellesley, then the Earl of Mornington.

Second to none as a peace minister, Pitt had little of his father's genius for war, none of his father's burning antagonism to France. Stubbornly, like Walpole before him, he strove for peace, but Revolutionary France made peace impossible and declared war in February, 1793. Never was the sea power of Great Britain so splendidly in evidence as in the years which followed. In 1794, far out at sea, off Ushant and Brest, Lord Howe, old in years but young in tactics, heavily defeated the French fleet on the

Glorious First of June. Towards the end of 1795 Spain came into the war on the side of France. The Netherlands, overrun by the French in the winter of 1794-5, became, as the Batavian Republic, no better than a French dependency. Thus Spanish and Dutch fleets were added to the naval strength of France. In February, 1797, Jervis, with Nelson under him, broke up the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. In the following October, Duncan accounted for the Dutch fleet off Camperdown, south of the Texel. On the 1st of August, 1798, Nelson triumphed at the Battle of the Nile. In April, 1801, he turned his blind eye to Hyde Parker's signal at the Battle of Copenhagen, and brought the Danes to terms. In the East and in the West, French, Spanish, and Dutch dependencies were lopped away, and in the South, in 1795, the Cape Colony was taken by a British expeditionary force, acting in the name of the Prince of Orange, Hereditary Stadtholder of the Netherlands, then a refugee in England. In the Mediterranean, Minorca, in 1797, once more fell into British hands. Malta, in 1798, had been surrendered to Napoleon on his way to Egypt. In 1800 the French garrison of Valetta capitulated to British naval and military forces acting in alliance with the Maltese. The Battle of the Nile had isolated the French in Egypt and cut short Napoleon's schemes of Eastern conquest and menace to India. The forces which he left behind him when he returned to France were defeated by Abercromby at the Battle of Alexandria in March, 1801, and later in the year what remained of the French army surrendered.

While the surrender was taking place, an additional British force arrived at Rosetta at the end of August, 1801, having come down the Nile. This was a contingent sent by Lord Wellesley from Bombay, commanded by Sir David Baird, and including three native Indian battalions. It had landed on the Red

Sea coast, crossed the desert to the Nile between Assiut and Assouan, and been carried down on boats to Cairo and Rosetta. Thus the first year of the nineteenth century saw soldiers of the Indian army in Egypt and on the shore of the Mediterranean. In India itself, Lord Wellesley had worked a complete transformation, exchanging the policy of non-intervention, which his two immediate predecessors had carried to an extreme, for fearless assertions of British ascendancy throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. Under him India became emphatically British India and a base for extending British power far outside the limits of India. Annexation and Protectorate accompanied his path, large territories were added to the Empire, and, where annexation was not adopted, native rulers were bound over by what were called subsidiary alliances to place their foreign relations, whether with Indians or with Europeans, in British hands, and to maintain in their territories garrisons of the company's troops. The French were busy in efforts to undermine British power. They openly allied themselves with Tipu of Mysore, and Frenchmen organised and commanded the forces of the Nizam of Hyderabad and of the Maratha chieftain, Sindhia. It was no time for temporising or for compromise, and Wellesley gripped the nettle. The danger lay in the possibility of concerted action by Mysore, the great state of Hyderabad, and the Maratha Principalities of Central India. Hyderabad was made safe by a Treaty of 1798, which bound over the Nizam, and was followed by the enforced disbandment of his native army, trained by French methods and for French designs. The Maratha rulers were not at one with each other and held aloof. Mysore was then invaded from two quarters, General, afterwards Lord, Harris defeated Tipu and captured his capital, Seringapatam, Tipu being killed in its defence, there was

further annexation of Mysore territory, and the state ceased to be a menace in India. The administration of the Carnatic and of Tanjore was taken over, Surat was annexed, and about half of the territory of Oudh. But at the date when the Treaty of Amiens was signed, the Maratha Confederacy was still intact.

In the midst of the war, in the year 1800, Pitt carried the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and it came into effect in 1801. Constituting, as it did, a single Legislature for the two islands, placing them on terms of complete equality, putting an end to all restrictions on Irish trade, making a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland which should be the kernel of and a model for a United Empire, it seemed as though the outcome of the law would in due time be such prosperity and contentment as had followed the Scottish Union. So it might have been had the king consented to the removal of Catholic disabilities in Ireland which the broadminded minister pressed upon him. But George the Third was obdurate. In February, 1801, Pitt resigned, and it fell to the Addington Ministry to negotiate the Treaty of Amiens, which was finally signed in March, 1802, Napoleon being by this time First Consul of France. It was but a truce, and a shortlived truce. Its basis was mutual restitution, but Great Britain gained two most valuable islands, one in the East, one in the West; one from the Netherlands, one from Spain; from the Dutch, Ceylon, which had been taken in 1796; from the Spaniards, Trinidad, which had been taken in 1797. Malta, at the time in British hands, was to revert to its former owners, the Knights of Malta, but restitution had not been made when war broke out again.

PART IV
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

SECTION I

1802—1815

FOR Great Britain, the nineteenth century began in war, it ended in war, and its whole course was attended by wars of one kind or another in all parts of the world. Yet in the story of the Empire, war was not the hall-mark of the new century, as it had been of its predecessor. The nineteenth century was not so much an era of force as an era of expansion, in which force was not the main factor. It was a. time of wider freedom at least as much as of broadening conquest, and when and where there was conquest, it brought with it liberation.

The Treaty of Amiens lasted for a little over a year. Before 1802 ended a renewal of war was becoming inevitable, and in May, 1803, war was actually declared. But, while from one point of view the treaty was but a breathing space in the midst of a war of inordinate length, from another aspect it marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. From 1793 to the end of the eighteenth century Great Britain had been fighting Revolutionary France, while France was engaged in spreading Revolution and in uprooting the old order as widely as possible. The war of American Independence had given a lead from the New World to the Old. France had co-operated with the rebellious British colonists, and had followed their lead. She had drunk deep the draught of liberty and carried democracy into hideous excesses. Great Britain, standing for ordered freedom, had ranged herself against militant and aggressive Revolution, but the banner of France had been carried from

victory to victory in the name of freedom, and the wars of France had, outwardly at any rate, been directed against governments not against peoples. The Treaty of Amiens marked the point at which the destructive and the liberating chapter ended, and the constructive effort of familiar military despotism began. In November, 1799, Napoleon, the most successful general produced by the Revolution, became First Consul of France under a new Constitution. In August, 1802, during the truce, he became First Consul for life. In May, 1804, he became Emperor of the French. The ideals of freedom disappeared, France placed herself under a military despotism, and the republics which she had called into existence on the Continent of Europe became subordinate monarchies. From 1803 to 1815 Great Britain was fighting France under Napoleon for precisely the same reason for which she had fought France under Louis XIV. exactly a hundred years earlier, and for which she fought Germany under William II. nearly a hundred years later—to prevent the world from passing under the domination of a single Power.

To East and West, to India and America, Napoleon's designs and agencies extended. In India he hoped, by French intrigue with and guidance of native powers, to make bad trouble for England. The Marathas, the Hindu peasant horsemen and raiders of the Deccan, whose original home was the hill country of the Western Ghats, had, in the seventeenth century, under the leadership of Sivaji, defied the Mogul Emperor, and became in a measure a federated nation. The power very soon passed out of the hands of Sivaji's descendants, who became phantom kings with their dwelling-place at Satara, and the Chief Minister or Peishwa became hereditary chief of the federation, with his headquarters at Poona. As the Moguls declined the Marathas grew, their power was carried

far beyond the Deccan into northern India, and the greatest set-back which they experienced in the eighteenth century, a crushing defeat at the hands of an invading Afghan army in 1761, took place at Panipat in the Punjab. In the latter half of the eighteenth century there were four leading Maratha princes, Sindhia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Gaikwar of Baroda on the western side, and the Bhonsla Raja of Berar, whose capital was Nagpore, but whose territory extended to the east coast. In the later years of the century, so powerful was Sindhia that he became the nominal protector and real controller of the helpless Mogul Emperor at Delhi. But the Marathas as a nation suffered from internal feuds, and especially from rivalry between Sindhia and Holkar. The Peishwas, as years went on, like the line of Sivaji, declined into more or less puppet sovereigns and, in 1802, the reigning Peishwa, being torn between Sindhia and Holkar, who were at war with each other, became a refugee and applicant for British protection. That protection was forthcoming from Lord Wellesley. On the last day of 1802 the Peishwa signed a Treaty of subsidiary alliance, and was reinstated at Poona by British troops in May, 1803, the date at which war between France and Great Britain began again. The Treaty constituted what would now be called a British Protectorate, and the Maratha princes were not of a mind to be so controlled. Fortunately they were, as usual, not united, and when war came a few months later, Holkar and the Gaikwar held aloof, leaving Sindhia and the Bonsla to combine their forces and rise in arms against the East India Company. It was a formidable combination. The two princes had large armies at their back, Sindhia's troops had been trained by a Frenchman, de Boigne, and another Frenchman, Perron, acted as his proconsul in the north, where he had taken possession of the Doab,

the territory between the Jumna and the Ganges Rivers. The fight was, in effect, for the overlordship of central India from coast to coast, and it was well that Lord Wellesley had at his disposal at the time two exceptionally good soldiers. Lake, soon to become Lord Lake, was commander-in-chief of the company's forces, and operated in the north of India. In the more southern area the commander was Wellesley's brother, General Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. There were four months of uninterrupted success from August to the end of November, 1803. Lake captured Aligarh, which was Perron's chief depot, occupied Delhi and Agra and at the Battle of Laswari finally broke up Sindhia's forces in the north. General Wellesley took the stronghold of Ahmednagar, defeated the combined armies of Sindhia and the Bonsla in his first great victory, the hard fought Battle of Assaye, and supplemented it with a further victory at Argaum. There followed treaties at the end of 1803 and the beginning of 1804, which confirmed the British Protectorate over the Maratha princes, ousted French influence from their counsels and their levies, and greatly added to the dominions of the company. Madras and Bengal were linked up on the eastern coast, the Doab was annexed, and British control over Delhi and Agra was assured. But it was not the end. In 1804 came war with Holkar, attended by more varying fortunes and some British reverses. Lake himself, after having defeated Holkar in November, 1804, was badly beaten off from the fortress of Bhurtpore. He followed Holkar up, however, through 1805, driving him north, and in December of that year the Maratha chief came to terms at Amritsar in the Punjab. Lake's later operations had been badly hampered by a change of Governor-General. The greatness of Lord Wellesley and of his work in India

stand out beyond dispute, but his forward policy, accompanied by manifold annexations and added responsibilities, had drained the resources of the company, alienated the directors, and began to frighten the Government. Accordingly, a protagonist of non-intervention, the veteran Lord Cornwallis, though now far advanced in years, was sent out to be Governor-General for the second time. He reached Calcutta in July, 1805, Lord Wellesley leaving in the following month, and immediately set himself to make concessions to the Marathas and put an end to the war. He died in October before the work of undoing had gone far, but the Acting Governor-General followed on his lines, the previous settlement was greatly modified in favour of the Marathas, and finality was not achieved without a further war at a later date.

Events moved fast in Europe; the gravity of the crisis called back Pitt to office in 1804; Napoleon formed a camp at Boulogne and laid plans for invasion of England. Never was the "Moat," the "Narrow Sea," of more priceless value. On the 21st October, 1805, the Battle of Trafalgar, at the price of Nelson's life, finally clinched Great Britain's supremacy at sea. On land Napoleon replied by forcing the capitulation of Mack's Austrian army at Ulm, and by the subsequent victory of Austerlitz on the 2nd December. In January, 1806, Pitt died, and in February the Coalition Ministry of All the Talents was formed, with Lord Grenville for Prime Minister and with Fox for its strongest member. Fox died in the following September, and in October the Battle of Jena made Napoleon master of Prussia. In the next month a French force under Mortier was sent to occupy Hamburg, and now came the final end of the old Merchant Adventurers' Company. Under the name of the Hamburg Company it had dwindled to very small proportions, but until the French appeared on the

scene it was still in existence, a specially privileged little community in the free Hanseatic city, an interesting survival of a very distant past. Like numberless other relics of former times, its privileges were swept away at French dictation, and in April, 1808, "the Right Worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers of England residing in Hamburg" ended a life of 400 years.

Grenville had served under Pitt and with Pitt had resigned in 1801 upon the king's refusal to entertain Catholic emancipation. After he became Prime Minister he declined to give a pledge that the question should not be revived, and this caused or contributed to his retirement in March, 1807. But before he retired he had carried one great measure specially dear to the heart of Fox, who did not live to see the end, the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. It was long overdue, alike in the interests of humanity and of the Empire. It was a great step forward in the direction of broadening the base of the Empire, for it broke the bond which had tied and subordinated West Africa to America and the West Indies. In this same year, it will be remembered, the Act was passed which constituted Sierra Leone the first British Crown Colony in West Africa, and now, instead of being a scene of trading depots strewn along a fringe of coast and maintained with a special view to West Indian and American plantations, West Africa began to have a future of its own. So great, however, had been the mischief wrought by the slave trade, so steeped in barbarism were the regions whence the slaves had been drawn, that for many long years British Governments were minded to be quit of West Africa, and the strongest motive in favour of retaining a hold on the coast was to stamp out the remains and prevent the recrudescence of the very trade which had brought to England so much profit and so much

shame. With one other measure which had a most important bearing on the war the Grenville Ministry was associated. From Berlin after Jena, Napoleon, in November, 1806, launched his famous Berlin Decree prohibiting commerce with Great Britain, directly or indirectly, by all Continental countries which France controlled, and as a counterblast, in 1807, Orders-in-Council were issued by the British Government declaring a blockade of all the Continental coast which held with France.

Grenville's Cabinet was succeeded by that of the Duke of Portland, whose Ministry included, as Foreign Secretary and Secretary for War respectively, Canning and Castlereagh, soon to be bitterly opposed to each other. Through this year, 1807, Napoleon continued his career of Continental conquest. After the Battle of Friedland in June, the Treaty of Tilsit in July, with accompanying terms of secret alliance, placed Russia on the side of France, Prussia dismembered was at the conqueror's feet, Sweden lost the Port of Stralsund, and only the high-handed bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish Fleet, ordered by Canning and carried out in September, prevented that fleet from falling into French hands. Then, in an evil hour for his fortunes, Napoleon coveted the Spanish Peninsula. In October he drew the Spanish Government into a scheme for the partition of Portugal and her possessions, and before November ended, French troops under Junot raced into Lisbon, while the Portuguese Royal Family, safe under the guns of British warships in the Tagus, fled for refuge to Brazil. This was but a prelude to French domination of the whole Peninsula. In about six months' time the Bourbon line was ousted from Madrid, and Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, exchanged the Crown of Naples for that of Spain. The outrage fired Spanish patriotism, the Spaniards rose in arms, the British

Government sent them help, and the Peninsular War began. It was a typical war of liberation, in which Great Britain came to the aid of peoples struggling in spasmodic fashion to rid themselves of lately imposed foreign yoke, and it was a war in which the nineteenth century reversed the whole course of the eighteenth, for Spain and France were now at each other's throats, and Spain and Great Britain fought side by side. It was in essence as in name a Peninsular War, in which strength at sea could have full play and the ultimate allied base was the British navy; but, while the British navy kept the sea, its main fighting work had ended at Trafalgar, and now the general, not the admiral, still less the statesman, became the central figure. What Marlborough was for England when Louis XIV. menaced the world, that was Wellington in the fight with Napoleon. British troops were landed in Portugal. In August, 1808, their commander, Sir Arthur Wellesley, as he then was, defeated Junot at Vimeiro, and, under the much criticised Convention of Cintra, the French army evacuated Portugal. This reverse brought Napoleon himself into Spain, Sir John Moore, now in command of the small British forces in Portugal, struck boldly inland, threatened French communications, threw out of gear the whole French plan of campaign, and, though the terrible forced retreat to Corunna, with Moore's own death in January, 1809, seemed to spell failure, the outcome of his effort was that Napoleon, balked of immediate and wholesale success, and with urgent calls elsewhere, left Spain to the charge of his marshals and never again crossed the Pyrenees. The death of Moore left the field clear for Wellesley. He had gone back to England after the Convention of Cintra, but arrived again in Portugal in April, 1809, drove Soult from Oporto, and in July proved once more the mettle of British troops at the Battle of Talavera.

In this long strife, as in the Great War of 100 years later, different battle fronts divided battle counsels, and the needs of allies militated against adherence to sound strategy. Desirous of striking a blow nearer home than Spain and Portugal, and hoping to help Austria once more in arms against Napoleon, the British Government, instead of concentrating full strength upon the Peninsular campaign, was lured by the tempting chance of seizing Antwerp, then a French naval base, even as the chance of saving Antwerp produced an abortive effort in 1914. The outcome was the ill-fated Walcheren expedition, when in August, 1809, doing nothing in the fever-stricken marshes of the Island of Walcheren, numbers of good British soldiers, badly wanted elsewhere, sickened and died. Rightly or wrongly, the chief responsibility for the disaster was credited to the Secretary for War, Castlereagh, the feud between him and Canning ended in a duel, in September both ministers resigned, and in October the Prime Minister, the Duke of Portland, resigned also. He had been but a figurehead, and so was his successor, Spencer Perceval; but Perceval's Foreign Minister was Lord Wellesley, determined to give full support to the brother who had served him so well in India. Wellesley remained at the Foreign Office till the spring of 1812, when he was succeeded by Castlereagh, and Castlereagh remained Foreign Secretary until his death in 1822. Shortly after he returned to office, in May, 1812, Perceval was assassinated, and the Secretary for War in his Ministry, Lord Liverpool, became Prime Minister, and held office continuously until 1827.

After hard fighting in 1809, Austria had been overpowered and the Treaty of Vienna in October of that year marked the climax of Napoleon's power. Wellington after Talavera had fallen back in retreat, and the outlook in Europe was dark in the extreme. But it

is proverbially darkest before dawn, and dawn was close at hand. This winter of 1809-10 saw the construction of the lines of Torres-Vedras, an impregnable fortress making Lisbon safe. Secretly they were designed, steadily they were carried out by a man who knew how to wait. All the patient enduring strength of the British race in adversity was typified by Wellington and the lines of Torres-Vedras, and when, in a year's time, in the winter of 1810-11, Massena fell back from before them in costly retreat, confidence began to revive, and more and more it entered into the minds of Wellington's countrymen that, though they had lost Nelson, they had found a soldier to lead them on and through. The year 1811 was a year of ebb and flow in the Peninsula. It saw the fight at Fuentes d'Onore and Beresford's hardly won victory at Albuera, and then in 1812 came substantial victories, the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, the complete defeat of Marmont's army at Salamanca, and the first entry into Madrid. In 1807, when the Treaty of Tilsit was signed, the Czar of Russia adhered to Napoleon's Continental system with its embargo on British trade in whatever vessels it was carried and under whatever flags. Russia suffered heavily in consequence, and at the end of 1810 the Czar openly departed from the system. This action, among other causes, made renewal of war between France and Russia only a question of time, but through 1811 both powers waited, and it was nearly the end of June, 1812, about a month before the Battle of Salamanca, when Napoleon began the invasion which ended in the winter with the retreat from Moscow. It was the beginning of the end. By October, 1813, the first of the allied armies, Wellington's army, had broken into France, and in February, 1814, Napoleon ceased to reign, except for the dramatic 100 days in the following year, which ended at Waterloo.

As Napoleon's Decrees led up to war between Russia and France, so the British Orders-in-Council brought in their train war between the United States and Great Britain. Interference with neutral carrying trade and exercise of right of search gave to the Americans substantial ground of complaint against England. Similar difficulties arose in the early years of the late Great War, and but for tactful handling might easily have led to similar results. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century desertion of British seamen and search for the deserters was a special source of trouble. In 1807 it led to a British warship opening fire on an American frigate and causing loss of life, there was another armed collision in 1811, and finally on the 19th June, 1812, four days before the British Orders-in-Council which had caused all the mischief were withdrawn, President Madison declared war. The war lasted until the 24th December, 1814, taking across the ocean to no good purpose Peninsular veterans who were in consequence withheld from Waterloo. Indeed, the fighting lasted longer than the war, for the Battle of New Orleans was fought on the 8th January, 1815, and as late as June, 1815, the month of Waterloo, an East India Company's vessel was seized in Eastern waters by an American ship of war, so belated was news on the high seas little more than a century ago. It was a war which brought no advantage and little credit to either side, and which neither nation heartily supported. An additional enemy in her hour of peril was not what Great Britain desired, while very many Americans, especially in the Northern States, were strongly averse to coming into war on the side of Napoleon. The two combatants left off as they began, except for a fresh store of ill-feeling between them, and Canada alone may be said to have gained by the war. The war party in the United States had contemplated completion of the

work of the War of Independence by the conquest and annexation of Canada. This did not come to pass. On the contrary, Canadians, French and British, joined hands and hearts in defence of their lands and liberties; on the Niagara frontier the United Empire Loyalists proved the worth of their creed, and Canadian nationhood was sped far on its way by the war of 1812.

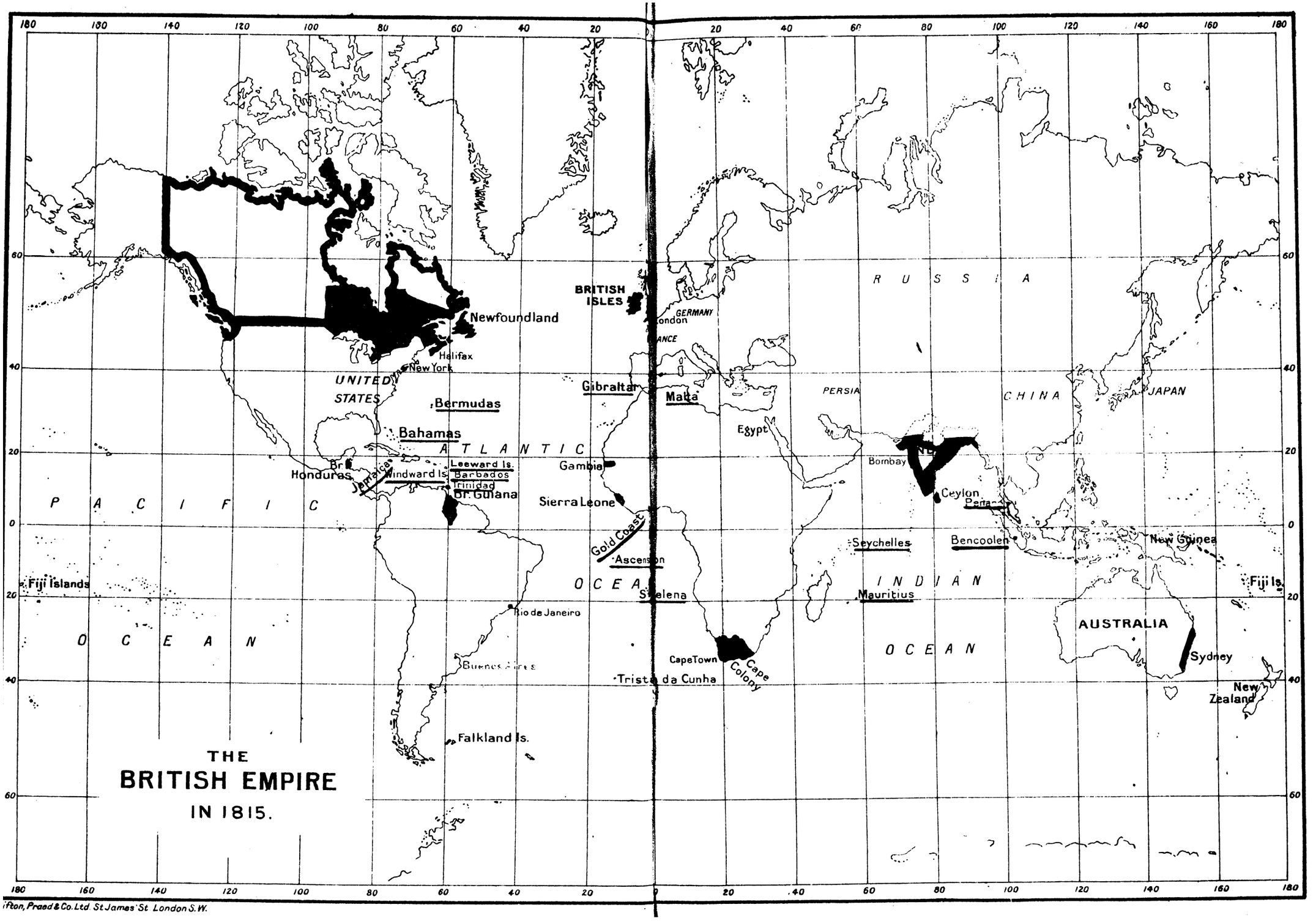
Elsewhere beyond the seas, throughout these years of war, there was an almost uninterrupted record of British gains. In the West Indies, on the West Coast of Africa, in the Indian Ocean, as in India itself, the French were at the mercy of British sea power, and the Dutch suffered at least as heavily as the French through being, like Continental Europe generally, led captive by Napoleon. They had already lost Ceylon, and though the Treaty of Amiens, which confirmed British possession of that island, gave the Cape back to the Netherlands, it was taken again in 1806 by an expeditionary force commanded by Sir David Baird. Similarly, Demerara, previously taken and restored, was retaken in 1803, in which year the French West Indian Islands of St. Lucia and Tobago were also finally captured.

In 1807 Lord Minto, previously President of the Board of Control, became Governor-General of India. Like Cornwallis, though not to the same extent, leaning to a policy of non-intervention, he held the balance between native powers, and by combined firmness and moderation avoided collision with the growing strength of the Sikh leader, Ranjit Singh. Resolute as Lord Wellesley himself in excluding French influence from India or the confines of India, he entered into relations with Persia and with Afghanistan, and under him the Indian army took a leading part in the expeditions which made Great Britain supreme in the Indian Ocean and in Eastern Seas. In

1808 Indian soldiers were for the first time in evidence in Chinese waters, when for a few months a sepoy battalion occupied the Portuguese station at Macao to forestall possible French occupation. In 1809 the French Island of Rodrigues was occupied as a base for reducing Bourbon and Mauritius. In July, 1810, Bourbon was taken, in December, Mauritius, and the fortunes of the Seychelles followed those of Mauritius. In 1811 the conquest of the Netherlands Indies was completed by the capture of Java. Lord Minto himself accompanied the expedition to Java, and after the fighting and capitulation he placed the island in charge of a man who, as long as it remained in British keeping, ruled it with singular ability. This was Sir Stamford Raffles. Minto retired in 1813 at a time when the East India Company's Charter, due to expire in April, 1814, was the subject of much discussion and debate. Eventually the Charter was extended for twenty years, but with the very important modification that British trade with India was thrown open. The company, however, retained the monopoly of the China trade, which was not abolished until the end of the twenty years, in 1834.

The gains to the British Empire which resulted from the second half of the long war were for the most part allotted by the Peace of Paris, signed on the 30th of May, 1814. The West Indian Islands of St. Lucia, so much coveted for the sake of Castries harbour, and Tobago accrued from France, as did also in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius and its many island dependencies, including the Seychelles and Rodrigues, but Bourbon was restored to the French. In India, the French regained their footholds, but again under strict provision against erecting fortifications or maintaining troops except for police purposes. The Dutch regained the Netherlands Indies, and received from Great Britain the Island of Banka off the coast

of Sumatra in exchange for Cochin on the Malabar coast of India. They ceded, however, the Cape and their colonies of Demerara Berbice and Essequibo, now British Guiana, the cession being the result of a complicated bargain which was finally settled in August, 1814, and by which Great Britain paid to or on behalf of the Netherlands six million pounds. Malta was assigned to Great Britain in accordance with the wishes of the Maltese. Heligoland, which had been taken in 1807 at the time of the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet, was confirmed to Great Britain at the peace, but it is now one of our lost possessions, and another group of islands which came under British control by a treaty of 5th November, 1815, has also passed away. These were the seven Ionian Islands, constituted "a single free and independent state under the denomination of the United States of the Ionian Islands," and placed "under the immediate and exclusive protection" of the British Crown. This case was one of exceptional historical interest as being an early instance of a British Protectorate in the strict sense of the term. The treaty provided for a British "Lord High Commissioner," eschewing the word governor, which might have implied a British possession, and in later years the term of High Commissioner has been commonly used in the case of Protectorates. Finally, it should be noted that the detention of Napoleon in St. Helena led to British occupation of the Island of Ascension in 1815, and to the annexation of remote Tristan da Cunha in the following year. The results of the Napoleonic Wars may be summed up in terms that the base of the Empire had again been substantially broadened, the principal new buttresses being the Cape Colony, the harbour of Valetta in the centre of the Mediterranean, and the harbour of Port Louis in the Indian Ocean.



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SECTION II

1815—1837

UNTIL 1922 the little Island of Ascension was under the Admiralty, and was at one time rated as a ship of war. It was the only oversea possession of Great Britain which had been continuously under naval control. In French history there were times when the Colonial possessions of France were administered by the Ministry of Marine, but, although the British Empire from first to last depended for its very existence upon the navy, the administrative charge of the Colonies was never, except in special cases and for short intervals, in naval hands. By an Act of 1782, passed at Burke's instance when the War of American Independence was practically at an end, and known as Burke's Act, both the Secretary of State for the American Department and the Board of Trade and Plantations which dated from the reign of William the Third, were abolished. In 1786 the latter was reconstructed and became the Board of Trade in its modern form, Trade and Plantations or Colonies being at length severed from each other—a sign of the passing of the Mercantile System. Colonial business reverted to the charge of the Secretary of State for the Southern or Home Department, in whose office there was a branch called the Office for Plantations. After war with France had broken out, in 1794, a third Secretary of State was again created, a Secretary of State for War, and in 1801 he became Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. Thus a connection between War and Colonies took the place of the

connection between Trade and Plantations. There were other Departments, however, which shared responsibility for military matters with the new Secretary of State for War, and he gradually became more a Colonial Secretary than a War Minister. At length, at the beginning of the Crimean War, in June, 1854, a fourth Secretary of State was created, again a Secretary of State for War, leaving the third Secretary of State to be Secretary of State for the Colonies only. Thus War Office and Colonial Office finally parted company.

The last years of the eighteenth and the first years of the nineteenth century had been so continuously years of war that Colonies and War had become knitted together almost in the course of nature. At the time of Waterloo practically every oversea possession of Great Britain was garrisoned, and every Colonial Governor was a military man. The Empire which the eighteenth century bequeathed to the nineteenth was the antipodes of the Empire which the seventeenth century bequeathed to the eighteenth, and in which the power of the mother country, whether for protection or for interference, had in the Colonies been, as a rule, conspicuous for its absence. The main sphere of Colonial liberties passed out of the Empire when the old North American Colonies went out, but representative institutions were still to be found in Bermuda and the old West Indian Colonies, where, however, they represented only white oligarchies; they were to be found also in Nova Scotia, where they dated from 1758; and the grant of such institutions to the two Canadian Provinces by Pitt's Act of 1791 showed that England was still minded to give the forms of liberty beyond the seas. In the North American Colonies bordering on States which had been British possessions but had achieved complete independence were the elements of wider freedom, but for the next quarter of a century

war was predominant, the new additions to the Empire which accrued from the war were the fruits of conquest, and, in 1815, the Empire was emphatically an Empire of Dependencies.

In Lord Liverpool's Ministry the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was Lord Bathurst. He had a longer continuous tenure of office than any Colonial Secretary, presiding over the administration of the Colonies throughout the whole term of the Liverpool administration from 1812 to 1827, and his name figures as a place name in all parts of the Empire. The Ministry was a Tory Ministry; it had brought the war to a successful issue; the soldier who had carried England through, the Duke of Wellington, was on the Tory side, and that party continued in office, led successively by Liverpool, Canning, Goodrich and, finally, Wellington himself, through the last years of the long reign of George III., who died in 1820, through the reign of George IV., who died in 1830, until in this latter year, with William IV. on the throne, the long overdue reform of the House of Commons could no longer be postponed, the Whigs, under the leadership of Lord Grey, came back into office, and, after an appeal to the country which gave them a sweeping majority, in the end carried the great Reform Act of 1832.

The war had brought in its train widespread misery in the British Islands, aggravated by Corn Laws which, by protective duties, artificially maintained high prices for bread. The writings of William Cobbett tell us in excellent plain English how great was the distress in the years which followed the war and how the leaders of popular agitation looked for salvation to Parliamentary reform. A meeting in Manchester in favour of reform, held in August, 1819, was broken up by cavalry with loss of life and much wounding, and this "Manchester massacre," or

"Peterloo," as it was styled, added to the resentment against the Government of the day, which was only intensified by the repressive measures known as the Six Acts that immediately followed Yet the Government was not wholly reactionary. It was very much the reverse when, on the death of Castlereagh in 1822, Canning became Foreign Secretary, and when, in the following year, his friend, Huskisson, became President of the Board of Trade. These two statesmen inherited or reproduced the early Liberalism of William Pitt before the calls of the war crippled progress, and as Canning's foreign policy brought England again into avowed sympathy with popular movements and freedom in other lands, so in the sphere of commerce Huskisson cut deep into the Navigation Laws, lowered duties, and led his colleagues and his countrymen far along the path of Free Trade. In one direction or another Tories as well as Whigs felt the broadening spirit of the time, and even the Duke of Wellington, when he became Prime Minister, carried the Catholic Emancipation Act in April, 1829.

The march of scientific invention, the substitution of machinery for handwork, added to the misery. Production in factories took the place of cottage industries, the capitalist supplanted the workman who was his own master. Handloom weavers, in particular, in the North of England and the South of Scotland found their means of subsistence gone, and starvation on their thresholds and threatening their homes. Emigration came to the front as an avenue of relief, including emigration from Ireland in order to prevent the influx of destitute Irish labourers into England and Scotland with the result of still further lowering the miserably low wages in Great Britain. Grants from Government funds in aid of emigration began to be made, Parliamentary Committees handled the subject, Passenger Acts were passed to safeguard

the emigrants en route, and eventually, but not until after Lord Durham's Mission, in the year 1840 an Emigration Board was created. The main field for emigration prior to 1835 was British North America rather than the United States, and in 1831 over 50,000 emigrants reached the port of Quebec. These were still the days of sailing ships, but already steam navigation had come to stay, and Canada provided the first vessel to cross the Atlantic by steam power, the *Royal William*, whose voyage was achieved in 1833. On land, George Stephenson's improvements in the locomotive engine brought it into use on the Stockton and Darlington line opened in 1825. In 1829 he produced the " Rocket," which said the final word as to the practical usefulness of steam traction, and in September in the following year the Manchester and Liverpool Railway was opened for the new mode of travel, the opening, by a curious irony of fate, being marked by the death of Huskisson, the statesman who was beyond others in sympathy with the new time and who was run over by a locomotive while standing on the permanent way.

Other forces than those of science, spiritual and philanthropic forces, were at the same time strongly at work. We have noted the band of men who fought the slave trade, founded Sierra Leone, gradually won to their side statesmen, governments and public opinion, and in 1807 procured the abolition of the trade by Act of Parliament. It was the storming of the main outwork of the whole fabric of slavery, and the year 1823 saw an Anti-Slavery Society founded. The greatest name among these reformers was that of William Wilberforce. Born in 1759, the same year in which William Pitt was born, lifelong friend and counsellor of Pitt, he was pre-eminent in bringing morality and religion into politics, he spoke for re-generating and regenerated humanity in the House of

Commons, in which he sat till the year 1825. He died in 1833, a month before the Slave Emancipation Act, which crowned his life work, was passed; and in that year a kindred philanthropist, Hannah More, also died at a greater age, a link with Dr. Johnson's circle of the eighteenth century. Both the one and the other were in line with what was known as the Clapham Sect, a group of protagonists in the cause of Evangelical Christianity, which included among its members Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay and Governor of Sierra Leone in the troubled infancy of the Settlement, and, round about the year 1836, both the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, and the much abler and more masterful Permanent Under Secretary, Sir James Stephen. Evangelical Christianity had meanwhile literally burst forth into the Mission field. The last ten years of the eighteenth century saw the birth of the Baptist, London, Scottish and Church Missionary Societies. Wesleyan missionaries had already been actively employed beyond the seas, especially in the West Indies, and though the Wesleyan Missionary Society dates only from 1813, to the life and leading of John Wesley, who died in 1791, must be attributed the outpouring of missionary effort from the distinctively Protestant side. All Christian denominations in the United Kingdom of evangelical colouring, including the Low Church section of the Anglican Communion, seem simultaneously to have heard the call to preach the Gospel message to the heathen, and all obeyed it, more intent, perhaps, on the spiritual and temporal welfare of coloured men in distant lands than on the multitudes at home who so pitifully needed their ministrations. The London Missionary Society, founded in 1794, and in its early years inclusive of Church and Chapel alike, was especially to the fore in what may be called aggressive missionary effort,

finding a wide and promising field in the opening or newly opened Pacific Islands and in South Africa, which the war brought within the circle of the Empire. From this time onward missionary work and missionary influence played a leading part in the story of the Empire, the missionary being nearly always a pioneer of expansion, sometimes, but rarely, a stumbling block.

Peace had come to Europe in 1815, but there was war in India. In November, 1812, Lord Moira had been appointed to succeed Lord Minto as Governor-General, and nearly a year later, in October, 1813, he landed at Calcutta. Like Cornwallis, though much his junior, he had served and made his mark as a soldier in the War of American Independence. Then he was Lord Rawdon, and he ended as Marquis of Hastings. In November, 1814, war began with the Gurkhas of Nepal, who had overstepped their southern boundaries, and there was stiff fighting, in the early stages of which the British troops were hard put to it by the mountaineers, whom, in after times, Lord Roberts described as the bravest Asiatics he knew. But at the beginning of March, 1816, the Gurkhas came finally to terms, and there was the usual extension of British dominion which now reached up to the mountains and included Simla, the present hot season headquarters of the Government of India. There were no more Gurkha wars and no ill-timed meddling with Nepal. Gurkhas and British understood and respected each other, becoming fast friends and allies, and on many a battlefield in and out of India staunch Gurkha battalions have upheld the British flag. It was well that the Gurkha War was not further prolonged, for trouble was afoot in central India. In the train of the Marathas in the eighteenth century there had come into being bands of mounted raiders, free lances who gained the name of Pindaris. The Marathas were Hindus, a large number of the

Pindaris were Mohammedans, but they were an outcome of the Maratha Wars, and after the last war, which ended in 1805, the Maratha leaders, principally Sindhia, had found them a centre at Malwa. They lived by war and plunder, raided far and wide with merciless savagery, and in 1816 broke into the Northern Circars. There could be no peace for India if they were left to ravage at will, but to attempt to master them and to fail promised to bring with it a new rising of the Maratha powers, with whom the Pindaris were always in line. The Governor-General, therefore, made preparations on a very large scale, and did not move until the middle of 1817. His object was to encircle the Pindaris and in doing so to have sufficient strength in the field to prevent the Marathas from taking part in the war, or to overpower them if they took part. Some of the Marathas rose in arms, including the Peishwa, the nominal head of the Confederacy, who now came into the open as a de facto leader. The war lasted till the spring of 1819, but the operations ended in complete and final success for the British power. Sindhia, without striking a blow, signed a treaty of subsidiary alliance; Indore, Holkar's State, and the Principality of the Bonsla Raja rose in arms, suffered defeat and loss of territory; the Peishwa fought, fled, was captured and displaced, his office being finally abolished; the Pindaris were broken up; the Rajput States, which had suffered at the hands of the Marathas, gladly accepted British protection; and India, from the extreme south to the borders of the Punjab, passed in the fullest measure under British control. It was the work of a thoroughly competent soldier, who was at the same time a man of moderate views, and who was fortunate in being exceptionally well served by his principal advisers, "such men," to quote Lord Macaulay, "as Munro, Elphinstone and Metcalfe."

Lord Hastings resigned in 1821, but did not actually retire till New Year's Day in 1823. George Canning had been appointed to succeed him, but the death of Castlereagh kept him in England to take charge of the Foreign Office, and the new Governor-General was Lord Amherst, who held office until the spring of 1828. In his time came war in a new quarter, the first Burmese War, in which the Burmese were the aggressors, having overrun Assam and carried hostilities on to the north-eastern frontier of Bengal. There were two years of war, on and off, from February, 1824, to 1826. It involved much loss of life and great expense, the native troops drawn from Madras were found wanting, and the native reluctance to cross the sea as involving loss of caste, though it had not had appreciable effect in former campaigns, in this instance combined with other causes to produce a serious mutiny in Bengal among the native regiments in camp at Barrackpore near Calcutta. The end, however, was decisive. The Burmese withdrew from Assam, agreed to pay an indemnity and to accept a British Resident at the Burmese Court, and ceded the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, the latter stretching far down the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal in the direction of the Malay Peninsula.

Lord Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor-General from 1828 to 1835. His term was an interlude of peace and, as far as circumstances allowed, of non-intervention, of economy, of administrative and social reform. This was the time when inhuman native customs were abolished, when the fraternity of religious assassins known as Thugs was broken up, and when, for good or ill, English education was introduced with the warm advocacy of Macaulay, who had lately come out to India as a member of the Governor-General's Council. His appointment as legal member of the Council was

one outcome of the Act of 1833, which prolonged the East India Company's Charter for twenty years, but deprived it of what remained of its commercial monopoly by throwing open the China trade.

We have seen that by the end of the eighteenth century the acquisition of Penang and Province Wellesley had given to the East India Company a standpoint in the Malay Peninsula. The main course of history had run in the direction of concentration of British power in India and of Dutch supremacy in Malaya. In the Malay Peninsula the Netherlanders, in succession to the Portuguese, held Malacca, in old days the great stronghold on the Peninsula, and in the islands they far out-distanced the English. But the East India Company had never wholly withdrawn from the Archipelago; from time to time they had factories in Borneo, and from 1684 onwards they maintained a fort and trading station at Bencoolen in Sumatra, Fort York succeeded by Fort Marlborough, the chief attraction in Sumatra being the pepper trade. The war placed the whole of the Dutch East Indies in British hands, but at the end of the war the Dutch regained their possessions, Raffles left Java in 1815, and Malacca was given back to Holland in 1818. In March, 1818, Raffles was sent to Bencoolen as Lieut.-Governor, and in that year obtained authority from Lord Hastings on the one hand to strengthen the British position in Sumatra by entering into treaty relations with the Sultan of the native State of Achin in that island, and on the other hand to secure a foothold for the company at the southern end of the Straits of Malacca, at the turning point of the main trade route to China. He acquired the Island of Singapore, then showing little promise of its future greatness, preliminary treaties with the native authorities of the Principality of Johore, to which the island belonged, were entered into in 1819, and the final treaty was signed in 1824.

In this latter year the Dutch and British Governments came to an agreement whereby the Dutch ceded Malacca to Great Britain, while the English gave up Bencoolen and retired from Sumatra, leaving, however, their treaty with the Achinese to stand on record. Thus in the Malay Peninsula the English among Europeans were supreme, and Penang, Malacca and Singapore became the Straits Settlements, down to the year 1867 under the Government of India. It was in every sense a great broadening of the base of the Empire. From the first, Singapore was constituted a free port, in strong contrast to the exclusive trading policy pursued by the Dutch. Its freedom to vessels of all nations on equal terms, coupled with its geographical position, led to immense trade, and as the headquarters of British Malaya to-day, it is a living monument to the wisdom and foresight of Sir Stamford Raffles.

Singapore was a new field for British enterprise. Here, at any rate, there was no past for the English to regret. It was otherwise on the West Coast of Africa, on which the blight of the slave trade had so long rested. On the Gambia there was a healthy sign of better times in the founding, in 1816, on an island at the mouth of the river, of a regular settlement which was named Bathurst, and which is still the headquarters of the colony. Small acquisitions of territory were made from time to time and a Colony and Protectorate gradually grew up along the river. The same kind of expansion took place at Sierra Leone. On the Gold Coast, when the African Company, which survived the abolition of the slave trade, came to an end in 1821, the Government took over the forts, and all the miscellaneous British holdings in West Africa were placed under the administration of the Government of Sierra Leone and entitled the West Africa Settlements. But the Gold Coast was a troublesome

and expensive charge. Behind it had grown up a strong native power, the Ashanti Kingdom; there were Ashanti invasions, wars and treaties, and, anxious to be rid of it all, the Government in 1828 handed over the British stations upon the coast to a committee of London merchants with a small Parliamentary subsidy for the cost of their maintenance. In the governor selected by the merchants, a Scotsman, Captain George Maclean, was found one of the invaluable men in British overseas history who have understood the conditions of place and time. His personal influence and sense of justice inspired so much confidence among the native tribes that, peacefully and informally, with no force of arms and no annexation of territory, his jurisdiction was widely accepted and he laid the sure foundation of a British Protectorate, Wesleyan Missionaries supplementing his beneficent work. Exploration, meanwhile, went on inland, and by 1830 Timbuktu had been reached, Lake Chad discovered, and the whole course of the circling Niger traced down to the sea.

The acquisition of the Cape Colony brought South Africa within the orbit of the Empire. It was a most important new base, and, like Australia, in the Southern Hemisphere. The South was now beginning to rise on the horizon of our history. The Cape brought with it an immense extension of indefinite responsibilities. As in the case of Canada, it entailed British control of another white race, and, though the Dutch were fellow Protestants, they were more impatient of alien rule than the French. There was at the Cape a civil European population of some 26,000, mainly Dutchmen with a small but strong admixture of French Huguenot blood, and including also a considerable number of German Lutherans. Before the first British occupation the inland farmers had been in open revolt against the authority of the

Netherlands East India Company, and when the British Government came to stay it had for its new subjects a most independent but at the same time most conservative people, who were estranged rather than conciliated by reforms. A large number of State-aided British immigrants, about 5000 in all, came out in 1820-1. The great majority were landed at Algoa Bay, where Port Elizabeth grew up, and were taken some little way inland to form the well-known Albany Settlement, which included a South African Bathurst. The eastern province of the Cape Colony thus became predominantly British. This eastern side had a troubled border, for here, while white men were coming in and up from the sea, the Kaffir tribes were moving down by land. They were driven on by pressure from behind, for in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the Zulu military power had been created by a ruthless native warrior, Chaka, and played on a greater scale the part taken by the Ashanti kingdom at the back of the Gold Coast. The British Government of the Cape was soon brought face to face with Kaffir inroads; there was a border campaign in 1811-12, when Grahamstown came into being as the headquarters of the frontier forces, and there was another in 1818-19, after which the eastern boundary of the colony was moved forward so as to include a belt of territory intended to be kept as neutral ground. By this date missionaries were working hard in South Africa, with an outlook on natives and native questions far removed from that of the Dutch, and there were all the elements of friction and trouble in the near future. A Crown Colony Constitution was given to the Cape Colony in 1833. Ten years earlier some British traders ventured by sea to Port Natal, not yet named Durban, and in 1824 acquired a precarious cession of land from the Zulu king.

The Cape, while under the Netherlands East India Company, had been closely connected with the East Indies, and in its early years as a British possession it was held to be within the scope of the English East India Company's Charter. So also was Australia, with the result that, in the infancy of New South Wales, British trade was hampered by the company's monopoly, and American vessels carried a large proportion of the scanty traffic. For a considerable time the southern seas were more fruitful than the southern land, and sealing and whaling were leading Australian industries. But, as early as 1797, a military officer at Sydney, Captain John MacArthur, introduced Merino sheep from the Cape; in the first year of the nineteenth century he made Australian wool known in England, and as English factories grew, ever demanding more wool, while sheep of improved breed multiplied in Australia, Australia gradually became to England what in the early Middle Ages England had been to the manufacturing towns of Flanders, a source of the raw product required for the cloth industry. Distance kept Australia out of reach of war, though, in order to provide against possible emergencies, a small force of Volunteers was raised in New South Wales in 1801. As the world war was drawing to a close, in 1813 a way was found through the Blue Mountains which had barred the coast settlements at and near Sydney from the plains of the interior, and beyond the barrier, in 1815, an Australian Bathurst was founded. Then explorers and pioneers began to push far afield, and squatters followed where they pointed the way. At an earlier date, in the last years of the eighteenth and the first years of the nineteenth century, Matthew Flinders traced out the coast line of the Island Continent; others who worked with him or followed immediately after him amplified the surveys, and fear of French intrusion was an active

motive in planting footholds and stations, temporary or permanent, at one point or another, as inlet cape and island took form and shape upon the map. In 1802, Port Phillip, where in no long time Melbourne was to rise, was discovered, and in 1803 there was the first nibble at a settlement on its shores. In that same year, 1803, the first station was formed in Tasmania, then called Van Diemen's Land, which Bass and Flinders had proved to be an island. Between 1820 and 1830 there were great developments. A convict station was planted at Moreton Bay, which was the beginning of Brisbane and of Queensland. In the present State of Victoria a settlement was formed at Western Port, but it was shortlived, as had been the earlier attempt at Port Phillip. A station was, in 1826, placed at King George's Sound or Albany, the first foothold in Western Australia. On the north coast of the continent, settlements were attempted on Melville Island and at Raffles Bay. Though the attempts were unsuccessful, they were of much historical interest, for they were largely the outcome of pressure from East Indian merchants, who coveted a trading station on the northern side of Australia to supplement or possibly be substituted for the new British possession of Singapore. In order to include Melville Island, the boundary of New South Wales on the north coast was moved farther west, and when on the 2nd May, 1829, Captain Fremantle hoisted the British flag at the entrance of the Swan River in Western Australia and took possession " of all that part of New Holland which is not included within the territory of New South Wales," the whole of Australia was safe within the Empire. The proclamation was preliminary to the Swan River Settlement, which started in the following month, and which in its origin contained no convict element. Almost incredible as it seems, there was no constitution of any sort or kind

in Australia until an Act of Parliament was passed for the purpose in 1823, and there was no statutory authority except for criminal jurisdiction. A convict station had been contemplated and provided for, but no more, and while year after year free settlers and emancipists multiplied, the Governor remained a despot, ruling and taxing without the sanction of law. At length, in 1824, New South Wales became a Crown Colony with a Legislative Council, and in 1825 Tasmania, severed from New South Wales, was given a similar constitution. Notorious among the early despot governors of New South Wales was Captain Bligh, who was dethroned by a rising of the military officers in the colony in 1808. In that same year a little mixed colony was discovered in a lonely Pacific Island, Pitcairn Island, which proved to be the creation of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, who had turned Bligh adrift in 1789. The island was formally annexed in 1838, in 1856 its inhabitants were removed to Norfolk Island, but some of them returned to Pitcairn, where their descendants are still in possession.

British sea power was in evidence on a small scale and on the side of freedom when, in 1816, Lord Exmouth bombarded the then pirate centre of Algiers and released some 3000 captives, and when in 1827 the fight at Navarino ensured Greek independence. The British claim to the Falkland Islands had never been waived, but it was allowed to slumber until the year 1832. In the previous year the islands had been the scene of collision between American ships and a small settlement established under the authority of the Republican Government of Buenos Ayres, which had constituted itself heir of the Spanish claim and had taken nominal possession of the islands. If British sovereignty was not to be wholly abandoned it was time to assert and maintain it. Accordingly a ship of war, the *Clio*, was sent

for the purpose, arriving at the end of 1832. A small detachment of soldiers from Buenos Ayres was given notice to quit and left with strong protest from their Government, and the Falkland Islands became in permanence part of the British Empire. They were left in naval charge for ten years, and in 1843, under Act of Parliament, they were given a civil constitution and became a Crown Colony of the ordinary type. Their dependency, South Georgia, had been annexed and given its name by Capt. Cook in 1775.

In British Guiana the Empire had gained by the war a new province on the mainland of America, but future acquisitions of a similar kind were barred with the advent and the tacit recognition on the part of Great Britain of the Monroe doctrine, which had been more or less inspired by the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, and which was formally proclaimed to the world by the American President Monroe in December, 1823. There was, however, territory enough and to spare for the British flag in the hinterland of settled Canada, in the Hudson Bay territories, and on the Pacific Coast, and step by step, though at long intervals, came adjustment of the various boundary questions which were a constant source of friction with the United States. The pioneers of western settlement between Upper Canada and the Rocky Mountains were Scotch crofters sent out to the Red River by Lord Selkirk, the first party of whom arrived in 1812. It was an ill-fated venture at the time, but it sowed the seeds of what is now the Province of Manitoba. In the two Canadian Provinces as constituted by the Act of 1791, representative institutions, unaccompanied by control over the Executive Government, caused growing trouble. In Upper Canada the British settlers, many of them Loyalist immigrants from the United States, had less political freedom than had prevailed in the more southern colonies

while they were still under the old régime, and naturally the citizens of Upper Canada looked and chafed for more. In Lower Canada the French had far more freedom than had ever been known while they were subjects of France, but having acquired rights they used them to gain more, their contest being on racial lines and carried on with complete absence of the British spirit of compromise. The trouble had begun before the second American War. During that war it was somewhat allayed by the sense of common danger, but within a few years of the return of peace it became greatly accentuated, and by the date when the great Reform Bill was passed in England, political conditions in Lower Canada were drawing near to complete deadlock.

The Reform Bill became law in June, 1832. In August, 1833, the reformed Parliament passed the Slave Emancipation Act. Both these measures had a far-reaching effect upon the fortunes of the Empire. The Emancipation Act was obviously and directly connected with British possessions beyond the sea. The Reform Act was the parent of changes, including Slave emancipation. It was a model for changes in many ways and it was a potent force in the development of the Empire. It gave responsible government to the United Kingdom, not, it is true, in the sense of making ministers responsible to the House of Commons, for that they were already, but in the sense of making the House of Commons really responsible to the nation. The great enlargement of popular liberties at home encouraged those who were demanding wider freedom for the Colonies, and it provided them with advocates and sympathisers in the House of Commons. It had another effect. So wide had been the scope of the Act that it gave for the time finality to Parliamentary reform, and a demand for fiscal reform took its place. The first Anti-Corn Law

Association was constituted in 1836, and then what became known as the Manchester School gathered strength, with Richard Cobden as its foremost figure. The trend of free trade doctrines was towards loosening bonds in all directions, and advanced free traders began to contemplate with equanimity, in some cases to favour, separation of the Colonies from the mother country. But before the Manchester School and *laissez faire* policy had acquired complete predominance, there had arisen on the radical side a group of broadminded and farsighted men who, while advocating free institutions for the Colonies, believed such freedom to be wholly compatible with and a necessary preliminary to a united Empire. Among them was Lord Durham, who was a prominent member of the Cabinet which carried the Reform Bill; they included a brilliant young member of the House of Commons, Charles Buller, and the chief apostle of the movement was Gibbon Wakefield. The scheme of the Swan River Settlement and its defects led Wakefield in 1829 to propound views of colonisation on scientific lines which he subsequently developed, and which were to some extent put into practice. Their essence was that Public Lands in the Colonies should be sold at a price too high to allow of the immigrant labourer becoming a landholder until by labour he had earned money and gained experience, and that the proceeds of the land sales should be laid out in passages for new colonists. In 1830 a Colonisation Society was formed to promote these views; there was a wide field for applying them in Australia, a South Australian Association came into being in 1834, in that year an Act of Parliament was secured largely on their lines, and in 1836 the first settlement in South Australia was founded, named after Queen Adelaide. In the previous year permanent settlement at Port Phillip was at length effected, the first settlers coming

principally from Tasmania, and in March, 1837, Melbourne was formally founded and given the name of the last Prime Minister of King William IV. and the first of Queen Victoria.

No convicts were admitted to South Australia. It was entirely a community of free citizens. Already transportation was being called in question, and Archbishop Whateley had begun a crusade against it in 1832. In 1837 a very strong Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the working of the system, and the report of the Committee in 1839 was the beginning of the end. As it had been with slave trade and slavery, so it was with transportation. It was in England, not in Australia, that serious opposition originated. Abuses were brought to light and denounced, and assignment of convicts to private employers was viewed in the light of slavery. In England in these years humanitarianism and philanthropy were at full tide, the spirit which had conquered slavery was roused against transportation and was invoked by missionaries in their championship of native races. At this date in her zeal for humanity the mother country was going almost too far in imposing her will beyond the seas, autocratic in some quarters, while enlarging freedom in others.

The abolition of slavery in the British possessions was a great though beneficial exercise of autocracy. It was accompanied by a vote of twenty million pounds to compensate the slave owners—a large sum, but still not commensurate with the loss. Slavery was abolished as from the 1st August, 1834, but there was a transition period of apprenticeship, lasting in most cases till 1838. Sugar cultivation depended for success upon a continuous supply of steady labour; the emancipated negro proved to be a desultory workman, and hence arose the system of importing free labour under contract for a term of years. India became the chief

source of this labour supply, and the result was East Indian colonisation on a large scale in Mauritius, in the West Indies, especially in British Guiana and Trinidad, in Natal, and at a later date, in Fiji. The West Indies were principally affected by slave emancipation. It was followed, under the free trade régime, by loss of preference for West Indian sugar in the home market. Beetroot sugar from the Continent of Europe, which British blockade of the Continent during the Napoleonic Wars had called into existence, competed with cane, and in the later years of the nineteenth century competed unfairly through the bounties given to the beet industry by foreign governments. Thus the West Indian Colonies, which in the middle of the eighteenth century had been the most prosperous of all, a hundred years later were the scene of growing impoverishment and decay, and, inasmuch as the reversal of fortunes was the direct outcome of the dictates and the policy of the mother country, these Colonies became increasingly dependent, while elsewhere in the Empire the tale was one of expanding independence.

But not in the West Indies alone did the abolition of slavery bear fruit for good and ill. At the Cape, where the treatment of slaves had been as a general rule humane and kindly, the working of the Abolition Act added to Dutch discontent with an alien Government. The inadequacy of compensation, coupled with difficulties and delays in obtaining payment, for which there was no valid excuse, caused much bitterness, which was supplemented from another source of trouble. The settlers on the eastern frontier were subject to Kaffir raids, and as the year 1834 was drawing to a close a wave of Kaffir invasion on an unprecedented scale swept over the border and the eastern districts of the Colony were laid waste far and wide. In 1835 the invaders were driven out, the war was carried into

the Kaffir country, and in order to safeguard the future, the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, a man of sober and moderate views, moved forward once more the Colonial border and created a new province out of the annexed territory with the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide. But he had not reckoned with the potency of missionary influence at the Colonial Office. While he was carrying out his comprehensive settlement of the Kaffir border, Lord Melbourne's second Ministry came into office in April, 1835, and the new Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was Lord Glenelg. The London Missionary Society, whose leader in South Africa was an aggressive and pertinacious Scotsman, Dr. Phillip, gained his ear, and in December, 1835, a despatch was written and sent to South Africa which justified the Kaffir invasion on the grounds that the Kaffirs had been the victims of "systematic injustice" and reversed wholesale the Governor's policy. It was a most high-handed exercise of Downing Street authority and was of singular unwisdom, unwise in the interests of the natives themselves. British Colonists no less than Dutch suffered and resented. It was a British Governor who was rebuked, overridden and recalled, but to the Dutch Lord Glenelg's pronouncement and the action which followed was the last drop in the cup, the final irritant. Already parties of Voortrekkers had been moving north beyond the border, and in 1836 came the Great Trek which changed, complicated, and embittered the whole history of South Africa down to the present day.

In British North America there was no slavery, no emancipation question, nor were the few North American Indians an appreciable factor in history as were the teeming multitudes of natives in South Africa. In all these North American Colonies, the Maritime Provinces as well as the Canadas, it was a

constitutional question, the pressure for greater political freedom, that caused unrest. In Lower Canada the extreme section was led by the French Canadian, Louis Papineau. His counterpart in Upper Canada was a Scotsman, Lyon Mackenzie. The main danger centre was Lower Canada, where race cleavage became more and more acute. At length so impossible was the position in this province that in the early months of 1837 it was brought by the Government before the House of Commons and resolutions were carried, not without opposition, which were to form the basis of legislation. No law, however, had been passed before, towards the end of the year, there was an armed rising in both the Canadas, though not on a large scale in either province, and easily suppressed. These disturbances led to Lord Durham's Mission in 1838, followed by his memorable Report.

Meantime, on the 20th June, 1837, King William IV. had died and Queen Victoria, then a young girl of eighteen, had come to the throne.

SECTION III

1837—1880

AT a time of movement in all directions, on the threshold of a new age, Queen Victoria began her long and glorious reign. When she died in 1901 she left behind her a wholly different world from that which she had known as a child, a world moulded by new forces, by wider views, on incomparably broader and more democratic lines, with infinitely greater potency for human good and ill. She bequeathed to the future a completely new edition of the British Empire, revised and greatly enlarged. All through the sixty years and more of her reign her personality appealed with singular strength to the many constituent peoples of the Empire. As the English nation had rallied to Queen Elizabeth—all the more for the loneliness of her life, so the chivalry of the British stock gathered round the girl queen, whose upbringing, character, and spotless surroundings were in marked contrast to what had gone before; it sympathised with her later widowhood; it paid unaffected reverence to her old age. To the coloured races she was the great White Queen, a source of marvel in that a woman with no love of pomp or ostentation stood for so great a power, a source of affection in that she entered into her Kingdom at the moment when slavery was drawing its last breath, and each successive decade of her reign brought better understanding of the rights of men.

Her name is engraved in all parts of the world.

Not a few Victorias marked wholly new discoveries, and the story of her reign may well begin with some notice of geographical exploration between 1837 and 1880, by which latter date the whole habitable world was unveiled, though the North and South Poles had not been reached and Mount Everest had only been seen from afar. On the Pacific side of the North Polar regions Cook had, in 1778, pushed through Bering Strait to the fringe of the ice field, but subsequently, while the world was at war, Arctic exploration slumbered. When peace returned, the Secretary to the Admiralty was Sir John Barrow, who had been previously noted for his travels in South Africa during the first British occupation of the Cape, and through his influence an Act of Parliament was passed in 1818, which offered a reward of £20,000 for discovery of the North West Passage. At the bottom of Waterloo Place in London stands a statue of Sir John Franklin, and the inscription tells that it was erected by a unanimous vote of Parliament "to the great Arctic Navigator and his companions, who sacrificed their lives in completing the discovery of the North-West Passage, 1847-8." From the first, Franklin was concerned in the new series of voyages which started in 1818. The Arctic regions were attacked from all sides, not by the English alone, and by land as well as sea. The north coast of America was searched out, together with the courses of the rivers running to the northern seas, and among many British explorers other than Franklin the names of Parry and the Rosses, uncle and nephew, are perhaps the most familiar. In 1836 Franklin became Governor of Tasmania, well placed at Hobart to encourage the Antarctic expeditions which were at the time taking place, and on his return to England he accepted charge of a new venture to find the long sought North-West Passage. In May, 1845, he started with the ships *Erebus* and *Terror*,

never to return, and for years to come Arctic discovery was enlarged in the search for the lost explorers. Eventually, a record found in 1859 told that Franklin's ships before the end had practically "completed" the passage. It was actually traversed by one of the most intrepid of the searchers, Sir Robert McClure, who in 1850-3, having come up from Bering Strait, was himself discovered in his icebound ship by a sledge party from a vessel which had come from the other side, and in which, having reached it over the ice, he and his company were brought safely home. Some three centuries more or less had passed since the lure of a North-West Passage first attracted English seamen, the search directly or indirectly had borne much fruit, but what was wholly fruitless was the North-West Passage itself. The *Erebus* and *Terror*, before they found their grave in northern ice, had carried the younger Ross, Sir James Ross, far on the way towards the South Pole. Three times in the years 1840-3 he crossed the Antarctic circle, and in the first venture he found land which he named Victoria Land, a name which will be found also on the maps of the North Polar regions, and sighted two volcanic peaks which were christened after the names of his two ships. Crozier was his second-in-command, and with him went the future great botanist, Sir Joseph Hooker, who lived till the year 1911, in which year the South Pole was reached at last, the North Pole having been won already.

The men who in far North and South forced their way into frozen seas were matched in heroism and endurance by the explorers of the tropics and the desert. In Australia, after the Blue Mountain barrier had been passed, penetration into the interior went fast and far, the rivers of the Murray water system were discovered and traced, and the Darling Downs were brought to light. No old trade routes crossed

the desert centre of Australia such as guided African travellers across the Sahara, and in the earlier stages of Australian discovery no camels helped the onward march. Eyre made his way north from Adelaide to the salt lake or swamp to which his name was given, and afterwards went west, with incredible suffering, along the waterless fringe of the Great Australian Bight from the head of Spencer's Gulf to Albany in Western Australia. Leichhardt, having successfully journeyed from the Darling Downs to Port Essington on the north coast, subsequently attempted to cross the centre of the continent from east to west and was lost. Equally tragic was the expedition of Burke and Wills who, sent out from Melbourne in 1860, crossed the continent to the Gulf of Carpentaria and perished on the return journey. Eventually, in 1862, Macdowall Stuart at his third attempt reached the north coast from South Australia and returned in safety; in ten years' time a telegraph line followed the course which he took; and in 1874 that line was struck by Forrest, who had come from Geraldton on the West Australian coast straight across the desert which severs Western from South Australia.

Grievously as the London Missionary Society erred in procuring the reversal of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's policy in the Cape Colony, it must ever be remembered that among their missionaries in South Africa were Robert Moffat and, at the outset of his career, David Livingstone. Just after the Great Trek had taken place, in the last month of 1840, Livingstone sailed for South Africa. He went to Moffat's mission station at Kuruman, where in Moffat's daughter he found a wife. He went to mission work farther north in what is now the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and in 1849, in company with other travellers, he made his first notable discovery, that of Lake Ngami. In 1851 he reached the Zambesi near its confluence with the

Chobe River, midway between the coasts of Africa. Going back to the great river in two years' time, from 1853 to 1856, with no white companions, but with abounding native goodwill, he made his way to Loanda on the west coast and, returning to his starting point on the Zambesi, thence he journeyed to Quilimane on the east coast. Thus he crossed the continent from west to east, making known to the world the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, and this memorable journey initiated and inspired the final exploration of Central Africa. After returning home, he went out again in 1858. With Sir John Kirk and other companions, he explored the Lower Zambesi, the Shiré River and Shiré Highlands, Lake Nyasa, which he sighted in September, 1859, and the regions of that lake. By this time other explorers were making new discoveries. In 1858 Burton and Speke reached Lake Tanganyika, and Speke saw from afar the waters of the Victoria Nyanza. In 1862, Speke and Grant visited and identified Lake Victoria, and proved it to be the source of the Nile, the last link being supplied when, in 1864, Baker reached the Albert Nyanza. But whether Lake Victoria was the ultimate source of the Nile or was connected with the more southern lakes was still uncertain, and still undetermined was the course of the Congo. Livingstone, who had gone home again in 1864, was back at Zanzibar at the beginning of 1866, and, travelling alone, spent his last years in trying to solve what remained of the riddle. He discovered Lakes Miveru and Bangweulu and the rivers which become the Congo, but which he took to be headwaters of the Nile, and near Bangweulu he died in 1873, great in death as in life, in character and achievement second to none among the sons of men. It was left to Stanley to follow the Lualaba, which Livingstone had found, down to the sea, and, coming out at the mouth of the Congo

in 1877, to complete in main outline the unveiling of Africa.

All through the eighteenth century and down to the time of Waterloo, Great Britain was often at war with France and Spain, and was twice at war with the United States. After 1815 there was no more fighting with these powers in the nineteenth century, and there has been none to the present day. In the nineteenth century after Waterloo, the Crimean War was the only European war of any magnitude in which Great Britain took part. The middle years of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were, in British history, marked in each case by a foreign succeeded by a civil war, but great was the contrast between these pairs of mid-century wars. The Seven Years' War, most glorious for British arms and pre-eminently affecting the Overseas Empire, was followed after a few years' interval by the War of American Independence, which was mainly a civil war and, for Great Britain, an inglorious calamity. In the middle of the nineteenth century, between 1850 and 1860, came the Crimean War, which had no bearing whatever upon the Overseas Empire excepting India. In it British troops well upheld their great reputation at the Alma, at Balaclava, at Inkermann; it gave birth to a new era in hospitals and nursing, with a new outlet for women's work, and not soldiers alone blessed the name of Florence Nightingale; but otherwise it was neither glorious nor fruitful. It ended at the beginning of 1856, and was followed in 1857 by the Indian Mutiny, which was of the nature of a civil war and which, with all its horrors, gave splendid evidence of British constancy and leadership, was rich in results, and greatly added to the lustre of the British name.

When the Crimean War began, Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India, wrote of the impression

which the power of Russia had made upon the minds of the people of India, and it cannot be doubted that that war was a contributing cause of the Indian Mutiny. Long before the Mutiny, and long afterwards, through practically the whole of the nineteenth century, except when Russia and England were allied against Napoleon, the power of Russia and the advance of Russia in Central Asia troubled successive British Governments and successive Governor-Generals of India, and fear that Russian influence would dominate Afghanistan led up to the first Afghan War. Lord Auckland, who succeeded Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General, landed in India early in 1836. Acting at first in consonance with the wishes and fears of the Home Government, he sent a mission to Kabul; step by step he brought on war, in August, 1839, a British army occupied Kabul, the ruler of Afghanistan was dethroned and a former ruler was replaced, but only upheld by British arms. Two years later the success had become an alarming failure, the whole Afghan people had been roused, British leaders were murdered, and in January, 1842, the army of occupation, retreating under the terms of a humiliating treaty of evacuation, was literally blotted out. It was an appalling disaster, the outcome of a war which, by common consent, was neither justifiable nor expedient, and which was marked in its later stages by ill conduct and incapacity. Immediately after the tragedy, in February, 1842, a new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, arrived in India. It was a change for the better, but by no means for the best. The situation, so far as it could be retrieved, was retrieved by two cool-headed and capable soldiers, Generals Pollock and Nott; in the following September Kabul was again occupied for a few weeks, some prisoners were rescued, marks of retribution were left on the city, and a bombastic proclamation by the

Governor-General ended the miserable episode. The army which invaded Afghanistan had been sent through Sind, the land of the Lower Indus; it had been sent in open breach of treaty obligations; with continued disregard of justice or good faith, war was forced upon the Baloochi chiefs or Amirs of Sind; and in August, 1843, after a brilliant campaign by Sir Charles Napier, the territory was annexed, Sir James Outram, who thoroughly knew the land and the people, protesting in vain against the whole proceedings. The annexation of Sind was followed immediately by a more pardonable invasion of the State of Gwalior. Here an interregnum had arisen, the Gwalior army, 40,000 strong, was out of hand and dominated the position. Not far away similar conditions had arisen in the Sikh kingdom, and a successful military revolution in Gwalior, if it came to pass, bid fair to give rise to much wider trouble. Two British forces were accordingly marched into the state, the Gwalior troops did not yield without fighting, but they were defeated at the end of December, 1843, and a Treaty of January, 1844, while leaving Sindhia's dominions intact, cut down the numbers of the Gwalior forces and assured British control over the administration of the State.

The Sikh power in its modern development was the creation of a great Indian conqueror and ruler, Ranjit Singh, whose life ended in 1839 before he was sixty years old. In 1809 he had reluctantly agreed with Lord Minto to accept the Sutlej River as the limit of his dominions on the side of central India, and he faithfully kept his word. On the other side he had conquered Kashmir, had taken Peshawar from the Afghans, and in 1838 he joined hands with the Government of India in furtherance of Lord Auckland's ill-starred Afghan policy, but died in the following year. His death left a strong, well-equipped and organised

Sikh army with none to control it. War drew nearer year by year and the Indian Government prepared for it. A tried soldier of high repute, Sir Henry (afterwards Viscount) Hardinge, came out in July, 1844, to be Governor-General, replacing Lord Ellenborough, whom the Directors of the East India Company had, by an unusual exercise of their powers, recalled, and under the Governor-General, Sir Hugh Gough, afterwards Lord Gough, was commander-in-chief. In December, 1845, the Sikh forces broke over the Sutlej and the first Sikh War began. It was a short campaign, but one of hard-fought pitched battles with heavy British casualties; no such native troops as the Sikhs had so far confronted the English in India; bravest of the brave, they were also trained soldiers, skilful to hold entrenched positions and to use artillery. After the Battles of Mudki, Ferozeshah, Aliwal—Sir Harry Smith's victory, the name of which as well as his own reappeared in South Africa—and finally Sobraon, Lahore was entered and a Treaty of March, 1846, ended the war. The Sikhs lost territory, an indemnity was exacted, the Sikh army was limited in number, but the boy Maharajah Dulip Singh was left on the throne with a British Resident by his side, Henry Lawrence. In spite of Lawrence's great personal influence, a second war began in April, 1848, with a rising at Multan, where Sir Herbert Edwardes first made his name. In November, the main British army took the field; in January, 1849, the British losses at the Battle of Chilianwala were so heavy that Sir Charles Napier was sent out to supersede Lord Gough; but before Napier arrived Gough, in February, won a decisive victory at Gujerat; in March what remained of the Sikh Army surrendered, and Lord Dalhousie annexed the whole Punjab. Then came the wonderful administration of the conquered land and people by the Lawrences, which

eight years later, in the days of the Mutiny, bore abundant fruit.

There was a second Burmese War in 1852, and Lower Burma was annexed, placing the whole coast-line of the Bay of Bengal in British hands. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General who annexed the Punjab, Lower Burma and much else beside, had reached India in January, 1848, and his long term of office lasted till 1856. One of the greatest of all the Proconsuls of India, in his zeal for good government he widely extended the scope of direct British rule, but his latest annexation, that of Oudh, which was held to have been one of the causes of the Mutiny, was dictated to him from home. It was a time of betterment and reforms, a time when the first railway was opened in India and telegraph lines erected, but reforms alarmed the native mind and changes caused unrest. Meanwhile, in 1853, the Company's Charter was once more extended, as it proved for the last time. Dalhousie's successor was Lord Canning, who arrived in February, 1856, and in the following year came the Mutiny.

Towards the end of 1856, the Persians having seized Herat, an expedition was sent to the Persian Gulf and occupied Bushire. It was followed early in 1857 by a stronger force under the able leadership of Sir James Outram, with whom was Havelock, and in March the Persians were brought to terms and Herat was freed. When Outram reached India again in June, the Mutiny had begun, the first outbreak on a large scale having taken place early in May at Meerut. It was a military rising in northern and central India, mainly confined to the Bengal native army, but various causes contributed to the catastrophe, and the insurgent soldiers, it would seem, had behind them an appreciable measure of popular discontent. The outstanding horror was the Massacre at Cawnpore in

July, 1857, the worst was over when in the following September Delhi was taken at the price of John Nicholson's life, and when Havelock and Outram fought their way into Lucknow. Subsequently, reinforcements came in, Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) in the North, Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn) in the Central Provinces, reconquered the scenes of rebellion, and by the end of the summer of 1858 the fighting was practically at an end. The Mutiny proved that India had been in high degree a training ground of great men. The names of Henry and John Lawrence, of Outram, Havelock, Nicholson, Edwardes, and others, are eloquent of courage and ability, linked to noble character. Splendid witness was borne to British administration by the fact that in the darkest days the Punjab was a source of strength, and the loyalty of the feudatory native States, with few exceptions, to the British cause pointed to the now more fully recognised merits of indirect as opposed to direct control, of control through the medium of Protectorate. With the end of the Mutiny came the end of the Honourable East India Company, in spite of all its faults and blemishes incomparably the greatest of all governing corporations. The "Act for the better government of India," which became law at the beginning of August, 1858, transferred the direct charge of India from the company to the Crown, and a Secretary of State for India, a fifth Secretary of State, took the place of the President of the Board of Control. The change was notified in India on the following 1st of November, and Queen Victoria's own spirit of justice and mercy breathed in the admirably worded Royal Proclamation. Within twenty years from this date the Royal Titles Bill was passed in 1876, and on the 1st of January, 1877, the queen was proclaimed Empress of India.

The Mutiny was followed by a comparatively peaceful

time in India, but in 1877 the Russo-Turkish War began, bringing in its train once more trouble between Russia and Great Britain, which reacted on the Indian border. In 1878, for the first time Indian troops were brought beyond Egypt into the Mediterranean, for three or four months to Malta and the new British acquisition of Cyprus, and the record of the outcry which was raised in Parliament against the employment of Asiatic soldiers in European waters reads in strange contrast to the eager welcome which was given to them in 1914 at the outset of the Great War. From 1878 to 1880 there was a second Afghan War, with disastrous incidents which, to some extent, recalled the former war, but which was illumined by the military skill of Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts. Before this date the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had given a direct waterway from Europe to India, to the Far East, and the Far South, which was of infinite importance to the Empire, and it was well that India had thirty years before secured an outpost at the southern end of the Red Sea, Aden having been occupied in 1839, the first of the many additions to the Empire in Queen Victoria's reign.

The very successful Abyssinian Expedition of 1867-8, under the leadership of Lord Napier of Magdala, was entirely carried through by the Indian Army. Much earlier, at the beginning of the reign, Indian troops had taken part in the first Chinese War of 1840-2. By this war, Great Britain secured a permanent footing in China on the island of Hong Kong, occupied in 1841 and finally ceded by the Treaty of Nanking in the following year. A more or less desolate island when it first became a British possession, it has had a record of wonderful prosperity. The Convention of Peking, which ended the second intermittent Chinese War

of 1856-60, added to the colony the mainland promontory of Kowloon, thus placing both sides of the harbour in British hands, and to-day in volume of trade Hong Kong is one of the leading ports of the world. Apart from this cession, the opening of Treaty Ports in China, including the present great commercial centre of Shanghai, dates from the first Chinese War, when a wholly new era began in the relations between Great Britain and China.

We have seen that the East India Company planted from time to time intermittent stations in the Island of Borneo. They had long been given up, and Borneo was a scene of piracy and barbarism when, in the years 1839-40, an adventurous Englishman, James Brooke, the famous Rajah Brooke, came out in his yacht, took part in the native wars, and in 1841-2 was confirmed by the Sultan of the Kingdom of Brunei as ruler of the Province of Sarawak, which has remained, under British protection, a hereditary principality of the Brooke family. This was followed in 1846 by the cession to the British Government of the small island of Labuan in Brunei Bay as a naval base for the suppression of piracy and the promotion of trade. From this date begins the modern history of Borneo. As in Borneo, so in the Malay Peninsula, piracy was rife. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were taken over from the Government of India by the Colonial Office and constituted a separate Crown Colony, and in 1874, in consequence of perpetual interference with the trade of Penang from the neighbouring piratical State of Perak, British Residents were introduced into this and the adjoining Malay States. There was trouble at first; the Resident of Perak was murdered in 1875, an outbreak followed, Indian troops were brought in, and there was a certain amount of bush fighting before order was established. Then Sir Hugh Low, who had originally gone out to

the Malay Indies in the train of Rajah Brooke, brought from Borneo to Perak long experience of Malay life and thought, and under his administration and that of exceptionally able younger men of his school, including Sir Frank Swettenham, the Malay States entered on a new era of widening peace and growing prosperity to which there has been no serious set-back to the present day.

The treaty relations into which Sir Stamford Raffles entered with the Sultan of Achin in Sumatra in 1819, survived the British withdrawal from Bencoolen in that island, though they had but a slumbering existence. Eventually, by a Convention with the Netherlands in 1871, all British claims to intervene in Achinese matters were formally abandoned. In turn, the Dutch ceded to Great Britain all their possessions and rights on the Gold Coast, and finally left the West Coast of Africa. Maclean's wise handling of the native tribes on the Gold Coast worked much good, but, as years went on, there came a public demand that whatever British authority or jurisdiction was exercised in these regions should not be in the hands of a committee of merchants, that it should be the direct and recognised authority of the Crown. In 1843, therefore, the Gold Coast forts were once more taken over by the Government. An Act of Parliament was passed in that year—the same Act which also constituted the Falkland Islands a Crown Colony —enabling " Her Majesty to provide for the Government of Her Settlements on the Coast of Africa," and another Act of the same year, the famous Foreign Jurisdiction Act, provided machinery for exercising British jurisdiction and control outside the limits of actual British soil, which, on the Gold Coast, were very narrow limits indeed, hardly extending at the time beyond the walls of the forts. But they grew. They grew when, in 1850, the Danes were bought out

at the eastern end of the coast and in the Volta districts. leaving behind them Christiansborg Castle near Accra to be the future Government House of the Gold Coast Colony, and they were further enlarged when the Dutch possessions were taken over, including the historic castle of Elmina. As at Malacca, so at Elmina, the stronghold of the Portuguese in the days of their strength had, as their strength waned, fallen to the Dutch, to be in the course of centuries passed on to British ownership. But the transfer of Elmina in 1872 led in January, 1873, to a fresh wave of Ashanti invasion. A war of some magnitude followed, in which Sir Garnet Wolseley, as he then was, added to laurels lately gained on the Red River Expedition in Canada. Early in 1874, Kumasi was taken and burnt, the Ashantis submitted to terms, and their power, though this was not their last fight, was permanently broken. Great Britain was now undisputed mistress of the Gold Coast, and before this date she had acquired a wholly new West African possession in the Bight of Benin, Lagos, ceded by the native king in 1861. It was taken solely because it was a notorious slave trading centre and in order to put an end to the evil, but its unique geographical position which attracted the slave dealers has made it one of the most prosperous commercial centres in the whole British Empire.

As late as 1865, four years after the annexation of Lagos, a House of Commons' Committee issued a report which advocated as the object to be kept in view ultimate withdrawal by the British Government from West Africa, outside Sierra Leone. So uncertain was the colonial policy of these years and so prevalent was the desire to limit responsibilities. The two minds and the limited liability outlook worked continuous mischief in South Africa. That Lord Glenelg's reversal of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's border

settlement would sooner or later be itself undone was a forgone conclusion, and in about eleven years' time, after there had been another Kaffir War, the territory which had been given back to the Kaffirs was, at the end of 1847, once more annexed and constituted a separate province, the Province of British Kaffraria. The step was taken by Sir Harry Smith, who had been d'Urban's right hand man, and who came back from India and the first Sikh War to be Governor of the Cape Colony. But the Great Trek was beyond recall, the emigrant Dutchmen had dispersed far and wide, they had fought and beaten Zulus and Matabele, they had cast off British allegiance and formed little republican communities in what are now the Provinces of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. The British Government still reckoned them British subjects and issued proclamations, but took no strong measures to follow the trekkers into the wilderness and assert control. Only in Natal was at length definitive action forthcoming, and in 1843 Natal was formally constituted a British Colony. Sir Harry Smith, having settled with the Kaffirs for the time being, turned his attention to the Boers, and early in 1848 proclaimed British sovereignty over the territory between the Orange River, which was the northern boundary of the Cape Colony, and the Vaal. The Boers in the territory resisted, there was a stand-up fight at Boomplatz, for the time the Dutchmen yielded to force, but a new Kaffir War and a reverse at the hands of the Basutos brought fresh difficulties to the Government, which were opportunities to the Boers, and all this time beyond the Vaal the most determined of the Voortrekkers were out of reach. Going back became once more the order of the day in the shifting policy of Great Britain; by the Sand River Convention of January, 1852, the independence of the Transvaal Boers was recognised, and two years later,

in February, 1854, the Convention of Bloemfontein gave independence to the Orange Free State. British rule was in future to be limited by the Orange River and the Drakensberg Mountains, but within twenty years that limit was passed. At the prayer of the Basutos, and to save them from being swallowed up by the Orange Free State, British sovereignty was, in 1868, proclaimed over a narrowed Basutoland, and this was followed by discovery of diamonds north of the Orange River and on the western side of the Orange Free State. This find brought a motley crowd of diggers into the lands of a Griqua chief, who, like the Basutos, invited British sovereignty, and led, in 1871, to the annexation of the lands, the Proclamation of a new British Province of Griqualand West, including the present city of Kimberley, and to a dispute with the Orange Free State, which was compromised in 1876. An interesting episode in the story of the Cape Colony and of transportation took place in September, 1849. A shipload of ticket-of-leave men sent out by the Home Government arrived in Table Bay, but, owing to the opposition of the Colonists, the convicts, or " exiles," as they were euphemistically termed, were not allowed to land. It placed South Africa on this question in line with Australia where, at the same time, opposition in New South Wales to recrudescence of transportation had the same result, that the will of the colonists prevailed. At this date representative institutions had not come into existence in the Cape Colony. The first Parliament met in 1854, but full responsible government waited till 1872. The year 1877 saw the first annexation of the Transvaal, then in the last stage of weakness and bankruptcy and, through absence of control over the relations between white men and natives, a menace to the peace of the whole of South Africa. The annexation of the Transvaal brought in its train the

Zulu War, which opened with the disaster of Isandhlwana and the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift, and ended, as far as substantial fighting was concerned, with the Battle of Ulundi. The removal of the Zulu danger brought renewed pressure from the Transvaal Boers for restoration of their independence, and at the end of 1880, a Liberal Government having lately come into power in England, the Transvaalers were up in arms.

In the years 1874-8 Lord Carnarvon was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in the early part of 1877 Sir Bartle Frere arrived in South Africa as High Commissioner. Lord Carnarvon, who ten years before had steered into port the British North America Bill which created the Dominion of Canada, was minded to lay the foundation of South African Union or Federation, and in 1877 procured a permissive Act of Parliament to prepare the way. Frere, of deservedly great reputation, had been chosen as having the ability and the experience needed to carry through some wide measure of statesmanship. Events rapidly ruled otherwise, and history has abundantly proved that the initiative to federation in the Overseas Empire must come from within, not from without, but at an earlier date there had been initiative in South Africa, for in 1858 the Orange Free State made overtures in the direction of a federal union with the Cape Colony, and the then Governor of the Cape tried in vain to win over the Home Government to taking steps in the direction of a re-united South Africa. The Governor was Sir George Grey, who, before coming to the Cape, had been Governor of New Zealand.

A noble addition was made to the Empire when at length, by the Treaty of Waitangi with Maori chiefs in January, 1840, British sovereignty over New Zealand was assured. The hands of a reluctant Government

had been forced, as in other cases, on the one hand by fear of being forestalled by the French, on the other by aggressive private British enterprise embodied in this case in Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Company. Colonisation came in at different points. The Bay of Islands in the far north of the colony, where British sovereignty was proclaimed, had been the main centre for missionaries, traders and beachcombers. Capt. Hobson, who made the Proclamation and was the first Governor, founded Auckland to be the capital, as it was till the more central Wellington took its place in 1865. The New Zealand Company planted settlements at, among other points, Wellington and Nelson; Otago, with its centre at Dunedin, is the child of Scottish settlement; Canterbury, with its centre at Christchurch, is of Anglican Church origin. Under an Imperial Act of 1852, responsible government began in New Zealand about 1854, but the colony was of the nature of a federal colony, with provincial councils in addition to a central legislature, until 1876, when the provincial councils were swept away. There were Maori wars as white men multiplied and land questions became acute. The first war, which broke out in 1845, was brought to a successful issue by Sir George Grey, who, in his first term as Governor of New Zealand from 1845 to 1853, carried the new colony with conspicuous ability and success far along the path of progress. The second war lasted intermittently from 1860 to 1871 and was a time of friction and misunderstanding among white men, as well as between white and coloured. Eventually the Home Government withdrew its soldiers, the last battalion leaving in 1870. Thrown upon their own resources, the colonists developed in a marked degree political wisdom, and the relations between the British and Maori races in New Zealand were gradually but surely adjusted on a basis of common citizenship.

Another addition to the British Empire in the Pacific during this period was Fiji, which was annexed in October, 1874. Fertile, healthy, beautiful islands, with the fine harbour of Suva centrally placed in the Pacific, a scene of most successful Wesleyan missionary enterprise, they were another instance of a most reluctantly acquired possession, having been offered to and refused by the British Government years before the final annexation took place. Outrages by white men on the natives of the Pacific Islands, perpetrated in the course of the so-called labour traffic, were partly responsible for adding this fine colony to the dominions of the Crown. Retaliation for these outrages led to the murders of innocent men, and the death of the saintly Bishop Patteson, the Melanesians' best friend, which took place in 1871, was by common consent attributed to this cause. The abuses in 1872 called forth a special Act of Parliament, known as the Kidnapping Act, and under a Western Pacific Order-in-Council, first issued in 1877, the Governor of Fiji was constituted High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, exercising, through the machinery of the invaluable Foreign Jurisdiction Act, power of jurisdiction and control over British subjects outside the limits of the actual British Colonies in the Western Pacific.

In Australia these years were years of continuous expansion. New colonies came into being by severance from the mother colony of New South Wales; in 1851, Victoria, Queensland in 1859. The report of the House of Commons Committee on Transportation was followed by discontinuance of transportation to New South Wales in 1840, though not to Tasmania or Norfolk Island. A few years later there was an attempt on the part of the Home Government to revive transportation to New South Wales in a modified form, but now strong opposition came from Australia, and

by 1851 on the Australian mainland outside Western Australia transportation was finally dead. In Tasmania also it ended in 1853, and that island, which had so far been known as Van Diemen's Land, changed its name to mark the break with a tainted past. Western Australia, on the other hand, which had excluded convicts from the Swan River, in 1848 was willing to receive them, a shipload was sent out in 1850, and convicts continued to be sent out till 1867. In the eastern colonies of Australia in any case transportation would have been killed out by the discovery of rich stores of gold and the consequent influx of free settlers. The first gold era, specially connected with Victoria, dates from about 1851, and the historic Eureka stockade riot at the mining centre of Ballarat took place in 1854. Very swift was the onward march of Australia. The fifties saw the coming of responsible government to New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and in 1859-60, at its birth as a separate colony, to Queensland. Only Western Australia was left to wait for self-governing institutions till 1890. The first Australian railway from Sydney to Parramatta was opened in 1854. The telegraph was first used in 1851, and in 1872, as has been told, the transcontinental telegraph line was completed across the continent from south to north. No Imperial troops were to be found in Australia after 1870. Prosperous, self-reliant and patriotic, the Australians shouldered their land defence; they gave help to New Zealand in the Maori wars; and in a very few years, as we shall see, they were bearing arms for the Empire far from Australia.

While other provinces grew apace, the West Indies remained, as it were, in a backwater. No new developments or industries brought new wealth. No additions were made to the sum total of the area owned by or specially connected with Great Britain. On

the contrary, there was a slight backward move when, by treaties with the Central American Republics of Honduras and Nicaragua in 1859 and 1860 respectively, the British Government abandoned all claims to the Bay Islands, which had a few years before been constituted a British Colony, and withdrew what had been for many generations a virtual Protectorate over the country of the Mosquito Indians on the mainland coast of Central America. It was the end of a chapter which began in the days of Old Providence, in the infancy of British colonisation, when common enmity to the Spaniards made a bond between the English and these natives of Central America, who never faltered in steady adherence to their friendship for Great Britain. There was an unpleasant interlude in the story of Jamaica in 1865, what was called in exaggerated terms the Jamaica Rebellion. The Governor at the time was the famous Australian explorer, Governor Eyre, and the steps which he took under martial law to put down a small rising caused a storm of protest in England. The incident is only worth recalling as one more proof of the abiding strength of humanitarian feeling in this country.

In Canada, in the thirty years 1837-1867, the problem of Empire, as it has presented itself to our people in modern guise, was worked out to something like a solution. Lord Durham was the Moses who saw from afar and guided his countrymen towards the promised land. Sent out as Governor-General with extraordinary powers, which covered all the British North American Colonies, he stayed only a few months of the year 1838 on the other side of the Atlantic, but his report, in which Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield collaborated, and which was published early in 1839, was the source of responsible government to the colonies. He recommended that Upper and Lower Canada should be re-united, in the hope—a

vain hope—of absorbing French Canadian nationality, and that British liberties should be extended to the North American Colonies by making the executive officers directly responsible not to the Home Government but to the Colonial Legislatures. An Act of Parliament of 1840 imperfectly re-united the Canadas, and when Lord Elgin became Governor-General of the province the principle of responsible government was, in the years 1848 and 1849, finally accepted and put into practice, and Parliamentary Government became an accomplished fact. At exactly the same date, the Navigation Acts were repealed in England, and the remnants of the old mercantile system crumbled away as the new age of self-governing peoples began. Lord Elgin stands out further as the Governor-General who recognised once and for all the individuality of French Canada. The other British North American Colonies became self-governing at about the same date, and even Newfoundland, which had slowly and painfully grown out of a fishing preserve into a colony, though still sorely hampered by French fishery rights and the Treaty shore, acquired self-government in 1855. But the two Canadas, linked together in a union which was no real union, limped along the path of progress until, by conference and compromise, at length a greater federal unit was conceived and brought to birth, and the British North America Act of 1867 created the Dominion of Canada, the eldest and greatest of all the self-governing Dominions. The four original constituent members were Quebec and Ontario, their union being repealed, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. British Columbia, which, as the result of gold discoveries, had been constituted a colony in 1858 and in 1866 united to Vancouver Island, on the promise of a transcontinental railway joined the Dominion in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873. The Hudson Bay Teritories were taken over by the

Dominion in 1869-70, and in 1870 out of these territories the Province of Manitoba was formed. The new order did not come in without bloodshed, there was a rising of the Red River halfbreeds, and in 1870 a successful Red River Expedition under the future Lord Wolseley, in which Imperial troops co-operated with Canadian militia. Self-government in the colonies did not immediately connote self-defence, and the mother country, with a generosity which is not always adequately recognised, conceded liberties while still charging herself for a while with much of the cost of protection. Canada in particular was somewhat slow in providing for her own defence, but this was in part due to her particular geographical setting. Fenian raids over her southern border, which gave trouble in 1866 after the close of the American Civil War, were the fruit of animosity to Great Britain, not to Canada, though the effects were felt by Canada, and were some justification for not throwing upon the Dominion the whole burden of her defence.

In the Mediterranean there was a subtraction from the Empire when, in 1864, the Ionian Islands were transferred to the Kingdom of Greece, a free transfer with no *quid pro quo*. Conversely, there was an addition when, in 1878, as an outcome of the Russo-Turkish War, the Island of Cyprus was handed over by Turkey to be occupied and administered by Great Britain. It was a new and anomalous kind of tenure, coupled with an annual payment to the Porte, which lasted until in the autumn of 1914 Turkey entered into the great war on the German side and the island was annexed to the British Crown.

What were the main features of this time in the Old Country ? There were, as we have seen, abundance of wars to turn the eyes of British statesmen outwards, wars of magnitude, such as the Crimean War and the

Indian Mutiny, in which Great Britain was herself involved, wars of magnitude in which she was not involved but which contained for her the seeds of danger, as the American Civil War, the Franco-German and the Russo-Turkish Wars. Yet the triumphs of peace stood out beyond the wars. It was a time of amazing progress. Year by year the forces of science became more in number and greater in strength. When Queen Victoria came to the throne, outside the United Kingdom in all the Empire Canada alone had a few miles of railway, while the electric telegraph was still in the experimental stage. By 1880, railways, steamers, land and submarine cables all the world over had long become commonplaces and necessaries of daily life. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was an index to the industrial character of the time. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the outstanding measure in British politics. The dominant political temper was the Whig temper, favouring justice, liberty, economy of public funds and the minimum of State interference. As one restriction after another was removed, private enterprise had the finest possible field, and through the greater part of the period until Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1867 and Gladstone's reforming Government which followed brought the beginnings of somewhat wider democracy, the world seemed made for the well-being of the commercial middle classes. Yet it was not by any means wholly a material time. It was the time of the Oxford Movement, of John Bright's splendid appeals to moral sense, of Gladstone's strong churchmanship. These years saw Lord Shaftesbury's life of care for the poor, the earlier Factory Acts, the rise of Trades Unions, while, as in former years, the coloured races never lacked champions in England. It was a broadening time, a wonderfully broadening time, and yet there was a strain in it of intense narrowness, repellent

to Carlyle and John Ruskin, to Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. Free Trade, *laissez faire*, was carried to a point at which it threatened to become and to some extent did become a fetish, the narrowest of creeds. Extreme free traders had little love for the Empire; some were actively hostile to it, on the grounds that all peoples should go their own ways and take care of themselves, that foreign nations were commercially as profitable as British Colonies and more so, that British Colonies when self-governing preferred commercial protection to free trade, that they were expensive to defend and gave occasion for wars. Ministers on the whole did the right thing by the colonies, but by no means always in the right way. Sentiment with them was at a discount, but sentiment is human and so were the colonies. They were not as yet large and important enough to be in the fashion in political circles in England, to awaken in the minds of such men as Palmerston any interest comparable with that of foreign policy. Among British statesmen, Lord Carnarvon, of a somewhat later generation, stood almost alone in having some vision, such as Burke had in his time and Lord Durham in his, of a mother country girt by growing sons and daughters, of a British Commonwealth of Nations. It was not without reason that the colonies smarted at the indifference of the Old Country which they so dearly loved. There was want of sympathy and imperfect vision. An attempt was made with the best results to promote wider knowledge of the Empire and create better understanding when, in 1868, with the goodwill of both parties in the State, the Royal Colonial Institute was founded, but it is noteworthy that up to that date there had been no unofficial organisation in Great Britain which was representative of the whole Empire. Emigrants went out in thousands every year from British ports, but no one seemed

to care whither they went, and no effort was made by the Home Government to guide them to settlement under the British flag. In retrospect it was a time of progress, affluence and freedom, but a somewhat unattractive time as looked at by those who love the Empire.

SECTION IV

1880—1902

By 1880 the British Empire had grown into an immense and most complex structure. It had grown in area in spite of Governments, not at their bidding, and its bounds far exceeded the limits which statesmen of not many years back thought wise and safe. It had grown in complexity with the grant of self-governing institutions to the larger colonies and with the freedom accorded to them to frame their own tariffs. It seemed to be an over-grown Empire, and Mr. Gladstone had been recalled to power in 1880 avowedly and explicitly to counter forward movements and to chasten Imperialism. Yet the eighties of the nineteenth century brought wider expansion than ever, infinitely magnified responsibilities, infinitely multiplied diversities. With 1880 we enter on a wholly new chapter in the story of the Empire, the main scene of action being the now unveiled continent of Africa.

The unveiling in the thirty years which ended in 1877 was in its effects little short of a second Discovery of a New World. As the time when Columbus discovered America and the Portuguese found their way to India round the Cape was a time when the peoples of Western Europe were achieving nationhood, so, almost *pari passu* with the discoveries of Livingstone and his younger contemporaries, came stage by stage the unifying of Germany and of Italy ; and as demand for spices and other products of the Eastern tropics stimulated the ventures of the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries, so in the nineteenth century a call to tropical Africa came from the growing requirements of industrial Europe. Foreign competition forced the hands of British Governments and drove them unwillingly forward. Private British enterprise, not so reluctant, turned to the agency which had been so potent in the past, and there was a new birth of chartered companies; while the young British peoples overseas began to assert themselves in the policy of the Empire.

Before, however, what is known as the scramble for Africa was in full flood and wholly apart from it, the British Government became deeply involved in difficulties alike in the south and in the north of Africa. In December, 1880, the Transvaal Boers declared their independence, and fighting followed which culminated in the disaster at Majuba Hill on the 27th of February, 1881. Once more the policy of going back was adopted, and the Convention of Pretoria in the following August gave to the Transvaal State, within specified boundaries, limited independence under the suzerainty of the British Crown. In 1884 this Convention was replaced by the Convention of London, more favourable to the Boers, mention of suzerainty dropped out, and for the title of Transvaal State was substituted that of the South African Republic. Boundaries meant little to the Transvaalers. Trekking as ever, on the western side of their State Dutchmen overflowed into the lands of the Bechuanas and began to set up small communities, On the eastern side, they intruded into Zululand and formed a new republic in what afterwards became the Vryheid District of the Transvaal and finally of Natal. The champions of native rights made their voices heard and the British Government was forced to intervene. On the western side an armed expedition was sent up, in 1885 the Dutch freebooters

were cleared out or brought under control, the country up to the Molopo River was annexed and constituted the Colony of British Bechuanaland, which at a later date was incorporated in the Cape Colony, and north of the Molopo River, as far as the 22nd parallel of south latitude, a British Protectorate was proclaimed under the name of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, wherein among other native friends of the English—made friends through the agency of British Missions—dwelt Khama, the chief of the Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanas. On the eastern side a large part of Zululand was conceded to the Boer interlopers, the rest, in 1887, was annexed and brought under the British Crown. Sir Bartle Frere had in 1877 counselled that South-West Africa from the Orange River to the Portuguese boundary should be constituted British territory, but he counselled in vain. No action was taken beyond annexing Walfisch Bay in 1878, and, with this exception, in 1884 South-West Africa became a German Protectorate. About the same date, in 1883-4, gold was discovered in the Barberton area of the Transvaal, and in 1886 the Rand was proclaimed a goldfield.

As though South Africa had not provided a sufficient crop of difficulties, before the year 1882 was out the English were in military occupation of Egypt. The Khedive Ismail's wild extravagance and headlong borrowing led to international financial control, to his own displacement in 1879, to a military and nationalist rising in 1882, headed by Arabi Pasha, to the bombardment of Alexandria, and finally, France having refused to co-operate in armed intervention, to the short and swift campaign, brilliantly organised and carried through by Lord Wolseley, which, after the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir in September of that year, put an end to Egyptian resistance. A considerable proportion of the expeditionary force had been drawn

from India, including between 4000 and 5000 native Indian troops. The British Government thus became responsible for Egypt, faced among numberless other obstacles and complications by keen resentment on the part of France. Yet an Englishman was found equal to the emergency in Sir Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, who from 1883 to 1907, as British Consul-General, carried out a work of beneficent reform which has hardly been equalled in the annals of administration. Pledged to only temporary occupation of Egypt, Mr. Gladstone's Government sought to limit its liabilities by declining responsibility for the Sudan. There a Mahdist rising had gathered strength, fed by fanaticism and Egyptian misrule. In November, 1883, an Egyptian force marching from Khartoum into Kordofan was annihilated near El Obeid, and the Red Sea littoral was a scene of similar disasters, until in February, 1884, British sailors were landed to keep Suakim safe. Vacillating and belated to a pitiable degree were the proceedings of the British Government. In this month of February, 1884, General Gordon reached Khartoum, sent against Baring's advice to extricate the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan. At the same time a force under General Graham was sent to Suakim, which won two hard-fought battles, and at the end of March was, with the exception of a small garrison at Suakim, withdrawn. Gordon's position grew graver as the year went on, months passed in questioning whether to send relief and, if so, by which of two routes, up the Nile or from Suakim to Berber; eventually in the autumn, under Lord Wolseley's leadership, a force moved up the Nile. News came that Gordon and the Khartoum garrison were nearing the end, and a column was sent from Korti across the arc of the Nile to strike the river again and meet Gordon's steamers at Metemma. In a stiff fight at Abu Klea the gallant leader of the desert

column, Sir Herbert Stewart, was mortally wounded, but the Nile was reached near Metemma, the steamers were boarded, and Khartoum was sighted two days after the town had fallen into Mahdist hands on the 26th of January, 1885, and Gordon had met his death. A large force, much larger than before, was now sent to Suakim, there was more fighting, and a railway was begun with intent to carry it on to Berber. Then came general withdrawal, and before the end of the summer the Sudan was left to its fate. It was a miserable story and yet it contained the first seeds of co-operation among the forces of the Empire. For his advance up the Nile, Wolseley, mindful of his Red River experiences, enlisted the services of Canadian Voyageurs, and the army which was sent to Suakim in 1885 included not only native Indian battalions, but also an infantry and artillery contingent, nearly 800 strong, from New South Wales. After the fall of Khartoum an offer of help had been telegraphed by the Acting Premier of the Colony, William Bede Dalley, and had been supplemented by similar offers from other Australian Colonies. No call for aid had come from the mother country, the New South Wales offer was spontaneous, the colony proposed to pay all expenses, the men were ready and equipped to fight. It was a notable new departure. Australians were not content with home defence; they were out to share in the battles of the Empire.

By this time the scramble for Africa was proceeding apace and European peoples jostled one another in ugly haste to parcel out what had lately been a dark continent. A prime mover in the scramble was Leopold, King of the Belgians, who, starting as a friend of science and philanthropy, by skilful handling of the various Powers, secured in 1884-5 general recognition of an International Association of the Congo, which speedily developed into the Congo Free State under

his personal sovereignty. In November, 1884, the famous Berlin Conference was held, and the General Act of the Conference, which was signed by fourteen Powers in the following February, embodied a variety of provisions designed to promote friendly understanding in the partition, freedom of trade, and humane treatment of natives. Germany had taken the lead in calling the Conference, and before 1884 ended German Protectorates had been formally proclaimed in Togoland, in the Cameroons, and in South-West Africa, while German claims were materialising also in East Africa. At all points the incoming Germans came into contact with British possessions or British interests. In Central East Africa there was as yet no British Colony or Protectorate, but none the less British influence exercised through the Government of India had long been admittedly predominant on this coast, and in 1877 the chief native potentate, the Sultan of Zanzibar, had offered to hand over to the chairman of the British India Steamship Company, Mr.—afterwards Sir—William Mackinnon, the administration of his mainland possessions. In the absence of support from the Government of the day, Lord Beaconsfield's Government though it was, the offer was not accepted, and the scramble for Africa, when it came, found British policy more than ever halting and undecided. But where missionaries and traders had gone before, governments were constrained to follow. Uganda was a scene of vigorous missionary enterprise, the mission field of Nyasaland was a legacy from Livingstone, Baptist mission work in the Cameroons all but kept Ambas Bay, with Victoria on its shore, from passing into German hands. British trading interests in the Niger Delta called forth the Oil Rivers Protectorate or, as it was later called, the Niger Coast Protectorate, while behind the coast the regions of the Lower Niger became a British sphere

through the initiative of the National African Company, led by Sir George Taubman Goldie and in 1886 incorporated by Royal Charter as the Royal Niger Company. On the other side of Africa, traders and philanthropists combined under Mackinnon's leadership to form what became by Royal Charter in 1888 the Imperial British East Africa Company, and in 1889 the British South Africa Company was incorporated, the child of Cecil Rhodes.

By the end of 1891 the scramble was completed in its main outline. There had been a plethora of agreements between Great Britain and other Powers interested in Africa, the most comprehensive of which were the Anglo-German Convention of 1st July, 1890, and the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 11th June, 1891. The Treaty with Germany covered all the areas in which the two Powers met in Africa, and it contained a famous cession to Germany, not in Africa, the cession of Heligoland, made with no second sight of war to come. The Treaty with Portugal ended an interlude of great friction between the two nations, and defined in the main their respective spheres in the regions of the Zambesi River and Lake Nyasa. These years added to the British Empire in one form or another, by definitive Protectorate or at first in the elementary stage of Sphere of Influence, much more than a million square miles of Africa, the Somali Protectorate, together with a formal Protectorate over the Island of Socotra, the Protectorates of East Africa, now the Kenya Colony, of Uganda, of Zanzibar and Pemba, the Nyasaland Protectorate and the Rhodesias, Nigeria and hinterlands of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. They were added not at the first by conquest, but for the most part by international bargains between European nations who had no title whatever to African lands and peoples. The term " Sphere of Influence," which came into vogue

with the Partition, regarded only the partitioning Powers, it had no respect to the partitioned Africans. Abundance of native wars followed as the years went on, the Matabele made a brave last stand for militant barbarism, Somaliland produced a Mullah who for twenty years played on a small scale with singular success and elusiveness the part taken by the Mahdi in the Sudan, the Emirs of Nigeria yielded only to armed coercion, there were fresh Ashanti troubles, there was fighting in Uganda. But such fighting can have but one end and the Partition settled the fate of Africa.

Reference has already been made to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, and the story of the Empire cannot be fully told and understood without taking note of its origin and evolution. It originated in the Capitulations or extraterritorial privileges granted in the old days by the Sultans of Turkey to the subjects of various Christian Powers residing in the Ottoman dominions. The consular officers who, under the Capitulations, exercised jurisdiction among British subjects in the Turkish Empire were appointed and paid by the Levant Company. When that company came to an end in 1825, the consuls were appointed by and exercised their functions directly under the Crown. In 1843, as we have seen, the first general Foreign Jurisdiction Act was passed providing for jurisdiction among British subjects resident not only in the Ottoman dominions but in other Eastern countries also, such as China, the jurisdiction being exercised, in the words of the Preamble to the Act, in virtue of "treaty capitulation grant usage sufferance and other lawful means." With the scramble for Africa, conditions arose for which this Act had made no provision, and British subjects became residents in countries possessing no settled government to grant the necessary extraterritorial privileges. Accordingly, a new

Foreign Jurisdiction Act was passed in 1890, which provided that " where a foreign country is not subject to any Government " from whom the British Crown might obtain the privilege of exercising jurisdiction over its own subjects in the manner provided by the Act, the Crown should notwithstanding be empowered to exercise such jurisdiction. Thus statutory authority was given to the British Government to control British citizens in barbarous African countries, and, in effect, to maintain law and order in those countries without proclaiming direct British sovereignty over the lands. Carlyle has written of the " invincible " British instinct " to expand if it be possible some old habit or method already found fruitful into new growth for the new need." A good illustration of the truth of his words is supplied by the record of the evolution of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act.

Contemporaneous with the scramble for Africa was a similar scramble for the islands of the Pacific. In the Pacific, as in Africa, the missionary and the trader had been greatly in evidence. In the Pacific, as in Africa, the entry of Germany precipitated a scramble. But there was one factor in the Pacific which was wanting in tropical Africa, the neighbourhood of determined self-governing British Colonies, Australia and New Zealand, keenly alive alike to their own interests and to those of the Empire, disciples of President Monroe in respect of foreign acquisitions in the ocean which they regarded as a British heritage. The Australians had been ill content with their French neighbours in New Caledonia, whence convicts found their way into Australia. Still less contented were they with the refusal of the Home Government to exclude the French from the New Hebrides. In these islands both nations had interests ; in 1878 the two Governments mutually disclaimed any intention to annex them, in 1887-8 they were placed under a

joint French and British naval commission, and this blossomed out in 1906 into a Condominium, the whole course of compromise being alien and distasteful to the Australian temper. But the French had at least held possessions in the Pacific for many years past, whereas in 1880 Germany had none, though German interests were large, German factories had multiplied, and Australians suspected German designs. Nearly half of the immense island of New Guinea was included in the Netherlands Indies, the larger half, east of the 141st meridian of east longitude, had not been appropriated by Europeans. In 1873 it was provisionally annexed for Great Britain by Captain Moresby, from whom Port Moresby takes its name, but his action was disallowed. Ten years later, in 1883, the Queensland Government, anxious to forestall the Germans, again provisionally annexed it, but once more endorsement by the Home Government was not forthcoming. In 1884 the Germans came in, and under an arrangement made between Germany and Great Britain in 1885, the Australians had to be content with the south eastern portion of New Guinea, including the adjacent islands, which eventually passed into the keeping of the Commonwealth and was given the name of Papua. Intense at the time was the feeling of Australia against the British Government, which had let slip what they had taken and would have kept, and all the more admirable was the patriotism and loyalty to the Old Country which none the less at this very time dictated the sending of the Australian contingent to Suakim. By two Anglo-German Conventions of 1886 and 1899, German and British Spheres were defined in the western Pacific, and within the British Sphere came, among others, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, now a colony in which is included the phosphate-bearing Ocean Island, most of the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Niue or Savage

Island. The Cook Islands, including Raratonga, came under British protection at the request of the islanders in 1888-9, and with some other islands fell to the lot of New Zealand. But New Zealand, much drawn to Samoa, had her own special grievance when, under the 1899 agreement, all British claims in respect of Samoa were abandoned, as against a similar German recantation in regard to Tonga. Many more scattered islands in the Pacific at one time or another in one way or another have come into British keeping. One only can be mentioned here, Fanning Island, where the all red cable calls on its way from Canada to the Southern Dominions.

The critical time of 1884-5 was made more critical by a fresh menace of war with Russia, owing to what was known as the Panjdeh incident. At the beginning of the work of a joint Russo-British Commission which had been constituted to determine the northern frontier of Afghanistan and in which the British Commissioner was acting in Afghan as well as British interests, the Russians drove out Afghan troops who were holding the border post of Panjdeh. War seemed almost inevitable, and a vote of credit was taken in the House of Commons, but the Amir of Afghanistan, Abdurrahman, showed singular wisdom and forbearance, the new Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin, was the most tactful of men, the crisis was tided over, the work of the Commission went forward, a line of demarcation was settled in 1887, and an era began of improved relations alike with Russia and with Afghanistan. In 1885 there was a third Burmese War, King Theebaw was deposed, and on the 1st January, 1886, Upper Burma was annexed, the last annexation on a large scale in the long history of British expansion in India. The actual campaign had been very brief, the British advance up the Irrawaddy River on Mandalay had met with little opposition, but

annexation was followed by prolonged guerrilla warfare and dacoity before British administration became effective in Upper Burma. The later years of the century were marked by various border wars and expeditions on the Northern and North-Western frontiers of India, Manipur and Chitral became familiar names, and in 1897 there was fierce fighting on a large scale within range of Peshawar against the Mohmands on the north and the Afridis in the Tirah Valley. Apart from exclusive control of the Persian Gulf as against other European Powers, the British claim to which was finally and explicitly asserted in 1903, the North-West frontier continued to be the main feature in the foreign policy of the Government of India, and its importance was emphasised by the creation of the North West Frontier province by Lord Curzon in 1901. Prior to 1895, the armies of the three Indian Presidencies had been separate armies. From that date onward there was one Indian Army only, but long before the amalgamation the North-West frontier had been the chief concern of the soldiers who had the safe keeping of India, and its vital importance to the security of the whole of India had far-reaching political results. When the clouds of war gathered in this quarter in the critical year 1885, offers of help came from the leading Feudatory States of India, and the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign which followed in 1887 called forth a further offer from the Nizam of the great native State of Hyderabad of men and money for the defence of the frontier from which Hyderabad was far removed. Similar offers came from the other leading chieftains of India, and the policy of maintaining in the several native States contingents for Imperial service was initiated and followed up. A spirit of active co-operation had been awakened, and a sense that India was as against foreign foes a single unit of the Empire. Meanwhile in British India, by

the Indian Councils' Act of 1892, unofficial members were added to the Viceroy's Council and the Legislative Councils of Madras and Bombay, making a beginning of political representation in India.

Farther East than India much history was in the making. The growth of Singapore was phenominal, and year by year it tended to become the centre of a constantly widening British sphere in Malayan lands and seas. Close at hand, at the end of the Malay Peninsula, the State of Johore to which Singapore had belonged before it became a British possession was, with the full consent of its friendly ruler, in 1885 formally placed under British Protectorate, though without the accompaniment until a much later date of a British Resident. In 1887 the State of Pahang on the eastern side of the Peninsula was added to the Protectorates, and here the introduction of a British Resident was followed by some years of disturbance and unrest. In 1895 the four States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang were federated, the headquarters of the Federation being placed at Kwala Lumpur in Selangor. The revenues of Perak and Selangor, abounding in wealth from their stores of tin, sufficed to finance the backward State of Pahang and to construct railways without recourse to borrowing. Prosperity was writ large on this section of the Empire.

Far away in the Indian Ocean, half-way between Ceylon and Australia, are the Cocos Keeling Islands. Here in the year 1827, a Scotsman, Clunies Ross, established himself, and under the kindly sway of the Ross family the islands have remained. They were annexed in 1857, placed under the Governor of Ceylon in 1878, but in 1886 transferred to the suzerainty of the Governor of the Straits Settlements. In 1902 a cable station of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company was planted in the group, and legal difficulties

which arose from the presence of this station led to the islands being incorporated in the Colony of the Straits Settlements in 1903. The cable station, when the Great War came, attracted, as did also the station on Fanning Island, the unwelcome attentions of German raiders, but in the Cocos Islands the raider, the famous *Emden*, met her doom. The same course that was taken in the case of these islands had already for similar reasons been taken in regard to Christmas Island, which lies to the east of them and due south of Java. Having been found, like Ocean Island in the Pacific, to be rich in phosphates, it was annexed in 1888, in the following year it was placed under the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and in 1900 incorporated in that colony.

A British company having acquired from native Sultans concessions of a large area of territory at the north end of Borneo with adjacent islands, which, with subsequent additions, is now of much the same size as Scotland, the company was in 1881 granted a Royal Charter under the title of the British North Borneo Company. This company is of special historical interest, for it was the first in the new series of Chartered Companies and is the only one of them which has retained its privileges in full to the present day. By far the greater part of Borneo had fallen to the Dutch, but from this date all that remained, which was in the North and North-West of Borneo, was, over and above the British Island of Labuan, included in the three States of Sarawak, North Borneo, and what was left of the old Sultanate of Brunei, reduced to very small dimensions as Sarawak and North Borneo grew at its expense. In 1888 all three States were placed under British protection, and the variety of British Protectorates, with the elasticity of the term, may well be studied in Borneo. For a few years the Crown Colony of Labuan was handed over

to the administration of the North Borneo Company, but at a later date it was taken back by the Crown and in 1907 made part of the Colony of the Straits Settlements. In the twentieth century, too, a British Resident was placed in Brunei under the authority of the Governor of the Straits Settlements in his capacity of High Commissioner, and at the present day British Government relations with Borneo are largely focused at Singapore.

The Admiralty showed an intermittent desire for a naval base in the China Seas farther north than Hong Kong, and such a base was in 1885 acquired at Port Hamilton, a magnificent natural harbour formed by islands off the southern end of the Corean Peninsula, but it was only occupied from May, 1885, to February, 1887, and then abandoned. The collapse of China in her war with Japan in 1894-5 was followed by something of the nature of a scramble on the part of the European Powers, always ready to find excuses for pickings in China. In 1897, Germany planted herself at Kiaochow on the southern side of the Shantung Peninsula, Russia occupied Port Arthur, France gained fresh ground in southern China, and in May, 1898, the British flag was hoisted at Wei-hai-Wei. Wei-hai-Wei is on the north side of Shantung towards the eastern end of the Peninsula, and it faces Port Arthur across the entrance to the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. The Convention under which it was leased to the British Government and which was signed on the 1st July, 1898, stated that the object was " to provide Great Britain with a suitable naval harbour in North China ; " and as a harbour it was all that could be desired, a sheltered bay between an island and the mainland, like the harbour of Hong Kong. The understanding was that the lease should run during the Russian tenure of Port Arthur, but retrocession to China has waited till the present time. At the same date, by a Convention

of June, 1898, a large extension was obtained on a 99 years' lease of the mainland territory of Hong Kong, across which a railway was subsequently carried to Canton. The new outburst of European intrusion may well have provided fuel for the anti-foreign Boxer rising which culminated in 1900 in the Siege of the Legations at Peking. It was the time of the South African War, the great majority of the troops which formed the British quota to the relieving force were native Indian battalions, and Rajputs and Sikhs were the first to join hands with the beleagured garrison. Subsequently to the relief, the British Legation was for a while in the keeping of an Australian naval contingent.

A new route from China and Japan to Europe was opened when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in November, 1885. Canada was now in fact as in name a Dominion from sea to sea. Earlier in this year, beginning in March, there was a rising in the North-West territories, a rising of half-breeds which in some sort repeated the Red River Rebellion. Louis Riel was the leading figure in the second as in the first rebellion, and his second venture was paid for with his life. But on the second occasion Canada had no need for Imperial troops, and the rising of 1885 was speedily and effectually quelled by Canadian forces alone. The first era in the story of the Dominion ended not long after the death in 1891 of the man who had been foremost in bringing it to birth, the great Conservative leader, Sir John MacDonald, and in 1896 the gifted French Canadian statesman, Sir Wilfred Laurier, began a long unbroken tenure of office as Liberal Prime Minister of Canada, which lasted until 1911 and was marked by constantly growing influence of the representative of Canada in the shaping of the Empire.

Responsible Government reigned throughout Australia when in 1890 Western Australia became a self-governing colony, the last year of the nineteenth century saw the passing of the Imperial Act which federated Australia, and on the 1st of January, 1901, the Commonwealth came into being, a looser federation than that of Canada and one which left large sovereign powers to the component states. Self-government was given to Natal in 1893, and in 1897 the colony was enlarged by the addition of British Zululand. Meanwhile a new development had come to pass, and a beginning had been made of Councils of the Empire.

In 1886, on the initiative of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward, a Colonial and Indian Exhibition was held in London, the first of its kind, and the first British Exhibition of any magnitude since the Exhibition of 1851. Its mantle falls on the Exhibition of 1924. To the book published by the Royal Commission for the 1886 Exhibition an Introduction was written by Sir John Seeley, who, in his work on " The Expansion of England," had given to his countrymen a new and sounder outlook on the Empire as the outcome of growth. In this Introduction he wrote of " the great realm or Commonwealth—either word seems better than Empire," and that " England is now a realm eight million square miles in extent." Including India, his estimate of eight million square miles fell far short of the immensity of the Empire at this date; but whatever were the actual figures, the Exhibition taught the citizens of the Old Country something of its width and its worth, and added to the acclaim which greeted the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in the following year, 1887.

Before the year 1886 ended, an invitation was sent out from the Colonial Office to the self-governing colonies to a Conference on the occasion of the coming Jubilee. It was sent, in the Secretary of State's

words, in view of the growing desire on all sides " to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire." Co-operation in defence, naval and military, and improvement of communications were placed in the forefront of the programme. The meeting was held, not a formally organised conference—for representatives of other parts of the Empire than the self-governing colonies were also present, many matters were usefully and fruitfully discussed, and one immediate result was a money contribution to the Royal Navy from Australia and New Zealand in return for an increase to the strength of the squadron in Pacific waters. The navy was ever recognised as the first line of defence, the navy and coaling stations for the navy appealed in greater or less degree to all the sons of the Empire. There was a second meeting in 1894, held at Ottawa on the invitation of the Canadian Government, not a fully representative conference, and specially concerned with the project of an All Red Pacific cable, which was eventually laid in 1902 at the joint expense of the mother country and the colonies concerned. But at this meeting the colonies lifted their voices in favour of Imperial Preference and against such commercial treaties with foreign nations as were obstacles to differential tariffs within the Empire. The next meeting was on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897. This was a formal conference between the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Defence of the Empire was again to the fore, the Naval Agreement with Australia and New Zealand was maintained, and the Cape Colony offered the cost of a first-class battleship for the Royal Navy, which was subsequently commuted for an annual money contribution. There was again strong and explicit opposition to such commercial treaties as by

their terms restricted preferences within the Empire, and the views of the Colonial Premiers prevailed. Treaties with Belgium and Germany which came within this category were terminated in their existing form, and subsequent commerical treaties were so framed as not to bind the self-governing colonies without their express consent. The colonies indicated their readiness to give preference in their tariffs to the products of the mother country, and Canada led the way by giving preference in this same year. There was a consensus of opinion that periodical conferences should be held, and the next gathering took place in 1902 at the date fixed for the Coronation of King Edward. Naval and military matters were discussed in the light of the South African War, the Naval agreement with Australia and New Zealand was revised, a larger sum being given by those colonies, and all the self-governing colonies, with the one exception of Canada, became contributors to the Royal Navy. All declared for giving preference to the mother country, and all urged the desirabiliy of making the preference mutual. It was decided that the conferences should be held, if possible, at not longer intervals than four years. Consultation within the Empire had come to stay.

The chairman of the meetings in 1897 and 1902 was Mr. Chamberlain, who had in 1895 become Secretary of State for the Colonies. His advent to the Colonial Office placed the charge of colonial interests in the hands of a foremost statesman of tried business capacity and experience, and poles asunder in his outlook from the *laissez faire* school of politicians. Henceforth, whatever grounds there might have been in the past for allegations of indifference to the colonies no longer existed, and all parts of the Empire felt the impress of a strong and masterful hand. None felt it more than the sorely tried West Indian Colonies,

whose sugar competed unequally in the open market of the United Kingdom with the bounty-fed beet sugar of the Continent. In their darkest days hope revived when a Colonial Secretary came on the scene minded to challenge the evil and at the same time strong enough to secure funds from the Imperial Exchequer to promote new methods and new industries in the one part of the Empire which had lost, not gained, in the nineteenth century. Here, as at all points, his initiative and determination bore fruit, but in the last years of the century it was once more North Africa and South Africa that held the front of the stage.

Mahdism in the Sudan had in its origin and in the light of previous Egyptian misgovernment some element of liberation. In no long time it became the worst of tyrannies. Its headquarters and the prison-house of European captives were at Omdurman on the west bank of the Nile, immediately north of the confluence of the two rivers, and two miles to the north west from Khartoum, which stands in the fork of the rivers on the western bank of the Blue Nile. The Mahdi died in the year of his triumph, 1885, and the leader who succeeded him with the title of Khalifa was a still more ruthless exponent of barbarism, a military despot of the most cruel kind. In 1886 the Egyptian frontier, for facility of defence, was moved back to Wadi Halfa, and gradually, under a British Sirdar or Commander-in-Chief, with the help of British officers, and with the knowledge that in the background was the British Army of Occupation, the Egyptian Army was regenerated, regained confidence and morale, and became a thoroughly efficient force.

Only a squadron of British cavalry was with the Egyptian troops when, under Sir Francis Grenfell's command, near Toski, in August, 1889, they inflicted

a crushing defeat on invading hordes from the Sudan, intent on the conquest of Egypt. In 1892 the future Lord Kitchener succeeded Grenfell as Sirdar. The public mind began to be stirred by the first-hand evidence which escaped captives brought of the horrible conditions of imprisonment at Omdurman, and the misery that prevailed in the Sudan. It was decided to win back, if possible, some at least of the abandoned ground, and in 1896 a forward move began. Troops on the land, well equipped, well organised, including at first not more than one British infantry battalion, were accompanied by gunboats on the Nile, and the railway and telegraph followed on their heels. On the Red Sea littoral, where a semi-independent Mahdist leader, Osman Digna, had given much trouble, the Egyptian garrison at Suakim was replaced for a while by a brigade from India, the Dervish forces were driven higher and higher up the Nile, and before the year's campaigning ended the Mahdist levies in Dongola had been broken in pieces and that great province recovered. From Wadi Halfa to Abu Hammed, within a western semicircle of the Nile, the Nubian desert extends for 230 miles. Across this desert Kitchener resolved to carry the railway; it was pressed forward through 1897, and reached Abu Hammed in November of that year. Abu Hammed had already been taken in August by an advance column under Hunter, Berber was occupied in September, and gunboats moved farther on reconnoitring and shelling the river banks. A little higher up than Berber the Atbara joins the Nile. On the Atbara the Khalifa's forces were concentrated early in 1898, and on the 8th of April Kitchener's army, reinforced by a British brigade under Gatacre, stormed the Dervish entrenchments and won a great victory. The end was now in view, but no risks were taken. The British brigade was increased to a division. The

army marched up the western bank of the Nile, the gunboats moving by their side and bombarding Omdurman in their front. Four miles short of Omdurman, on the 2nd of September, 1898, the decisive battle took place, the Dervishes fought with splendid valour and there were critical moments, but the end was overwhelming victory for the British and Egyptian forces, Omdurman was entered, the remaining captives were freed, and honour was paid to Gordon's memory at Khartoum. A few days later Kitchener was steaming in hot haste for between four and five hundred miles up the White Nile to Fashoda, where a gallant Frenchman, Major Marchand, had planted the French flag, having made his way across Africa from the French Congo. The British and Egyptian flags were hoisted over against the French, troops were left to guard them, but no force was used, and the issue was left to the French and British Governments in Europe. The outcome was that the French claim was given up, Marchand left for France through Abyssinia in December, and by an Anglo-French Declaration of March, 1899, French and British spheres were defined, the basin of the Nile being left under exclusive British control. The Battle of Omdurman was the deathblow to Mahdism, though there was further fighting, sometimes hard fighting, as the country was scoured. The Khalifa had fled into Kordofan. Here he was followed up by a column under Sir Reginald Wingate, and on the 28th of November, 1899, was brought to bay. The Dervish attack having failed, their leader with his sons and chieftains met death with as fearless a front as the Spartans at Thermopylæ or the Scots at Flodden Field. Osman Digna's end had no romance. He was captured, a half-starved fugitive, in January, 1900. The Sudan had been recovered by conquest, the conquest had been effected under British

leadership and with the help of British troops. It was, therefore, not replaced under the Government of Egypt alone, but made subject to a British and Egyptian Condominium.

Within a month of the Khalifa's death, the man who had been his undoing, the organiser of victories, Lord Kitchener, as he had now become, was called to South Africa. The discovery of gold made much history in Australia: it made more in South Africa. Founded in 1886, Johannesburg became a large cosmopolitan city, and on the Rand in the heart of the South African Republic a non-Dutch community grew up with all the restless elements which goldfields attract. The South African Republic or Transvaal, as far as white men were concerned, had been a state of back-country folk, with little resources or organisation beyond the commando system, with no experience of or capacity for enlightened administration, and its President, Paul Kruger, was a reactionary Boer of the old exclusive type. The goldfields brought wealth to the Government, but the producers of the wealth had no voice in the laws or the taxes. By 1894 the Uitlanders or aliens, the large majority of whom were British subjects, fully equalled the Boers in numbers, and the reformers among them drifted to Revolution. In the last days of 1895 and the first of 1896, the disastrous Jameson Raid took place. The administrator of the British South Africa Company's territories, at the head of a small band of troopers, rode into the Republic with intent to support and supplement a rising at Johannesburg. The venture failed completely and had the worst results. At the back of the conspiracy was Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, who more than any one man had held Briton and Boer together. Confidence in him was now exchanged for bitter resentment and deep distrust, the good faith of Great

Britain was suspect alike in South Africa and among foreign nations, Dutch nationalism was intensified, and added strength was given to the cause of inequality and injustice in the South African Republic, In May, 1897, a new High Commissioner, the present Lord Milner, came to South Africa. Two years later, as the position became more impossible, at a meeting at Bloemfontein with President Kruger he strove to obtain substantial redress for the Uitlanders' grievances. His efforts were in vain, the Orange Free State threw in its lot with the Transvaal, and in October, 1899, an ultimatum to the British Government was followed by war.

In the early stages of the war, while the British troops were comparatively few, the Boers swept far into the Cape Colony and Natal. Mafeking in the far north, Kimberley, and Ladysmith, where Sir George White, who had lately come out, was in command, were isolated and cut off. When more troops came in with Sir Redvers Buller as Commander-in-Chief, there were forward moves on the British side, but the Black Week in December, 1899, saw three grave set-backs, at Stormberg on the East London line, at Magersfontein on the way to Kimberley, and in Natal, where Buller was in person, at Colenso on the Tugela River, where the enemy was astride the railway to Ladysmith. These reverses brought out Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener as chief of his staff, in January, 1900.

White and his hard-pressed garrison held Ladysmith gallantly, beating off on the 6th of January, 1900, a determined Boer attack in the memorable fight of Wagon Hill. Buller, with Sir Charles Warren now under him, made further attempts to break through the Boer cordon, including the tragic venture of the 24th of January at Spion Kop, but his efforts failed. At length came the turn of the tide. Concentrating

on the western railway in the Cape Colony, but striking to the east of it with the cavalry under the present Lord French leading the advance, Roberts outflanked Cronje's force which was barring the direct road to Kimberley; Kimberley was relieved on the 15th of February, Cronje, retreating eastward in the Bloemfontein direction, was caught up at Paardeberg, and on the 27th of February forced to surrender, and on the 13th of March, Roberts entered Bloemfontein. Buller in the meantime had on the 1st of March at length joined hands with the starving garrison of Ladysmith. The great strain was now over, Mafeking was relieved in May, Roberts reached Pretoria in June, and early in July Buller's army was in touch with Roberts' forces, having overcome the mountain passes in the north of Natal. There was an accompaniment of abundant small disasters, railways were cut, detachments were intercepted, Christian de Wet, who led the Free Staters, proved himself a past master in sporadic warfare, Louis Botha, who succeeded to the chief command of the Boers on Joubert's death, showed conspicuous military ability, and was ably supplemented in the Western Transvaal by General Delarey. Buller went home in October, and Lord Roberts at the end of November, 1900, Lord Kitchener being left to face protracted guerrilla warfare carried far down into the Cape Colony, with marching and counter-marching, surprise and ambuscade. At length, blockhouse lines and organised drives wore down resistance, and by the Vereeniging Treaty, which was actually signed at Pretoria on the 31st of May, 1902, the Boer States were incorporated in the British Empire.

There were and always will be divided opinions as to the South African War. It had much in it of the nature of a civil war, it intensified race cleavage, it embittered foreign nations against Great Britain, it

was marked by serious mishaps. Yet it was a most fruitful war. It reunited under one government South Africa, which should never have been split up, and it rallied to the Old Country in her difficulties the forces of the British peoples overseas. Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, all came to fight in appreciable numbers and with marked distinction. The young soldiers of the young peoples learnt their trade side by side with the regular troops from the mother land, and foreign enmity strengthened the bonds of Empire. India and Ceylon sent white contingents, but inasmuch as the colour problem in South Africa is a constant irritant, England deprived herself of the fighting services of the native Indian Army. That army, however, as has been seen, upheld British honour and interests in the Boxer Campaign in China, which coincided with the war in South Africa; and another coloured force of the Empire, troops from the lately raised West African Frontier Force, in 1900, led by Sir James Willcocks, quelled a dangerous Ashanti rising, the last of the Ashanti wars, and relieved a garrison which, with the Governor of the Gold Coast, had been shut up in Kumasi.

The peace-loving queen had not been spared to see the end of the South African War. She died on the 22nd of January 1901, after a reign of over 63 years. Jubilee and Diamond Jubilee had come and gone with every token of reverence and love. None thought of the Empire without being mindful of its queen. It was her Empire in a rare and singular sense, for in her time the whole strange Commonwealth had grown up, wherein widening freedom kept pace with enlarged borders. She died in fullness of years and of honour, in very truth the mother of her peoples, and all sorts and conditions of men mourned for Queen Victoria.

PART IV
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

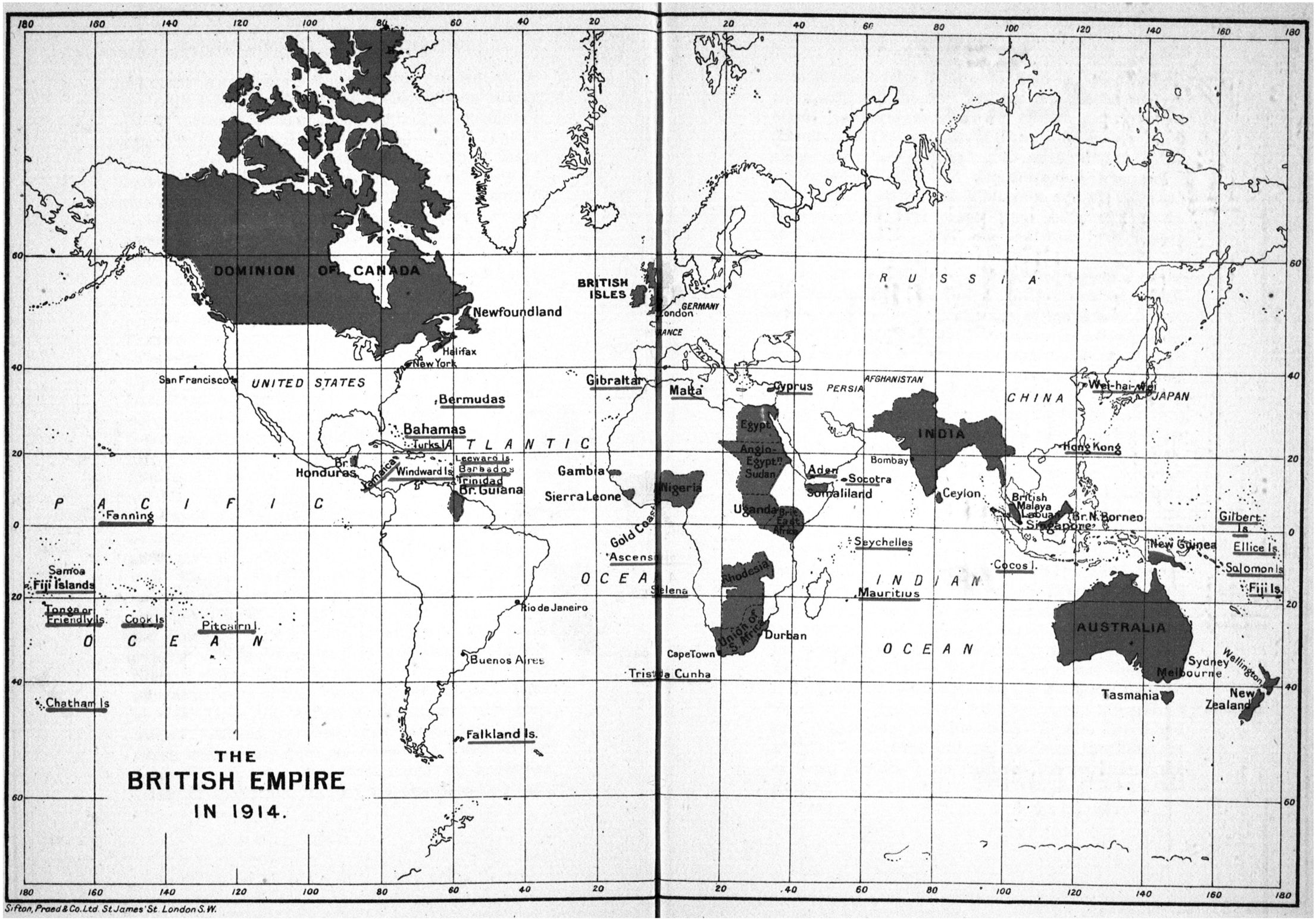
SECTION I

1902 TO 1914

THE interval between the South African War and the Great War, from the end of May, 1902, to the beginning of August, 1914, was for the British Empire a time of unusual peace and of little territorial aggrandisement. Even the North-West frontier of India, with the exception of some fighting in 1908, was comparatively quiescent. The most notable enterprise undertaken from India in these years was a mission or semi-military expedition to Tibet under Sir Francis Younghusband's leadership in 1904. Himalayan heights and snows were traversed in winter time, armed opposition was overcome, and a Treaty was signed at Lhasa which put an end to existing border troubles with Tibet and fully secured the object of the expedition. Africa provided local wars and disturbances. There was stiff fighting with the Mullah in Somaliland in 1902-4, Indian troops in addition to African being employed ; there was fighting with the Fulani rulers in Northern Nigeria before they submitted to British control ; there was trouble in Zululand. But, taken as a whole, the Empire was at rest. Nor were its borders appreciably enlarged. The only important addition was in Malaya, where, by Treaty with Siam in 1909, the States of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, and Perlis, over which Siamese Suzerainty had been exercised or claimed, were transferred to the British sphere and added to the British Protectorates of the Malay Peninsula. It was a time of progress and prosperity. Its main features were marked improvement in foreign

relations, ascendancy of advanced democracy in the United Kingdom, and within the Empire steady growth at once of nationhood and of co-operation, especially in regard to defence.

King Edward VII. reigned until the 6th of May, 1910, when his death brought His present Majesty to the throne. Short as was King Edward's reign, it was of great and lasting benefit to his peoples. Peacemaker he was termed, and all his personal influence, which was strong both at home and abroad, made for peace and good understanding. It was needed, for Great Britain in 1902 had few friends among the nations, and her near neighbour, France, remembering Fashoda, was especially resentful and sore. French animosity, however, did not extend to the king, always a friend and lover of France, and, with Lord Lansdowne at the Foreign Office well inclined in the same direction, the estrangement between the two Governments and peoples, which dated back to the first British entry into Egypt, was at length brought to an end. By two treaties, styled a Convention and a Declaration, which were signed on the same day, the 8th of April, 1904, and which were supplemented by Secret Articles, made public in 1911, Great Britain recognised the priority of French claims in Morocco, while France withdrew opposition to Great Britain in Egypt. Newfoundland was relieved from the incubus of French fishing rights, which dated back to the Treaty of Utrecht, and in return Great Britain ceded ground to France on the Gambia and the Middle Niger, together with the Isles de Los, which had been a detached part of the Colony of Sierra Leone. Thus in West Africa the borders of the Empire were contracted. Alliance between Great Britain and Japan, which had already been embodied in a treaty at the beginning of 1902, was consolidated by a further treaty of 1905; and in 1907 a comprehensive treaty



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1914.

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with Russia covered the whole field in Asia in which the conflicting interests of the two peoples had so often threatened war. There was, in short, a new grouping of Powers. Great Britain no longer stood alone, and Germany who had hitherto profited by the rift between France and England found, when international friction centred in Morocco and the Algeciras Conference was held in 1906, that she herself in turn was becoming isolated, and that the French were assured of British support.

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century saw the rise of German sea power. From 1898 to 1912, a succession of naval laws passed in the German Parliament continuously added to the strength of the German fleet, and in the British Empire they were interpreted as a growing menace to Great Britain. From far-off New Zealand, ever to the front in patriotism, whose Prime Minister at the time was Sir Joseph Ward, came in 1909 an offer of a first-class battleship for the Royal Navy, and a second if needed. From a very different quarter, from the Federated Malay States, passing rich under British protection, came a similar offer in 1912, and in due course the *New Zealand* and *Malaya* were added to the great ships which were the "floating bulwark" of the Island and the Empire. At the end of 1912, in the House of Commons at Ottawa, the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Robert Borden, proposed a vote to cover the cost of three battleships for the Royal Navy of the newest and most powerful type. If there was danger to the Empire, the source of it was Germany, if there was to be salvation for the Empire it must be found in maintenance of "the vantage of strength at sea," which three centuries before Francis Bacon had noted as "one of the principal dowries of this Kingdom of Great Britain." So reasoned the peoples of the Empire.

They had all been growing. The self-governing peoples in particular had been growing fast, in stature and substance, in outward form and shape of nations, still more in consciousness of national life. As they grew, their relations to the mother country changed, passing progressively from the stage of childhood into that of adolescence, but the family tie lost none of its strength. It was strong in spite of the difference of outlook between the old and the young, the crowded island and the regions of vast elbowroom, the peoples who drew cheques on an unlimited future, and the steady going old-world nation which honoured the bills of the past. Tariff Reform, modification of the Free Trade policy of the United Kingdom in the direction of Imperial Preference which commended itself overseas, and which was boldly advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, proved in the Old Country, where the "hungry forties" were not yet out of mind, to be in its immediate results a destructive rather than a constructive policy, and overwhelming defeat was the fate of a divided Unionist party at the polls of January, 1906. The reign of latter day-democracy then began in Great Britain with its familiar accompaniments of payment of members, growing power of organised Labour and subordination of the Second Chamber; and in this respect the Old Country was brought nearer to the Dominions, where democracy was the inevitable outcome of conditions of life in new countries and inherent in the soil.

In the all-British Dominion of Australia, earlier than in any other part of the Empire, Labour asserted itself in political life, and in the fourth year of its existence the Commonwealth was led for a few months by a Labour Prime Minister, the forerunner of others.

New Zealand, without a Labour Party in the

Legislature, had, under the Liberals led by Mr. Seddon, moved further even than Australia in the direction of State Socialism. Earlier than elsewhere in the Empire, in these southern dominions adult citizen franchise, for women as well as men, came to stay, the shaping of the communities was democratic in the extreme, the sense of national individuality was intensely strong. Yet their democracy in no way savoured of pacifiism or non-intervention, and the patriotism of the Australian and the New Zealander was wholly in unison with love of the Empire. These two dominions took the lead in adopting compulsory military training for home defence, and each in its own way contributed most substantially to the Empire's sea power.

The last of the Boundary questions of any magnitude between Canada and the United States was settled by the Alaska Boundary award in 1903. The result, disappointing and distasteful to Canadians, had an important bearing upon Dominion development. One of the three Commissioners on the British-Canadian side, the Lord Chief Justice of England, dissented from his two Canadian colleagues, and the inevitable outcome was to emphasise the expediency of leaving questions which immediately concern one dominion only and not the whole Empire as far as possible in the hands of that dominion. In the twentieth century immigrants flowed into Canada. From all sources they came, but the great majority from the Old Country or from the United States, and very many of the incomers from the United States were returning Canadians. The great attraction was the corn-growing west, and out of the North-West Territories in 1905 were carved the prairie provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Peopling and development of immense areas, making of railways, allotting of lands, planting out of aliens, all the manifold problems that

accompany rapid growth of new communities, were more than enough to occupy the minds and tax the energies of Canadians and Canadian Governments. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's good will to Great Britain and to the Empire was shown in the preference given by his Government to British imports, but his policy for Canada was one of neither proffering nor suffering interference, and Old World armaments were not to his mind. The end of his long reign came in 1911, when a reciprocity agreement negotiated with the United States by his Finance Minister, Mr. Fielding, was submitted to the Canadian Electorate, and, interpreting it rightly or wrongly as a menace to Canadian Nationality and to the tie of Empire, the voters swept the Liberals from power and replaced Laurier with Sir Robert Borden.

In 1902 Canada had long been a single dominion, Australia had lately been federated, but the Union of South Africa had yet to come. Its advent was under the circumstances almost startling in its rapidity. The end of the South African war found the two late Boer Republics under Crown Colony Government, but the Transvaal, with its large admixture of British citizens, was insistent for greater freedom. Hitherto responsible government in the colonies had been preceded by the intermediate stage of representative institutions without complete subordination of the Executive to the Legislature, and a Constitution on these lines had been framed for the Transvaal by Mr. Balfour's Government, in which Mr. Alfred Lyttleton was Colonial Secretary. But before it was brought into operation, the Liberals, under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, came into office in England, the Constitution was revoked, in December, 1906, full responsible government was given to the Transvaal, in 1907 the same course was taken with regard to the Orange Free

State, then styled the Orange River Colony, and Boer Ministries took control in either case. A movement in favour of Federation or Union of the four colonies of the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State followed almost immediately. The prospective advantages to be derived from joining hands were obvious, Britons and Boers combined to speed the movement on its way, and in September, 1909, an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament which linked the four colonies into the Union of South Africa as from the 31st May, 1910, the 31st of May being the anniversary of the Vereeniging Treaty. The first Prime Minister was General Botha, who had been Prime Minister of the Transvaal, and his principal colleague was General Smuts. The new State was, as its name declared, a union, not a federation, the power left to the constituent provinces was small, the central government was more omnipotent than that of the Dominion of Canada, far more than the Commonwealth Government in Australia. The process of unifying or federating in the groups of self-governing colonies was now in the main complete, and, when the Imperial Conference of 1911 was held, five Prime Ministers represented respectively Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland. But between the meeting of 1902 and that of 1911 there had been a conference in 1907, and much progress had been made alike in giving definite form and shape to the Councils of the Empire and in directing attention to the all-important subject of co-ordination for purposes of defence.

In order rightly to appreciate the later phases of the story of the Empire, it is necessary to bear in mind how speedy, comparatively speaking, was the progress of evolution when once it began. Brief intervals of years brought new and more spacious views on the colonies, and the views found expression in altered

terminology. It is less than forty years since in 1887, curiously late in the day, there was the beginning of consultation within the Empire with a view to more concerted action. At the meeting at Ottawa in 1894, the representatives still spoke of the colonies as dependencies, but in 1907 even the terms colonies and colonial were no longer deemed adequate. Similarly, in order to grasp the difficulties attending questions of defence round which consultation largely centred and for which co-operation was most needed, it must be remembered that what was best for the Empire, regarded as a single unit, had to be harmonised with the growing sense of nationality in each part of the Empire, and that the experts who knew that war had become more and more an exact science, that concentration of forces both on land and sea was an imperative necessity, were hard put to it to bring the truth home to minds versed in the traditions of constantly present garrisons, fortifications and ships of war. The Home Government had long been moving in the direction of concentration, of defence of the Empire on an organised system. A Royal Commission had marked out a few ports only to be fortified and garrisoned as coaling stations for the navy, a standing Colonial Defence Committee had been constituted in 1885, and the South African War brought to birth a Committee of Imperial Defence. The doctrine of the Admiralty was that the sea is one and the fleet is one, and that salvation of the whole Empire must be sought and can only be found not in piecemeal protection of widely sundered parts, but in combined strength at the main danger points. As the German menace grew, the main danger point was near home in the North Sea. But, while all statesmen in the Empire turned their eyes on the same object, the safety of all, they looked at it of necessity from somewhat different angles.

In 1906, four years from the 1902 meeting, another Colonial Conference was due, and in 1905 a preliminary despatch was written by Mr. Lyttelton to the self-governing colonies. It contained suggestions which made a new departure, for the time seemed to have come to define what had been indefinite, to give permanence to what had been occasional. It was proposed that under the title of Imperial Council, the Colonial Conference should be a recognised institution, a four-yearly meeting of the Secretary of State for the Colonies with the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies, and that continuity between the meetings should be maintained by a Standing Commission supplementing and subordinate to the Imperial Council. Mention was now made of India in a suggestion that where Indian interests were concerned India should be represented on the council. A distinct forward movement was thus outlined, the initiative coming from the mother country.

The proposals met with a varied reception overseas, and Canada in particular dissented, fearing encroachment upon Canadian autonomy. Change of Government in the United Kingdom postponed the Conference till 1907. When it met there was much difference of opinion, but in the end substantial changes were made. The Colonial Conference was renamed Imperial Conference, the self-governing colonies took the title of Dominions, within the Colonial Office a separate Dominions Department was constituted and a Secretariat for the Conference, and it was laid down that future meetings should be recognised as meetings of governments, that the Chairman should be not a head of a Department, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but the head of the Government in the United Kingdom, the Prime Minister. All the changes were in the direction of emphasising the status of the self-governing colonies or dominions, of drawing a

clear line between them and the British Possessions which were not autonomous. The individuality of the dominions was further marked by the difference in the views expressed by their respective spokesmen. South Africa had not yet been united and could not speak with one voice, but the keynote of Australia was equality of partnership, whereas Laurier, for Canada, was concerned not so much with active co-operation as with safeguarding Canadian liberties. There was much the same difference of view in regard to Defence, but on the military side there was a consensus of opinion as to the desirability of constituting a General Staff whose advice should be available for the benefit of the whole Empire, and the resolution bore fruit. On the naval side, little progress was made towards further co-operation, and in a short time Australia entered upon the construction of an Australian fleet in preference to making a money contribution to the Royal Navy.

The Conference had agreed that in the four year intervals subsidiary conferences should be held on special subjects if thought necessary. The German Navy grew apace, and in the same year, 1909, in which New Zealand took up the challenge, a special Defence Conference was held in London, which resulted in marked progress towards co-ordination in naval and military defence. There had been no question from the first, there could be none, that when the self-governing colonies took charge of their own land defence the local defence forces must be under the sole control of the local governments. Officers from the Regular Army were borrowed to command them in their earlier stages, distinguished soldiers, when requested to do so, made periodical inspections, but the dominion defence forces, so far as they had actual being, were small national armies, and the object of conferences was not to fuse them,

but to promote uniformity of training organisation and equipment throughout the Empire, so that in case of war they would all easily combine with the home army into a more or less homogeneous whole. Adjustment on the sea was a more difficult matter, but, when 1909 came, a compromise had been found by which those dominions, such as Australia and Canada, which in the spirit of nationhood wished to own and control their own fleets in preference to subsidising the Royal Navy, should construct not local flotillas for coastal purposes only, but definitive fleet units which would in case of emergency fit into and become integral parts of a single Empire Navy. In defence, as in all other matters, the same problem presented itself, how to find the greatest common measure of diversity and unity, how to reconcile the growing sense of national development in the parts with the integrity of the whole.

The Imperial Conference of 1911 was the last before the Great War. Once more the meeting coincided with a Royal celebration, the Coronation of the present King. General Botha now spoke for United South Africa, and Australia was represented by a Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Fisher. The main feature of the gathering was that the overseas representatives were brought into the inmost shrine and were made fully acquainted in secret conclave with the international position as bearing on the subject of Empire Defence. It was agreed that in future, as occasion required, Dominion Ministers should take their places at the Committee of Imperial Defence, and another sign of the times was a resolution which contemplated the possibility of holding future conferences in one or other of the dominions. Full equality of partnership was speeding on its way, and at the same time as they grew, in the course of healthy growth, alike in the conferences and in what followed from the conferences, the young

peoples gave increasing evidence of separate individuality. They were all young by the side of the Old Country, but each had its own outlook, its own political and industrial setting. Canada, at length listening to the call of the sea, had passed a Naval Service Act in 1910, but little action was taken under it, and Sir Robert Borden was unable to carry his proposals for adding, as an emergency measure, immediate strength to the Royal Navy. Australia, on the other hand, having resolved on an Australian fleet, lost no time in translating resolve into action, and Australian ships were an appreciable asset when the war came. On land, Canada and the Pacific Dominions sought and took advice as to their military forces from the best British soldiers of the day. The present Lord French inspected the Canadian defence force in 1910, and Sir Ian Hamilton in 1913. Lord Kitchener in 1910 advised the Australian and New Zealand Governments at the outset of their compulsory military training systems, and Hamilton inspected their forces on the eve of the war in the first half of 1914.

Lord Kitchener's visit to Australia and New Zealand was paid at the end of his term as Commander-in-Chief in India. In India he had reorganised the army and the military system with a view to immediate mobilisation in the event of war. Over and above its unified military organisation, and in spite of the multiplicity of its human ingredients, India was moving step by step in the same general direction as the Dominions towards unity and corporate life.

In British India, Lord Morley's Indian Councils Act of 1909 greatly added to the non-official members of the Legislative Councils, introducing an elective element, and while in the Governor-General's Council, the Central Legislature, an official majority was retained, in the Provincial Councils non-official members predominated. While in British

India more place was thus given to Indian representation, in the Native Principalities the status of the Ruling Chiefs was fully recognised and maintained, and "the Princes and Peoples" of India joined in welcoming the King Emperor when in December, 1911, he held in person his Coronation Durbar at Delhi, where had been the Court of the later Mogul Emperors, and which was now chosen to be, in place of Calcutta, the headquarters of the Government of India.

One more instance may be taken of the trend of the time, towards the creation of larger units, self-sufficing units, within the Empire, of movement in a diametrically opposite direction to the policy of old-time Empires, the policy of *divide et impera*. From the 1st of January, 1914, Northern and Southern Nigeria were combined to form a single province, the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, and to Sir Frederick Lugard's ripe experience was entrusted the task of working out an amalgamation which involved, as in India, partnership of Colony and Protectorate, of a great trading centre on the coast with organised Moslem states in the interior, and intermediate between the coast and the Emirates of Northern Nigeria, pagan communities emerging from barbarism. Nigeria was in the making when the war came, but the making went on through and in spite of the war, although the war did not merely mutter at a distance but was present loud-voiced on the spot, for the German Cameroons were coterminous with Nigeria. But there was no undoing, enmity without was not echoed within. So it was in the Empire generally. In 1914 the whole and the parts were in the making, the war did not destroy, it did not retard, the work of creation. On the contrary, for good or ill, it forced the pace.

SECTION II

1914—1923

A GENERATION and more must pass before the late war is seen in true perspective, before its full effects upon the story of the Empire can be measured aright, but some of its main features stand out beyond dispute and the judgment upon them to-day is likely to be the judgment of history. In the first year of the war, in June, 1915, fell the centenary of Waterloo. In the war which ended at Waterloo it has been seen that the Indian Army appreciably contributed to British successes in the East, and that Canadians, with a sprinkling of Newfoundlanders, fought hard and well in defence of Canada when the United States entered the lists against Great Britain. Otherwise the fight against Napoleon was carried through on the British side by the Old Country alone. In the Old Country it was a National War—none more so—in the sense that British sailors and soldiers fought the battles of their country and their countrymen, but it was not, as was the war of a hundred years later, a fight in which the whole British nation was actively engaged. In the late war, nations were mobilised, not parts of nations, and in the British Empire or Commonwealth the whole Empire or Commonwealth came into action, not one part only, the mother country alone or almost alone. This was not only a fact, it constituted a claim, a historic claim on the part of the overseas peoples. "I am not one of those who think that the Dominions came into the war simply to assist what we are all pleased

and proud to call the mother country. I do not look at it from that point of view at all. We came into the war as Oversea Dominions of the Empire because we are part of the Empire and because the Empire to which we belong was being attacked." These were the words of the Prime Minister of New Zealand at the Imperial Conference of 1917 in the midst of the war. The overseas peoples came to fight because it was their war; proud and glad to help the Old Country, that was not their main standpoint; they came in their own right, and their armies upheld that right by equality of fighting and of sacrifice. It was all the result of a hundred years of growth. The war was the greatest demonstration of force in the history of the world, but it supplied a crowning proof that the British Empire is not an artificial creation of force, not one more instance of a dominant power with a train of coerced subjects, but a partnership of peoples in varying stages of growth. It is true that there were exceptions. Within an area of more than one-fifth of the world there must have been exceptions. There were two serious armed risings; one was close at home, in Ireland, where Irish history in part repeated itself; the other was in South Africa and was quelled by South Africans alone, by Boers and Britons combined under Boer leadership. There was a disturbance in Ceylon, not directed against the government: an Indian battalion or part of a battalion mutinied at Singapore: there were ugly symptoms of unrest in some quarters, there was apathy or indifference in others; but throughout more than four years of decimating war, when the Old Country was straitened as never before, in the face of failure and reverse, in spite of ceaseless enemy propaganda and intrigue, the loyalty of the Empire as a whole was unshaken, and unmoved was its resolve that it would stand fast and endure to the end.

It was the result of growth, among the coloured peoples of growth under trusteeship and tutelage which found acceptance, even where force had lately been used. The war itself came in the process of growth and contributed to more growth. The most advanced communities, the self-governing dominions, completed their nationhood in the war, even as their armed forces developed organisation and self-dependence as the war went on, until in the last months they had become national armies under their own commanders, second to none of the forces engaged. India, in and because of the war, registered an indefeasible claim to be recognised as a composite national unit, and the less advanced peoples moved perceptibly further from dependence and nearer to equality. In past ages, since modern history began, Europe had in war times dominated, conquered or saved from conquest other continents. Multitudes from other continents now came to decide the fate of Europe, and from East, South and West came the sons of the Empire. They came not because they were subject to military domination, but for the opposite reason, in order to put an end to military domination. That was their cause, and with that cause they associated the Old Country. "The strength of England lies not in armaments and invasions. . . . Every land wherein she favours the sentiments of freedom, every land wherein she but forbids them be stifled, is her own; a true ally, a willing tributary, an inseparable friend. Principles hold those together whom power would only alienate." [1] A hundred years after these words were written, a time of armaments and invasions proved their truth.

Associating their cause with the Old Country, the peoples and chieftains of the Empire were from the very first mindful that the Old Country is a crowded

[1] Walter Savage Landor, *Imaginary Conversations.*

island, dependent upon supplies from other lands, and that the enemy was on its threshold. Gifts in profusion were sent across the ocean, the variety of the gifts testifying to the various resources of the Empire, and from all quarters came generous contributions of money to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund. Before war was actually declared, offers of Expeditionary Forces reached the War Office, for what came to pass was not unexpected, though it came rapidly, almost suddenly, in its final development. Overseas even more than in Great Britain, there seems to have been a kind of unerring instinct that the day of trial was at hand, when the existence of the Empire would be in the balance, and when its sons and citizens would have to prove once for all whether it stood or did not stand for freedom and democracy.

In the North Sea was concentrated the main sea power of England, and in the keeping of the navy was the final issue of the fight. Across the Channel went the Expeditionary Force to win imperishable fame, small in numbers as compared with the legions of the Continent, but in quality and stamina, in discipline and training, in the very first rank of soldiers of all time. On the main front in the first stages of the war, the mother country stood alone for the Empire, only home Britons fought and died on the retreat from Mons and joined in stemming the German onrush at the Battle of the Marne. The first troops of the Empire to come in from overseas came from the ever ready Indian Army. In September, 1914, the Lahore and Meerut divisions landed at Marseilles and by the end of October were in the fighting line. Other Indian units followed. Indian Princes came to give personal service in the war, as in all other ways they had given lavishly of their best, and the last days of Lord Roberts were spent in visiting the lines of Indian fighting men whose worth he knew so well. Through

the whole war, in many campaigns and on many fields, the Indian Army played manfully its part. Indian soldiers were at the capture of Tsingtau in China, they guarded the Suez Canal, they served in East Africa, one Indian battalion fought in the Cameroons. Mesopotamia was especially within their sphere. In Palestine, in 1918, when the crisis on the Western Front called off to France a large proportion of Allenby's British soldiers, from India came the men to replace them, and Indian horsemen had their full share in the final sweep of victory. Great in the war was the record of the Princes and Peoples of India.

The first Canadian contingent reached England in the middle of October, 1914, but there was much training to be done on Salisbury Plain, and with the exception of one famous battalion of old soldiers, Princess Patricia's Light Infantry, the Canadians did not come into the fighting line until the beginning of March, 1915. Young citizen soldiers, new to discipline and to war, once for all they made their own and their country's name when, in the second Battle of Ypres, at St. Julien on the 22nd of April, 1915, they stood their ground, while the Germans for the first time launched their poison gas. In the Battles of the Somme, at Vimy Ridge, their special triumph, in the final phases of the deadly fighting on the Passchendaele slopes, in the last great glorious advance which began in August, 1918, they went from strength to strength, and the Armistice found Canadians in Mons. It was a dramatic ending, which seemed to tell the story of the Empire, ever old and ever young. The town from which at the beginning the mother country's choicest fighting men, " the old Contemptibles," had fallen back, outnumbered but invincible, waiting and dying for what was to come, was in the end re-entered by the young victorious army of the premier self-governing dominion. Canadian fighting was almost

wholly on the main, the Western Front. So also, for the most part, was Canadian work outside the fighting line. In railway construction and in lumber work Canadians took the first place, skilled in their own land in woodcraft and in railway construction under all conditions.

More dispersed but equally noteworthy were the war efforts of the Australians and the New Zealanders. At the beginning of the war they accounted for German possessions in the Pacific, glad to root out what, if they had had their will, would never have been. The Australians had some small fighting in the capture of German New Guinea, the New Zealanders occupied Samoa. In its infancy the Australian Navy, the only Dominion Navy, fully justified its creation, for the flagship, the *Australia*, outclassed any German vessel in the Pacific, and an Australian light cruiser, the *Sydney*, in November, 1914, made an end of the raiding *Emden*. The first land contingents from the two dominions, designed for the Western Front, were in November and December, 1914, disembarked in Egypt. There on the desert plain they completed their training, and some of the New Zealanders took part in the defence of the Canal against the Turks. In the spring of 1915 the main body was sent to the Dardanelles, and with the memorable landing at Anzac on the 25th of April, began the baptism of fire. The valour and tenacity of the young soldiers of the South in this their first terrible venture in war on a great scale was matched by the temper of the peoples who sent them to fight, and who abstained from criticism of an enterprise so costly of life and to outward seeming so conspicuous a failure. Returned to and reorganised in Egypt, multiplied in numbers, in 1916 the infantry went on to the Western Front; and how the Australian Corps and the New Zealand Division fought respectively

in one area and another is matter of history. On the Somme, at Messines, at Passchendaele, before Amiens in the darkest hour of 1918, in the final advance, they earned great fame. Equally famous were the exploits of the mounted troops of the two dominions, who served with marked distinction throughout the campaigns of the Sinai Peninsula and of Palestine. Whether in the trenches of Gallipoli or when riding them down in Palestine, the Anzacs took heavy toll of the Turkish armies. New Zealand sent Maories, a fighting breed, as well as white men to the war, and in the Labour Corps on the Sinai front Raratongans from the Cook Islands held a high place. They also must be credited to New Zealand.

Only one Empire unit from the western world served in Gallipoli. This was the Newfoundland Regiment, which later well merited the title which was conferred upon it of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. It came to Gallipoli late in 1915 when the main fighting was over, and it passed on to France, having been given a place in one of the most renowned of the Old Country units, the Twenty-ninth Division. Newfoundland had no defence force whatever before the war, no nucleus of or training school for soldiers, the Newfoundlanders knew nothing of war. Yet, in like manner as seasoned veterans, they fought and fell. At Beaumont Hamel, on the opening day of the Battles of the Somme in 1916, the battalion was nearly wiped out, and later a similar fate befell them at Monchy le Preux. But drafts were forthcoming to replace the fallen, and the regiment was maintained to the end. On sea, Newfoundland well upheld its tradition as a nursery of sailors. Royal Naval Reservists had long been its specific contribution to the defence of the Empire, and in the war, in proportion to its population, it sent more sailors to the King's ships than any other dominion or colony,

men of skill and hardihood whose calling was on the sea.

South Africans fought on many fields. They had fighting at home and near home, in the South African Rebellion and in the conquest of German South-West Africa, both carried through entirely by white South African troops under General Botha. South Africans formed the large majority of the white troops employed in the East African Campaign, where for a year General Smuts controlled the operations with signal success, his place being taken in the latest stages of the campaign by another Boer leader, General Van Deventer. A noble South African infantry brigade took part in the campaign against the Senussi on the North-West of Egypt, and passing on to the main Western Front fought till more than once the brigade was all but killed out, peculiarly memorable for its heroic stand at Delville Wood in the Battle of the Somme, and later in the great German thrust of 1918. Southern Rhodesia sent its full quota and more to the war, both white and coloured regiments, and a coloured unit from the Union of South Africa, the Cape Corps, rendered excellent service.

The British West Indies Regiment was the united contribution in man power of the West Indian Colonies, Jamaica, with far the largest population, sending by far the greatest number of soldiers. Two of the battalions fought well in Palestine ; the majority were not in action, but did good service in Europe behind the fighting lines. Some of them, especially from British Honduras, a land of creeks and rivers, were employed on Inland Water Transport Service in Mesopotamia, to which West Africa also contributed. The West African Frontier Force, very especially the Gold Coast Regiment and the Nigerian Brigade, had an admirable record in the war. At the beginning the Gold Coast men, with French co-operation, made

short work of the Germans in Togoland. In the Cameroons the British forces were nearly all West African soldiers. In East Africa, after the Cameroons had been conquered, the Gold Coast Regiment, the Nigerian Brigade, and the Gambia Company served with distinction, and West Africans were mobilised for service in the East when the collapse of the Turks made further effort unnecessary. Constantly multiplied battalions of the King's African Rifles, in whose charge is the eastern side of Africa, were continuously employed throughout the war in and on all sides of German East Africa, and for fighting, still more for labour and transport, the East Africa Protectorate, now Kenya Colony, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, were more or less mobilised from first to last. All units of the Empire, in short, great and small alike, contributed in man power to the common cause in addition to contributions in money and in kind. Bermuda from its tiny area sent both white and coloured contingents. Far off Fiji provided detachments of white fighting men and an admirable Fijian labour force. Outside the limits of the Empire, wherever British citizens or the sons of British citizens were to be found, the call of the race was heard and the sound of the guns seemed to be carried across the seas. Some thousands, for instance, came to fight from Argentina, many of them not born in the Old Country, some of them hardly speaking its tongue, but with the love of their fathers' land instinct within them. It was a wonderful unprecedented effort of freewill co-operation; even where there was conscription, the peoples conscripted themselves. History, too, will record that, while the great oversea provinces came warring in their own right, they came not only mindful of Britain's past, but also with Britain's present example before their eyes. The Old Country's effort and sacrifice was supreme; in the darkest days

of 1918 the spirit of its people was unmoved, and all the British story of all the centuries culminated in the last great keeping of the sea.

In March, 1923, the British Empire casualties in the war were given in the House of Commons as follows:—

	Men Enrolled	Killed	Wounded
United Kingdom	6,211,427	743,702	1,693,262
Dominions and Colonies	1,605,527	140,923	357,785
India	1,679,416	61,398	70,859
Total	9,496,370	946,023	2,121,906

Co-operation makes for equality. Co-operation on such a colossal scale as the war called forth, and so prolonged, could not but have an equalising tendency throughout the Empire. All parts, all colours, registered, even if they did not press, claims to fuller recognition than before. The Prime Ministers of the self-governing dominions took their places in the Imperial War Cabinet, and equality of nationhood, to use Sir Robert Borden's phrase, was, as far as the dominions were concerned, placed beyond dispute. At the Imperial War Conference of 1917, a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that "The readjustment of the Constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire" should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the end of the war, and that "any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the dominions and India to an adequate

voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of Imperial concern and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine." Thus, whereas at the Ottawa Conference of 1894 the term dependencies was still used in connection with the self-governing colonies, now they were defined as autonomous nations. Their status was still further emphasised at the meetings of 1918, when it was agreed that on matters of cabinet importance the Dominion Prime Ministers should be entitled to communicate direct with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom instead of through the Colonial Office. When after the war the signatures of the Prime Ministers were appended to the Treaty of Versailles, when the dominions which they represented were constituted in their own right individual members of the League of Nations, and when mandates were allotted to Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, it was made patent to the whole world that the self-governing dominions had become partner peoples in the British Empire and that the British Empire had itself developed into a League of Nations. A still further development of dominion nationhood took place when, on 2nd March, 1923, a fisheries treaty between Canada and the United States was signed by a Canadian Minister alone without the added signature of the British Ambassador at Washington. To the list of self-governing dominions has now been added, by the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act of 1922, the Irish Free State with two houses in its Legislature, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Northern Ireland—six counties of Ulster—also possesses self-governing institutions, a Senate and a House of Commons; but local self-government in this latter case is coupled with representation in

the British Parliament. Self-government within limits has lately been accorded to two widely different units of the Empire, the Island of Malta and Southern Rhodesia, but neither of them can be placed in the category of dominions.

Very noteworthy has been the advance in status made by India, for representative institutions on British lines are not indigenous in Indian soil; in former ages, even under the Mogul dynasty, the whole of India was never a single unit, and widening political liberty in British India, together with a growing sense of unity throughout India, are the outcome of British administration and control. At the Imperial War Conference of 1917 it was agreed that India ought to be fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences, and it has been seen that specific mention was made of India in the resolution as to the readjustment of Constitutional relations within the Empire after the war. Strong resentment had been felt in India at the ban placed on the entry of native Indian subjects into the dominions and the treatment accorded to them when resident in the dominions. At the Imperial Conferences of 1917 and 1918 it was endeavoured to remedy this grievance by recommending that as between the dominions and India there should be reciprocal treatment of their respective citizens. India was represented in the War Cabinet, the Secretary of State for India for British India, the Maharajah of Bikanir for the Indian Princes, signed the Treaty of Versailles, and before the war ended preparation was being made for constitutional changes in India of unprecedented magnitude. In 1917 the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, went out to India, took counsel with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, with the result that a joint report, the famous Montagu-Chelmsford Report, was issued, and following upon it, in 1919, a Government of India Act was passed

which with the rules framed under it and sanctioned by Parliament in the following year, has carried British India far on the road towards self-government. A Central or Indian Legislature has been created, consisting of the Governor-General and two Chambers, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, in both of which there is a majority of elected members. New Legislative Councils on a more popular basis than before have been given to the Provinces. The spheres of the Central and the Provincial Administrations respectively have been defined, and in regard to various specified subjects authority has been delegated to the Provinces. But alike in the Central and in the Provincial Legislatures, limitations are set to self-government, and large emergency powers are vested in the Viceroy. It may be summed up that the two outstanding features of the reforms are, on the one hand, an extensive measure of decentralisation and, on the other hand, alike at the Centre and in the Provinces, the creation of what is known as dyarchy or dual government, whereby the principle of responsible government is applied in regard to certain subjects, whereas others—reserved subjects—are withheld from popular control, which operates only in regard to what are called transferred subjects, In addition, coupled with the new Constitution is wider employment of native Indians in the high offices of State and in all branches of the public service. The whole is a great experiment in the direction of making the sons of India responsible for the well-being of India, and in ten years' time from the date, January, 1921, when the new régime came into operation, the results are to be tested by a Statutory Commission. On the capacity shown for making good laws and passing wise and sound Budgets, on the evidence of deeds, not of words, will depend whether still greater powers and responsibilities can be entrusted to the elected representatives

of India. The Constitutional changes affect British India only, and the creation of a Chamber of Princes recognises but in no way impairs the status of the ruling princes of India.

India was fully represented at the post-war Imperial Conference of 1921. Useful business was done at this conference, and the discussions covered a wide field, including the Foreign Policy of the Empire, but the meeting was not marked by any important new departure, and the recommendation of 1917 in favour of a special Imperial Conference to consider the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire was shelved in view of the developments which had taken place since the date of the resolution.

More fruitful in initiative was the Empire gathering of 1923, which concluded its labours while this book was passing through the Press. The Irish Free State sent representatives in line with the other self-governing Dominions, and by the side of the Imperial Conference sat an Imperial Economic Conference. Foreign relations, Defence, the treaty making Power to which the recent Agreement between Canada and the United States, already referred to, had called special attention, the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire were among the important questions handled at the Imperial Conference. At the Economic Conference Imperial Preference was greatly to the fore.

When Turkey entered into the war, and as the result of her entry, Cyprus, which up to that date had not belonged to but only been occupied and administered by Great Britain, was annexed and by right of conquest, though no force was needed or used, became a British island, all Turkish rights and claims being swept away. Egypt, too, was set free from Turkish suzerainty and from tribute to Turkey, and formally placed under British Protectorate. But the Protectorate has since been cancelled and Egypt—

not including the Sudan—is now in terms an independent sovereign state but in special relations with the British Government. The end of the war brought large additions to the Empire, all of them the outcome of British conquest, either single-handed or in co-operation with the Allies, and all added under a new form of tenure, still further increasing the diversity of tenures which is so marked a feature of the Empire. In truth, strictly speaking, the mandated territories are not portions of the Empire, they are committed to the keeping of the Empire in trust for the League of Nations. For the mandate system is one of trusteeship, it is still in the experimental stage and has not yet been fully tested in actual working, but none can doubt the excellence of the intent or the value of construing the fruits of victory in terms not of gain but of responsibility. The provisions of the mandates, framed in the interests of freedom and of peace, well accord with the latter-day practice of Great Britain in her own dependent Empire; in day to day British administration mandated territories fare alike with colonies or protectorates, and as colonies or protectorates are of different kinds and in different stages, so also are the mandated territories. Some of the British mandates, as has already been said, are held by the dominions. The Union of South Africa is mandatory for South West Africa, Australia for what was German New Guinea, New Zealand for Samoa. The part of Togoland in West Africa, which has been assigned under mandate to Great Britain, is administered by the Gold Coast Government; 30,000 square miles of the Cameroons by the Government of Nigeria. What was German East Africa, with the exception of two Sultanates in the north west allotted to Belgium, is now under mandate the British Province of Tanganyika.

Mesopotamia and Palestine have been mandated to

Great Britain. An Arab king has been found for Mesopotamia, or Iraq to give it its new name, and, far from desiring to retain it as a dependent kingdom, the aim of Great Britain, as shown by recent treaties, is to establish its independence. Palestine, west of the Jordan, is directly under British administration, holding the balance between rival races and creeds, but east of the Jordan another Arab kingdom has been organised and is in a somewhat similar position to that of Mesopotamia.

Difficult as it was before the war to define the British Empire, its kind and its degree, it is almost impossible now. If recourse be had to the conveniently vague term Sphere of Influence, and that term is applied in its widest sense, a statement might be made with some approach to accuracy of the regions of the world in which British predominance is an acknowledged fact. But what are the actual limits of the British Empire in the year of grace 1923 is a question without an answer.

SECTION III

THE ISLAND AND THE EMPIRE

In the quotation given at the beginning of this book Sir Robert Borden referred to the British Empire as the Britannic System, and Whitaker's Almanack has adopted the phrase British Commonwealth of Nations, telling us that it includes over one quarter of the known surface of the globe and the same proportion of the estimated number of the human race, that Africa contributes to it the largest number of square miles, and Asia fully three-quarters of the population. Empire is very commonly held to be a misnomer, as indicating military power, domination and dependence, and giving no hint of natural growth or of freedom. The word, no doubt, has a military ring, the Empires of the past were for the most part military systems, and as uniform is the mark of the soldier, so uniformity more or less characterised the old time unregenerate Empires, whereas nothing is more alien than uniformity to the British Empire. Yet in the Middle Ages, Empire, as applied to a kingdom, denoted the independence of that kingdom, not its domination over other states and peoples, and reference has already been made to the famous statute of Henry VIII. which declared that " this realm of England is an Empire " before the British Empire had come to birth. We need not be slaves to words, the term British Empire has gathered to it legitimate pride and strong affection, and if we retain its use we shall be obeying—to quote Carlyle again—the " invincible instinct " of the English, which has so greatly contributed to the

making of the Empire, the instinct "to hold fast by the old . . . to expand, if it be possible, some old habit or method already found fruitful into new growth for the new need." Instead of discarding the word Empire, or letting it give us a bad name, we should rather insist on giving it a reformed character.

Whatever name we use, the fact remains that the island has widened into a quarter of the world. As it has widened, as the Empire has grown, so the diversities within the Empire have magnified and multiplied. Diversity is the product of life and growth, the more a living thing, plant or animal, grows the more it differs from its first beginning. Every conceivable kind of difference finds a place and remains a difference within the orbit of the British Empire. One part is dominion, another is colony, another protectorate, another leasehold, another tenure under condominium, another mandated territory; and if we include mandated territories within the limits of the Empire, outside its limits, so far as they can be defined, are to be found, as in the Persian Gulf, British spheres of influence where white trespassers will be prosecuted. By the side of Canada, which is of much the same size as Europe, is Bermuda, a far older British possession than Canada, which is less than one seventh of the size of the Isle of Wight. Yet almost from the beginning Bermuda has been a distinct unit of the Empire, with its own Legislature, and its elected House of Assembly is, outside the home waters, the oldest representative body in the Empire. Endless are the diversities of climate, natural features, colour, race, creed, tongue, customs, institutions, and the coming Exhibition will display the endless variety of products. But with the diversities is coupled a strain of continuity, and in order to make the combination intelligible we must, at the risk of repetition, end

where we began, concentrating our gaze on the Island which has been the source of it all, which is the core of it all, the Old Country.

The greatest empire of the ancient world was the empire of a peninsula, the Roman Empire. The British Empire is the empire of an island. Japan has made the beginning of an empire, but with this exception no other island than Great Britain has in historic times been an empire builder. Tyre was an island city and a queen of trade, but there was no Tyrian Empire. Venice can hardly be classed as an island, or the Venetian dependencies in the Middle Ages as an empire. If the British Empire is unique in kind, as it is unique, it must always be borne in mind that no other empire has had an island for its centre and its mother country. We have seen that this many-harboured island, with its great variety of natural features, became a dumping ground for races and was peopled by many stocks. Roman, Saxon, Dane, Norman, swarmed in, Fleming, French Huguenot, German Hansard followed on, and in the west and north the Celt held out. There were two definitive conquests of the greater part of the island, by the Romans and the Normans, parted from each other by a thousand years. Romans and Normans, each in their turn, brought into the island capacity for rule, while the Danes, beyond all others, contributed the instinct and the habit of hard-fighting and fearless adventure on sea. Seafarers, too, in their origin, and pirates, like the Danes, were our English forefathers who preceded them. They were the predominant race of all, and complete absence of uniformity marked them and their proceedings. They were not one unit to start with, they came not in a single wave of invasion but in spasmodic fashion, they made separate settlements in the island and petty kingdoms, and for centuries they were more concerned with dividing

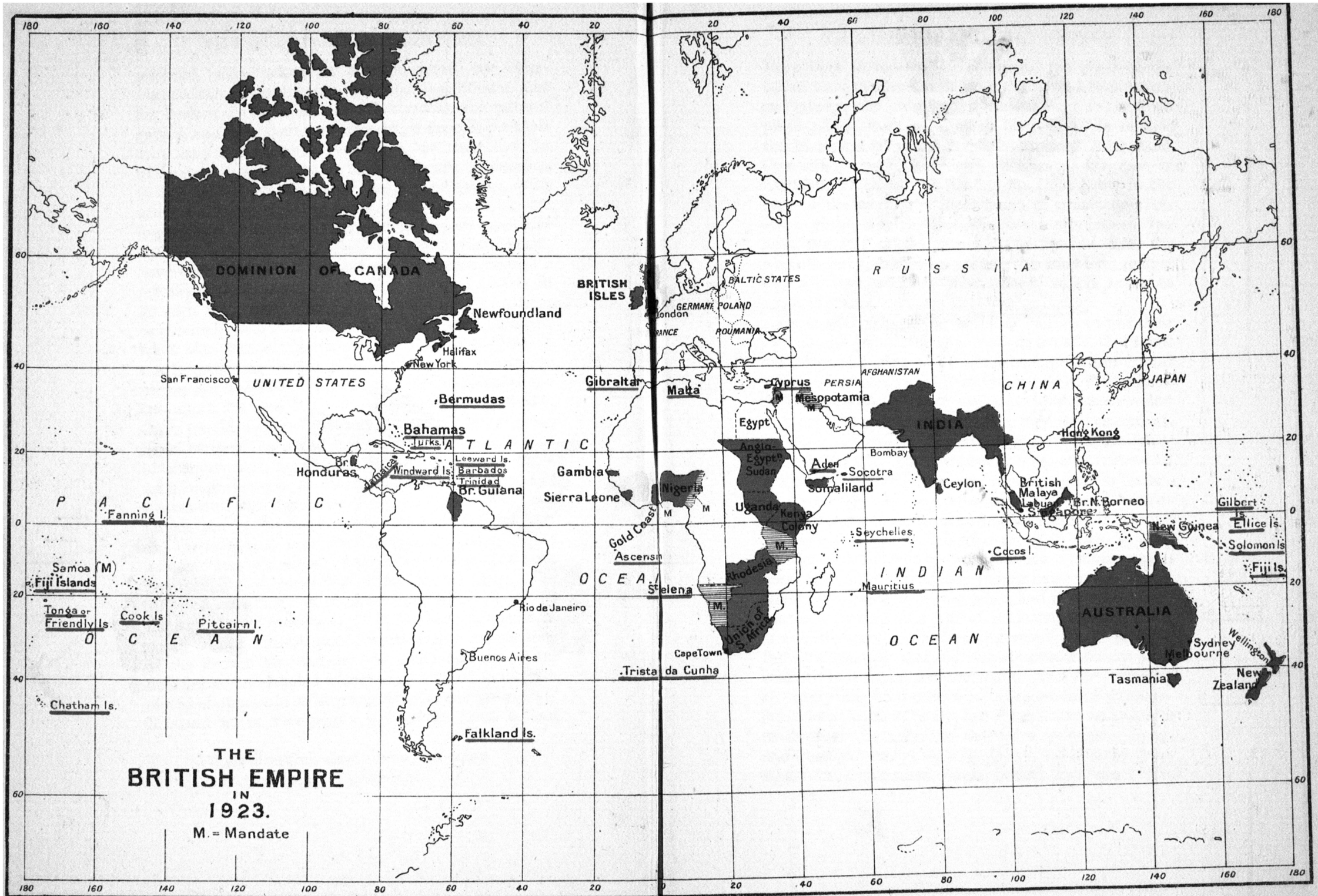
their forces than with combining them. Foreign pressure, the inroad of the Danes, was needed to bring some measure of cohesion, and as a leader against the Danes King Alfred rose to greatness. Strangely contradictory elements are in the English breed. Englishmen are the most practical of human beings, with greatest capacity for prosaic day to day work, they are the handymen among the peoples. Yet they must be gifted with imagination in high degree, for beyond all other lands England has been the birthplace of poets. Of the whole admixture within the island a great American descendant of the stock, the late Mr. Page, wrote, when under his eyes it was being tested in the war, "This island's breed is the best there is. An Englishman or a Scotchman is the best ancestor in this world, many as his shortcomings are . . . The race is the sea-mastering race and the navy managing race and the ocean carrying race, the race is the literary race, the exploring and settling and colonising race, the race to whom fair play appeals, and that insists on individual development." [1]

He speaks in this passage of the island breed or race. The term island people or peoples would have been closer to the absolute truth, for in the island as in the island's Empire unity has never killed out diversity. Apart from size, geographical position and natural advantages, great has been the service of the island to its sons from the simple fact of being an island. Because it was not geographically continuous with other countries, it gave to the islanders greater continuity of history than has been vouchsafed to other peoples, for geographical continuity does not bring with it continuity of history. Too often the history of continental peoples has been rushed or

[1] *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, by Burton J. Hendrick. Lond. William Heinemann, Ltd., 1923. Vol. ii. p. 131; letter of 22nd May, 1916.

retarded, side-tracked or fore-shortened, by interference from or interfering with their neighbours, and for historical continuity, in other words, for natural growth and unbroken development of peoples on their own lines and in their own ways, we must look in preference to islands or to all-but-islands, peninsulas. It was in the peninsulas of the Mediterranean, with water on three sides and mountain barriers on the fourth, that history went forward in bygone ages, and the central peninsula of Italy led the ancient world. Severance from the Continent gave to Great Britain a priceless opportunity for running its own course in its own way, and when, but not until, all political connection with the Continent had been severed, when the days of Queen Elizabeth came to pass, it ran its widening course in fullest measure. Once the continuity was rudely interrupted and expansion was cut short, by the War of American Independence. Once the Ministers of the day in Britain forgot what breed of men the island had nurtured and what kind of Empire that breed had brought to birth. In a fatal hour they shaped their policy in the direction of systematic and dominant Empire, but, while they forgot, the island stock across the seas did not, nor did the wisest of that stock within the island. The outcome was stupendous failure, which has not been repeated, for a lesson was learnt for all time. The sense of continuity is in the island blood and runs through all our literature. "It has been the uniform policy of our Constitution," wrote Burke at the time of the French Revolution, "to claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers and to be transmitted to our posterity." England is, in Tennyson's well-known lines, a land

> "Where Freedom slowly broadens down
> From precedent to precedent."



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1923.

M. = Mandate

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More than in most other countries, the poets of the island have made its past their theme and inspiration, as witness the number of Shakespeare's historical plays which treat of English history, while outside the historical plays he lays the scene of *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in England, which was in his day far from being in the eyes of the world the ideal home of romance. This sense of continuity, like the continuity itself, has been the gift of the island. The Narrow Sea, the island's moat, has safeguarded the islanders against the spirit of reckless wastefulness which seeks to scrap the past.

On the other hand, by enabling its sons to run their own course without hindrance from outside, the island has given full play to all the elements within it and preserved with extraordinary vitality all the diversities. At first outlook it might well seem that fusion would be a speedier process in an island than on a continent. In older days when the world was not so crowded, when there were more vacant spaces, and tribes and peoples not yet congealed were pegging out their claims, on the mainland, if one tribe or people was ill content with its neighbours, it could find its remedy in moving on and off. But it was one thing to cross a land frontier and another to cross the sea. Having made their way into an island, immigrants found themselves, as it were, in a ring fence, and if it were a case not of a passing raid but of permanent immigration and settlement, the natural inference would be that the dwellers new and old would comparatively soon coalesce and make the best of it. But the teaching of history has been otherwise. Greeks and Carthaginians never fused in Sicily, nor Phœnicians and Greeks in Cyprus. To take the case of a peninsula, Spain and Portugal, except for a single interval of sixty years when force prevailed, have never been one. The

explanation, no doubt, is that the comparative security which the island or peninsula has given to those within it has made unity for purposes of defence against those outside a less imperative necessity than where a country has open borders, even as in our time confederation was a more pressing question for Canada than for the island continent of Australia. In all the world and in all history there has been no more notable instance of the absence of fusion than the case of Great Britain. We are too prone to forget the interminable number of centuries spent in making approaches to unity and failing to achieve it. Except for doubtful and transient claims to overlordship, we had to wait till 1603 for a single king, and a single king did not make a single kingdom. That only came to stay a hundred years later, in 1707. At the present day, England and Scotland are far from having been wholly fused. The Gaelic Highlander and the North Welshman are quite distinct from the Englishman and from each other, and speak their separate tongues. Among Englishmen the Yorkshireman is more different from the Devonian, or the Lancastrian from the man of Kent, than the average New Zealander, hailing from the most remote great province of the Empire, is from the average home county Briton. Nor is the present day tendency towards greater fusion, it is rather in the opposite direction, and the mischievous catchword of the last few years has been self-determination. In short, the island has within its own shores the nucleus of a League of Nations, and a League of Nations is the island's Empire.

The Empire of an island of necessity cannot be geographically continuous. To make the British Empire the sea mastering, ocean carrying, islanders went far afield. They obeyed their instinct, a sound business instinct, they followed the lines of least resistance, they sought not for realms to conquer but

for footholds for trade and for regions wherein to grow. In the past their kings had tried their hands at continental dominion close at hand, and had conspicuously failed. The Empire was not made under the eyes of kings and ministers, nor by set campaigns. There was too much uniformity about them for the work in hand. The English took licences from the Crown to put themselves in order in English fashion, and went far off to construe the licences at will and do the work in their own time and in their own way, and distance has ruled the Empire. It has of necessity brought difficulties in its train, but they have been far outweighed by its blessings. It is very especially this element of distance that carried into the Empire and perpetuated on a larger scale the combination of diversity and continuity which existed in the island. That there was from time to time needless and unwise interference from home with those on the spot, that the policy of British Governments, notably in the case of South Africa, was often vacillating and uncertain, has been told in the preceding pages. But taking it all in all, in spite of Navigation Laws and the Mercantile System, the various units of the Empire developed on their own lines, full play was given to diversities, there was continuity of growth, and sea power protected but did not dominate or intrude. Apart from the one great blunder which cost us the United States, we failed not at a distance but at our own doors. The past history of Ireland is a record of failure and the reason is not far to seek. There was constant conflict between uniformity and diversity, between treating the adjoining island as an integral part of the Old Country and treating it on the lines which were followed beyond the seas.

The Island of Great Britain, because it is an island, has made the Empire of the kind that it is. What in

turn has the Empire done for the island? Except in the sense of literally adding thousands and millions of square miles to the shores of Great Britain, it has infinitely enlarged the Old Country's borders and changed its conditions. Without the Empire, Great Britain would be a shrunken island with a different and a narrower life. Instead of being within its four seas an independent island, it is now a province of a world-wide Commonwealth, the oldest and most honoured province, the senior partner, but dependent on the other provinces and requiring to be supplemented by them if it is to continue to run its course on the existing lines of natural growth. Overseas its sons have been true to type, and all the world over they have impressed the hall mark of the island, the absence of fusion coupled with the strain of continuity. There has been no imposing of uniformity in the parts any more than in the whole. French and British have not been fused in Canada, Lord Durham in his report contemplated fusion and advocated its encouragement; it never came to pass; it was not even attempted. The races have run side by side, the languages and the creeds. The self-governing institutions which were the outcome of the report, and which were of purely British origin, only served to confirm the diversities. It has been the same in South Africa. The Dutch, who in early days absorbed French Huguenot immigrants, have never been fused, and here again the grant of self-government on British lines has only endorsed the freedom not to fuse. There has been no fusion in India, though there has been growing sense of unity; and where the home government is omnipotent and there is no local self-government, there has been the fullest possible play for diversities. Malaya, for instance, has been to an extraordinary degree the scene of unrestricted coming and going and settling of diverse races, not worried

into conformity. Once more, in British dealings with native races, the method of indirect in preference to direct authority has gained in favour. This is the Protectorate method, whether the country to which it is applied is technically a Protectorate or not, the method of using and improving native institutions, of adapting them to the purposes of civilisation, in lieu of uprooting them and substituting in their place machinery of administration which is not indigenous to the soil. This in itself is as much an illustration of British sense of continuity as of British toleration of differences, and throughout the Empire in one guise or another there has been continuity of development, continuous expansion of freedom, just as there has been continuous coalescing of small units into large provinces, facilitated by the engineering skill of the constructive island breed. The railways of the Empire are a great expression of continuity.

A well-balanced combination of continuity and diversity, in plain English, ordered freedom, never lost within the island and carried from the island beyond the seas, seems to the present writer to give the key to the true interpretation of the riddle of the Empire. The latest and greatest chapter in our history ended but yesterday, and the call has come to the seagoing race to adventure once more upon the stormy seas of time. "The old order changeth, yielding place to new." It would seem that a limit has at length been set alike to territorial expansion and to predominance of sea power. The forces of the air, most potent already though still in infancy, take no count of the "inviolate sea" which has compassed the island. The world is contracting and distance is losing its power. Latter day democracy is impatient, which is the way to mar, not to make or keep empires, and it has yet to learn that the past was

not all wrong. Yet the stock has just been put supremely to the test and has been found to be the same as ever.

> "Strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

It perpetually and splendidly renews its strength beyond the seas. Why should we doubt that it will bring to the making of the future its invincible and invaluable instinct to expand old habits and methods already found fruitful into new growth for the new need?

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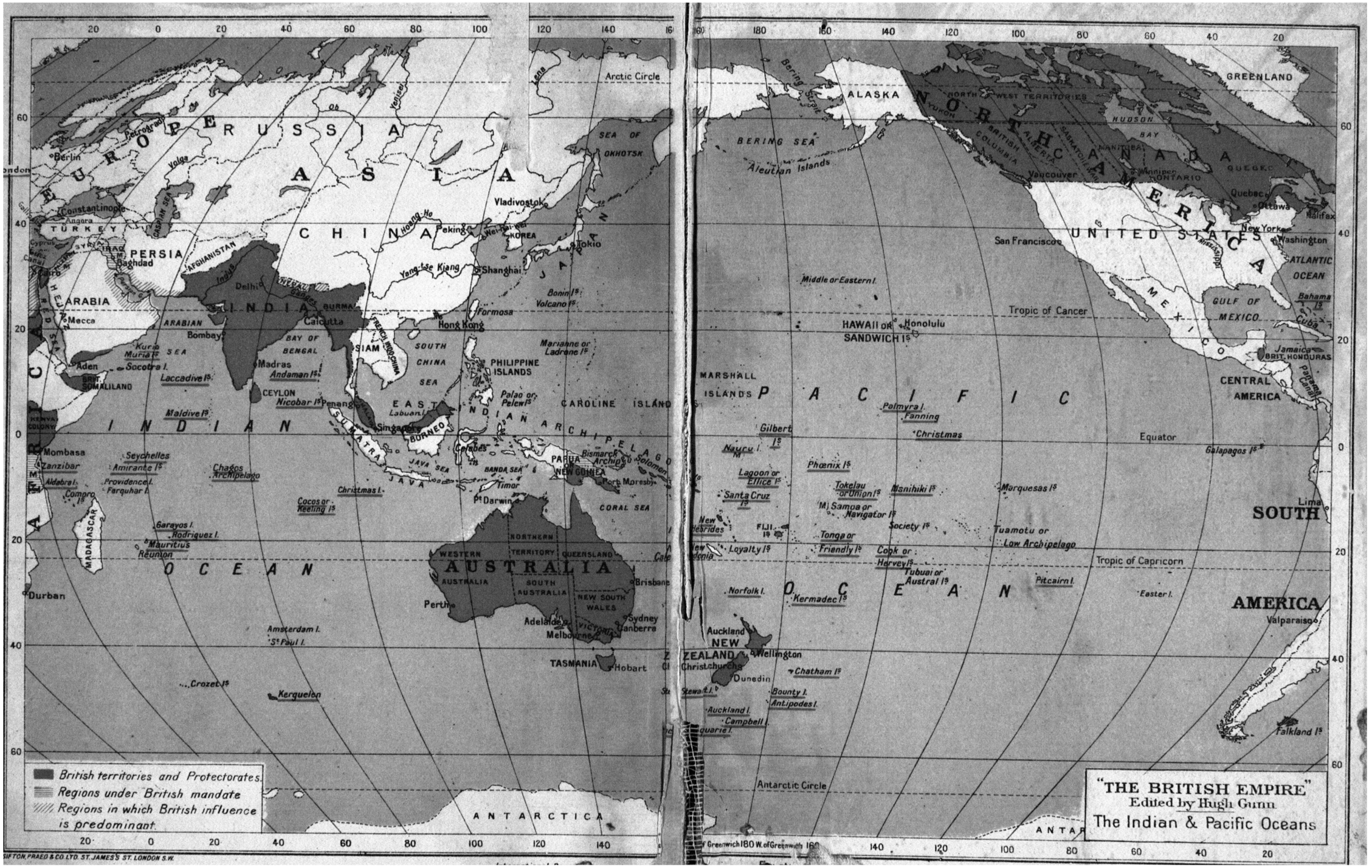
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