

A SHORT HISTORY OF  
THE BRITISH EMPIRE

# A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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## PREFACE

THE object in writing the Short History of the British Empire is to provide a book that will make an appeal not only to the student but to the general reader who is interested in Imperial questions and who realises that some historical background is essential to an understanding of present-day Imperial problems. It aims at giving in a moderate compass a general view of the development of the British Empire—more especially of the self-governing Dominions and India—dealing with social and economic as well as with political and constitutional matters. It also aims at showing the trend of British colonial policy and at tracing on broad lines the different phases in the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies:—the period of commercial restriction and monopoly in the eighteenth century which led to the loss of the American colonies, and the change in colonial policy that followed; the grant of self-government in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the possibility of self-government leading to separation; and the growth of a more conscious Imperial sentiment and of a more active Imperial policy toward the end of the nineteenth century caused partly by the development of international rivalry. In the twentieth century, with the realisation of community of interest between the various parts of the Empire, came the adoption of methods to reconcile the need for some form of Imperial union with the independence essential to the development of young and rapidly growing nations. The book does not claim to be more than a sketch of the history of the Empire, but it is hoped that it may be useful in preparing the ground for a wider and deeper study of Imperial history and problems.

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# HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

## CHAPTER I

### EUROPEAN COLONISATION

COLONIAL Empires of modern times comprise colonies and dependencies. A colony in the strict sense of the word is simply the migration of a section of society beyond the limits of the State, with which it remains more or less closely associated. In modern times a colony is always politically connected with the Mother Country and colonists carry with them, when they settle in new lands, the authority of the State from which they come. A dependency differs from a colony in that it involves the extension of the authority of the State, not only over its own citizens in other lands but also over other races, who, as a result of conquest or treaty, acknowledge its sovereign authority and are politically subject to it.

Modern colonisation begins with the geographical discoveries at the close of the Middle Ages, to which a great impetus was given by the closing of the old trade routes to the East as a result of the conquests of the Turks. The regions now thrown open to the western nations of Europe were (1) the scantily populated lands of the Western Hemisphere, hitherto quite unknown to them; and (2) the southern countries of Asia, known to Europeans from very early times but seldom visited. In the West where there was almost unlimited land open to settlement, colonisation was possible; in the East, where there were already old established, thickly populated states, trade settlements were formed and dependencies acquired. It was of the utmost importance that the geographical discoveries should have taken place at a time, when social and political conditions in Europe enabled the western nations to take advantage of the opportunities now opening to them. At the close of the Middle Ages the nations had become united; strong, centralised governments were rising, and this national unity and strength

were an indispensable background for maritime and colonial enterprise.

**Portugal.**—Spain and Portugal were the pioneers in the work of discovery and colonisation, and in 1493 a Papal Bull divided all the lands newly discovered, or hereafter to be discovered, between them, granting to Spain all the land to the west, and to Portugal all the land to the east of an imaginary line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores. The Portuguese had shown maritime enterprise all through the fifteenth century. They had explored the West Coast of Africa, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and had reached Calicut by the ocean route. The importance of this can hardly be over-estimated, for it entirely revolutionised the trade of the world. It substituted an oceanic for the Mediterranean route to the East, thus making the western nations independent of the lines of communication now under the control of the Turks; it involved the ruin of the great trading cities of the Mediterranean, Genoa and Venice, which had formerly been on the highway to the East, and through whose hands had passed the greater part of the eastern trade, and it placed the countries that faced westward on the main routes of commerce. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese established trading stations all along the new route, and with the aid of an advance guard of Jesuit missionaries, extended their trade to China and Japan. Their ascendancy, however, was of very short duration. Trade was the sole end and aim of their colonial enterprise; there was little emigration, and the settlements formed were for the most part trading stations on the coast, which were in the hands of a few merchants. The annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580 struck a fatal blow at its colonial empire, and in a few years its eastern possessions were irrevocably lost. Brazil, its one important settlement in the West, was acquired a little later than the eastern colonies; it was an agricultural settlement from the first, and remained a colony until the nineteenth century.

**Spain.**—The Spanish were the leaders of western exploration, and looked across the Atlantic in the hope of discovering the western route to the Moluccas, which would enable them to share in the trade of the Spice Islands. Columbus discovered the Bahamas in 1492, and on a later journey reached the mainland of America. Others followed in his track. By the end of the fifteenth century the coasts of South and Central America and the West Indies were well known to Spanish navigators, and in 1520 Magellan sailed round Cape Horn and opened up the south-western route to the East. The Spanish could claim, by virtue of the Papal Bull,

the whole of the Western hemisphere with the exception of Brazil; the lands actually occupied by them were the larger West Indian Islands and the coasts of South and Central America. The lands in America—Mexico, Peru and Chili—were already inhabited by politically organised nations who were forced into subjection; consequently they were dependencies rather than colonies, and were valued almost entirely for the precious metals found there. The immediate result was to pour into Spanish coffers the gold and silver of the New World, but the prosperity thus gained was short lived. Spain was always a State-ridden country, and the colonies suffered from the paralysing effect of Government interference. Moreover, in the effort to keep all the wealth of the New World for Spain alone, the system of commercial monopoly was carried to extremes, and the development of trade and industry was hampered. As a result of this policy the colonies of Spain were after the first few years relatively less profitable than those of any other country of Europe.

**Holland.**—The colonial power of the Dutch rose as the Portuguese empire declined. All through the sixteenth century the Dutch had had the European carrying trade in their hands, and had distributed throughout Europe the produce of the East brought by Portuguese ships to Lisbon. As long as Portugal remained independent they met with no opposition, but after its annexation by Spain the port of Lisbon was closed to them, and they were forced either to give up the trade entirely or to get their merchandise themselves directly from the East. They chose the latter alternative, and built up a colonial empire in the East Indies, with Batavia, the capital of Java, as their centre.

Like the Portuguese, the Dutch colonial system had not the elements of permanence. Trading interests predominated and the settlers were harassed by arbitrary restrictions and regulations. Political conditions at home were unfavourable to successful colonisation, for the country was not large enough and the Government was not sufficiently centralised to maintain a great colonial empire, and towards the end of the seventeenth century the struggle with the French absorbed all the energy of the State.

**France.**—French colonial enterprise was active in the seventeenth century both in the New World and in the East. By the end of the seventeenth century the French had colonised Acadia and Quebec, claimed the valley of the Mississippi, established settlements in the West Indies and on the West Coast of Africa, and the French East India Company had trading stations in India. In the eighteenth century schemes of political conquest were

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formed and a great colonial empire seemed about to arise. Here again, however, the elements of permanence and stability were wanting, and the vast colonial possessions of the French were suddenly lost by the victories of Clive in India and of Wolfe in Canada, just when their schemes of political power seemed about to be realised. French colonisation owed more to the Government than to the people. The French Government set itself deliberately to build up a colonial empire, but the French were not an emigrating nation, and the Huguenots, who were willing to settle abroad, were rigidly excluded from all French territories. Except in Acadia and Canada French occupation consisted only of a few trading and military stations; the framework of the empire was there, but nothing more. Yet the French were in some respects good colonisers; they were a very adaptable race, they were always successful in dealing with native tribes, and their colonial policy was more enlightened than that of most other countries, for there was no jealous exclusion of foreigners and the mother country was often heavily taxed for the sake of the colonies. The great fault of the French Government was that it tried to do too much. Its policy was inconsistent, alternating between arbitrary interference and complete neglect; it exhausted its energies in trying to assert the claim of France to be the supreme arbitrator in European questions, and this European policy proved fatal to its colonial empire.

**England.**—English colonisation began rather later than that of the other European nations, and the growth of the colonies was slow, though steady. England was well suited, both by position and climate, to give birth to a race of colonists. Its insular position, its outlook towards the west, and its temperate climate, were all favourable to maritime enterprise. England was not overpopulated, but the political and religious strife of the seventeenth century was favourable to emigration, and in spite of religious persecution at home, religious refugees were allowed to found colonies under the protection of the State. The comparatively large numbers that were sent out, together with the climate and character of the land occupied, were favourable to the formation of agricultural settlements and to the growth of a hardy and industrious population. English colonisation was throughout the work of individuals rather than of the Government and owed a great deal in early days to freedom from Government interference.

## CHAPTER II

### SKETCH OF ENGLISH COLONIAL POLICY

**Maritime Enterprise under the Tudors.**—The Tudor sovereigns did not do very much to encourage discovery, but in England, as elsewhere, it was a recognised principle that patents for the discovery of new lands could be issued by the sovereign, that all land not already in the possession of another European nation could be claimed in his name, and that the territorial ownership of all land so claimed rested with the Crown. The sovereign could treat this land as his private and personal estate, and though purchase from the natives was sometimes made for purposes of practical convenience, such purchase was not valid as against a Government grant, and no legal right could be obtained except by Royal Charter or patent. During Tudor times, however, English enterprise in the New World was confined mainly to maritime exploration, and even that was of little importance before the reign of Elizabeth.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the merchants of Bristol sent out a ship every year for this purpose. In 1494 the Genoese navigator, John Cabot, who was in their service, sighted the mainland of North America, and on his return was granted a Royal Patent "to seek out, subdue, and occupy, as vassal of the King, all regions hitherto unknown to all Christians," though the expense of the expedition was still borne by the merchants of Bristol. The next year Cabot landed on the coast of Labrador. This was his last voyage, but his work was carried on by his son, Sebastian Cabot, who discovered Newfoundland in 1498 and was the pioneer in the search for the North-West Passage to the East. In the first part of the sixteenth century little was done. Henry VIII encouraged shipbuilding and navigation, but turned his attention mainly to the development of the Navy, and the religious and social disturbances in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary were unfavourable to the cause of maritime discovery. Sebastian Cabot was made Grand Pilot of England and was Governor of a Merchant Company formed to try and discover a North-Eastern route to the Indies. Chancellor and Willoughby sailed North-East in 1552 in the hope of striking this passage. Willoughby perished on the way, but Chancellor reached Archangel and opened up trade with Russia and, by an overland route, with the West of Asia.

In the reign of Elizabeth maritime enterprise was much more active, and English seamen visited the New World as explorers, traders, and as rivals of the Spaniards. The main object of English explorers was to discover a North-West or North-East route to the east of Asia, and more importance was attached to the trade possibilities that would be thus opened out than to settlement in the New World. No further attempt was made to discover the North-East route, but the search for the North-West passage was vigorously prosecuted by Frobisher, and later by Davis in 1585, and Baffin in 1616. Purely trade interests were represented by Hawkins, who made an attempt to share in the work of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves, but, though successful at first, he was soon forced by Spanish hostility to give it up. Another motive for maritime enterprise was the desire to attack the Spanish monopoly in the New World, and to lay hands on the treasure that Spain was jealously but vainly attempting to reserve for the royal coffers. In this Drake was the leader, attacking the Spanish in regions in which they had not hitherto met with rivals— in the Panama, on the Pacific coast and in the West Indies— and he was followed by a host of others, who for the most part were tacitly encouraged by the Government. The attempts at colonisation were few and unsuccessful. Gilbert received a patent from the Queen, authorising him “to conquer and possess any heathen lands not already in the hands of Christians,” and conferring on him full proprietary rights over all the land within two hundred leagues of the place where he settled. In 1583 he made an attempt, though with little success, to establish a colony on the coast of Newfoundland. Raleigh made several attempts to establish a colony in Virginia, but all ultimately ended in failure.

**Settlement of Colonies—Chartered Companies.**— In the seventeenth century effective colonisation began and was carried on mainly through the agency of Chartered Companies, “the great national levers of commercial and political power”; for the experience of Raleigh had shown that colonisation was too great an undertaking to be carried out by individual effort. A Company could get control of more capital and considered the establishment of a colony in the light of a business enterprise. Its Charter, obtained from the Crown, gave it the right to own, colonise and govern a large tract of land, and it could make grants of this land to individuals or to other Companies who wished to found colonies, or could found a colony itself, offering land on easy terms to prospective settlers, providing funds for sending out needy persons and so getting a supply of labour. As a rule the political and financial business of

the Company was managed by a Council in England, but there were always a Council and Governor in the colony in addition to carry on local administration. This system of dual control did not work very well in practice, and as the new communities grew up, although the political tie with England was maintained, it was found necessary to have the machinery of government in the colony itself. As time went on the rights of the Companies sometimes clashed with the free exercise of colonial liberties, but more generally, from one cause or another, most of these Charters were surrendered to the Crown in the course of the seventeenth century, and the colonies then came directly under royal control.

In the case of settlement within the Tropics, where the climate was not so suitable for European colonisation, negro slave labour was employed as in the West Indies, or the settlements were trade settlements only, as in India and on the West African Coast. Here too the work was done through the agency of Chartered Companies, who were granted the monopoly of the trade over a wide region.

**Political Relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.**—In the early days of colonisation, colonies were of little political importance, and it was not until they began to expand and boundaries clashed that colonial rivalry became a factor in European politics. The political tie between the Mother Country and the colony was always maintained, and it was generally acknowledged that settlers in a colony took with them all the rights and liberties of English citizenship. Neither James I nor Charles I took a keen interest in colonisation for its own sake, and there is no evidence of any special branch of the Government to deal with the colonies before 1622, when a Commission on Trade was appointed to report to the Privy Council, and Charles I placed plantations under its control, as well as trade. Other Committees were formed, but only for short periods. Colonial questions, though for the most part left to the King and Council, were occasionally made the subject of discussion in Parliament even in the reign of James I, and the right to control plantations was claimed by the Long Parliament, though the work was left for the most part to various Committees formed for the purpose.

The second half of the seventeenth century marks the beginning of a new period, that of the struggle between European countries for the possession of colonies, and consequently more attention was paid to them by the Government. As the population and wealth of the colonies increased the position of Governor was becoming more important. Hence colonial Governorships, which had hitherto

been held mainly by settlers who had made their homes in the colonies, were now passing into the hands of men of high social and political standing, and more often than not were Court appointments. Supervision of Colonial matters was still for the most part left to a Committee of the Privy Council.

**Trade Policy and the Navigation Laws.**—Until the Restoration a liberal trade policy had been adopted towards the colonies; they had generally been immune from duties, and no restrictions had been placed on their trade with foreign countries and their colonies. The trade policy developed in the latter part of the seventeenth century and continued in the eighteenth century was, on the other hand, a deliberate attempt to subordinate the trade and industrial interests of the colonies to those of the Mother Country. The main object of the Mercantile Policy, which, though it had been in force since the end of the fourteenth century, began now for the first time to press heavily on the colonies, was the increase of national power and wealth. To effect this it was considered important to encourage English shipping in order to have a good supply of seamen for the Navy, and to organise trade in such a way as to bring the greatest possible amount of money into the country. Hence an excess of exports over imports was aimed at, with the double object of bringing money into the country to pay for the surplus exports, and encouraging English industries by increasing the sale of English-made goods.

The close connection between political and trade interests was marked by the Navigation Act of 1651, which was passed with the immediate object of striking a blow at the Dutch carrying trade. It said that no goods might be brought to England except in English ships, or, in the case of European countries, in the ships of the country making or producing the goods. This policy was continued after the Restoration, when the Navigation Laws were re-imposed and made more stringent, with the idea of giving England the monopoly of colonial trade. Trade between England and the colonies was to be carried on only in English ships, the use of colonial ships for the purpose being prohibited unless the captain and three-fourths of the crew were English. "Enumerated goods," among which were soon included most of the principal exports of the colonies, were to be sent only to England or to another English colony, and foreigners, who had hitherto been freely admitted, were no longer allowed to become merchants or factors in the colonies. Foreign goods might not be sent direct to the colonies, but had to be sent to England first and then re-exported to the colonies in English built ships, owned and

manned by Englishmen. The Government encouraged the cultivation of semi-tropical products such as rice and sugar, which could not be grown at home, by admitting them into the country freely or on preferential terms as compared with foreign produce. With the idea of making the British Dominions as far as possible self-sufficing, such industries as the fisheries, timber, the production of naval stores and of other goods for the supply of which England was wholly or partially dependent on foreign countries, were encouraged.

The immediate result of this policy was to hamper the trade not only of the Dutch but of England and the colonies as well, for English shipping was at first quite unequal to the new demands made upon it; there were not enough ships to do the work, new ships could not be built fast enough to meet the deficiency, and for some years colonial produce was dear in England. This, however, was only a temporary difficulty, and in 1668 Sir Joshua Child defended the policy in his *Discourse on Trade*, on the ground that the mercantile shipping had been doubled in the last few years. On the colonies the effect was disastrous. Hitherto their trade had been unrestricted by the Home Government and they had been free to send their goods to the best markets, but now the transport of their produce tended to become a monopoly of the Mother Country, and the trade interests of England and the colonies were often conflicting. A narrow-minded commercial view of the colonies was adopted, and it was openly stated that their only use was to increase the wealth of the Mother Country, to give employment to her shipping, and to provide markets for her manufactures. It was feared that unless restrictions were imposed on them the colonies would become rivals for her trade, and hence any colonial industries which could possibly enter into competition with those of England were subjected to harassing regulations and in some cases were altogether prohibited.

**Political Relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries.**—Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century the Secretary of State for the Southern Department was the chief executive officer for the colonies, and the main advisory body was the Board of Trade and Plantations, which had been established by William III. Except in so far as they could be made by the Navigation Policy to serve the interests of English trade and industry, very little interest was taken by the Government in the welfare of the colonies; little care was taken to appoint suitable Governors, little notice was taken of their internal affairs, and the Government did not even

trouble to enforce the Navigation Laws. Yet this period of neglect coincided with the great struggle with France for colonial empire, during which the French lost their hold both on India and North America, their failure leaving England the dominant colonial power of the world.

After the War of American Independence there was a general feeling of depression and hopelessness about the colonies. The theory of Turgot that colonies are like fruit that remains attached to the tree only until it ripens seemed to be borne out by the successful revolt of the American Colonies. It was thought that in no case could a colonial empire be a permanent possession, that the connection with the Mother Country was only a temporary phase, and that sooner or later, as they reached a certain stage of development, all colonies would throw off its control and become independent. The effect of these views was seen in the changes in the central administration. In 1782 the Secretaryship for the Colonies, formed in 1768, and the Board of Trade and Plantations were abolished, and the colonies came under the Department of the Home Secretary until 1794, when they were handed over to the newly appointed Secretary for War. As a result of the union of War and the Colonies under the same Department, which lasted until after the Crimean War, colonial governors were frequently military men.

Yet during the first part of this period, the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, partly as the result of the military necessities and the need for protection during the Napoleonic wars, there was a tightening of central control over colonial administration. In most cases colonial Governors were not allowed to exercise their own judgment as to local needs, but received definite instructions from home and were encouraged to throw responsibility on the Home Government, with the result that real executive authority resided in England. This increased centralisation was unsatisfactory, partly because the Government had insufficient knowledge of local matters, partly because it often involved the necessity of sending home questions of petty detail, and the distance made delays inevitable and intelligent central control impossible.

**The Nineteenth Century Trade Policy.** --The adoption of the *Laissez Faire* policy by the Government was felt in the colonies in several ways. It gave the death blow to the policy of trade restriction; under Huskisson and Canning the Navigation Laws were modified, and by the Reciprocity Policy adopted in 1825 the trade with the colonies was thrown open to all friendly States who,

having colonial possessions themselves, granted the same privileges to English ships. Preferential terms were still granted to the colonies, and, as far as possible, they were given a monopoly of the home market to the exclusion of foreign countries. Hence the adoption of Free Trade in 1846 came as a blow to them, for the permission to admit foreign goods on the same terms as British did not compensate them for the loss of this monopoly. There was at first an attempt to force the colonies to adopt free trade, for a common trade policy for the Empire was thought to be essential, but free trade was not suited to young and growing communities with infant industries and the attempt was given up.

*Grant of Self-Government.*—Another effect of the *Laissez Faire* policy was the extension of colonial self-government. As early as 1791 Fox had declared that the only method of retaining distant colonies without friction was to enable them to govern themselves, but as yet the fullest measure of Home Rule had been representative government, in which the colony had an elective legislative assembly with control over finance but no control over the Executive. This type of government was seldom satisfactory and led to endless friction. The officials as a rule were not in sympathy with the community, and the division of authority between the Executive and the Legislature, without any means by which they could be brought into agreement, constituted a real danger in times of crisis. Responsible government, which meant that control of the Executive was handed over to the Assembly, thus giving the colony almost complete control over its home affairs, was the type of government adopted in the nineteenth century and was granted to Canada in 1840, to most of the Australian Colonies in 1850, and to Cape Colony in 1872.

In the middle of the century it was thought by some that the grant of self-government to the colonies was a preliminary step to getting rid of them. The theory that trade follows the flag had long been known to be a fallacy, the colonies were regarded as a burden and an expense, and since the adoption of Free Trade business men, taking the materialistic view of the middle of the century, began to doubt whether their retention could be of any possible advantage to the Mother Country. Among politicians there was a difference of opinion, but the views of most statesmen—of Gladstone, Russell and Peel among others—was that the colonies were an integral part of the British dominions, and that Home Rule must be conceded in order to retain them without friction. At the same time there was, in the Liberal party especially, great reluctance to take on any more territory or to incur any fresh

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responsibilities; thus the Government hesitated to annex New Zealand until circumstances made annexation inevitable, and refused to sanction the extension of British authority in South Africa, even though such extension was necessary to secure the settlers against Kaffir raids. The colonies themselves were not at all anxious to break the connection with England, though they objected to interference by the Home Government. •

*Emigration.*—In the second quarter of the nineteenth century much more attention was paid to emigration, which was encouraged during the period of social discontent and misery that followed the close of the Napoleonic Wars as a means of drafting off what was considered by the economic theories of the day to be the surplus population. Systematic emigration began, and a Committee of the Commons formed in 1826 strongly recommended that emigration should be aided and organised by the local authorities. Private Colonisation Societies were formed and practical experiments in colonisation made on the lines suggested by Wakefield.

*Rise of an Imperial Policy.*—Towards the end of the nineteenth century interest in the colonies revived. In 1868 the Colonial Society, which became in 1882 the Royal Colonial Institute, was formed with the object of promoting “the increase and diffusion of knowledge respecting as well our Colonies, Dependencies and Possessions as our Indian Empire, and the preservation of a permanent union between the Mother Country and the various parts of the British Empire.” The development of steam communication, the gold discoveries and the expansion of trade all helped to make the colonies better known and to encourage emigration. The Government adhered to its policy of non-intervention until the rivalry of other European nations in the colonial sphere, and the rise of the Colonial Empires of Germany and France forced it to adopt a different attitude and to take a more active part in colonial expansion.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE AMERICAN COLONIES

#### PART I.—THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

THE history of the American Colonies may be divided into three periods: (1) the period of settlement and growth and of comparative isolation; (2) the struggle for expansion when the Colonies had developed into flourishing States and were brought into contact with the Spanish, Dutch and French settlements in North America; (3) the struggle for independence when the Conquest of Canada had made England the dominant power in North America.

**The Virginia Company.**—The work of colonising America was begun by chartered companies, and the first Company formed for that purpose was the *Virginia Company*. In 1606 James I granted to the South Virginia or the London Company all the land between latitudes  $34^{\circ}$  and  $41^{\circ}$  N., and to the North Virginia or Plymouth Company all the land between  $38^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  N. The limits of occupation were only defined on the north and south, and between these limits the Companies might colonise as much of the interior as they pleased; in some of the charters subsequently granted the Pacific was actually mentioned as the western boundary. Each Company was to be governed by a Council appointed by the King and these Councils were to appoint Colonial Councils for purposes of local administration. The Companies could send out emigrants and could take a duty from all persons trading with the settlements to the value of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  from Englishmen and 5% from foreigners, and all trade was to be placed under the control of colonial officers. The Virginia Companies, however, took little direct share in the work of colonisation. The London Company founded the Colony of Virginia, and as early as 1624 gave back its rights to the Crown. The Plymouth Company granted tracts of land to the Puritan settlers who founded the New England Colonies and surrendered its charter in 1635.

**Government.**—Politically the American Colonies may be divided into three classes: (1) Chartered Colonies, such as Massachusetts and Virginia, which received charters from the Crown or from a Company, granting to the settlers the ownership of the soil and

the rights of self-government; (2) Proprietary Colonies, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia, where sovereign rights were granted to individuals, who became thereby possessors of the soil and could exercise political power, (3) Royal Colonies, where the executive government was in the hands of officers appointed by the Crown. In course of time nearly all the Colonies were brought directly under the authority of the Crown, for the Companies and the proprietors or their descendants generally surrendered their rights to the Crown in consequence of difficulties or disturbances in the Colony.

Notwithstanding the sovereign political powers frequently granted by Charter to colonial proprietors, the right of the colonists to assent to laws was generally reserved, and, as time went on, they developed institutions similar to those of the Mother Country. The government of each colony consisted of a Governor, an executive Council, which performed the functions both of a Council of Ministers and a Second Chamber, and a Representative Assembly. In a few colonies the Governor was chosen by the people, but in all Crown Colonies he was nominated by the Home Government, was responsible only to the Crown, and had the right of appointing the Council. The Legislative Assembly was invariably chosen by the people. As a result there was often a want of harmony between the Legislature and the Executive, and the internal history of many of the colonies is mainly a record of quarrels between the Governor and the Assembly. It was generally understood that the colonists might make what laws they pleased, provided only that such laws were not opposed to the spirit of the laws of England. Though the right of the colonies to tax themselves and to carry on their own government was unquestioned, the Mother Country never, except in the case of Maryland, distinctly renounced the right of taxation, and claimed the right to over-ride colonial authority at will. Yet, though trouble was occasionally caused by arbitrary interference, the Colonies had on the whole little to complain of, at any rate in the first half of the seventeenth century, and were left very much to themselves in local matters.

**Relations with the Natives.**—The Red Indians, when the Europeans first came to America, were a half civilised race, living by agriculture and trade as well as by hunting, having settled homes and villages and possessing a certain amount of mechanical skill. Their relations with the English were at first friendly, for they felt little or no jealousy of strangers, but their suspicion was very easily aroused; a treaty misunderstood and differently interpreted by the two races, or any single act of violence or dishonesty was

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sufficient to turn a whole tribe against the newcomers, and Indian hostility, when once roused, was implacable. As a measure of self-defence laws were passed in some of the colonies imposing severe penalties on anyone cheating or injuring a native, but causes of quarrel were constantly rising; yet, owing to the want of union among the tribes and to the fact that they were not really formidable until armed with European weapons, there was little danger of a colony being destroyed by them. The Indians seldom fought pitched battles, but they were masters in the art of guerilla warfare. They would never meet an enemy face to face if they could kill him by stealth; no man's life was safe if hostile Indians were in the neighbourhood, and their movements were so rapid and secret that a handful of warriors—often not more than six or eight—could keep a group of villages on the alert. The harassing nature of the warfare had in the long run a bracing effect on the colonists, for all alike shared the danger and the responsibility for defence, and the proximity of the Indians prevented dispersion.

**The Thirteen Colonies.**—Economically and geographically the Colonies fall into three groups—the Northern, Central, and Southern. The Northern Group, the New England States, Puritan in religion and democratic in government, from their climate and geographical position tended to resemble the Mother Country in their productions and industries. Farming was the main industry, and the extensive sea board favoured the development of ship-building and trade. The Central Group, consisting mainly of the colonies conquered from the Dutch, were economically very similar to the Northern Group, but as they extended further inland the fur trade with the Indians was more important. Maryland in its productions and character had more in common with the Southern Colonies. In the Southern Group, comprising Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, which were semi-tropical in their productions, the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia and rice in Carolina were the staple industries, and this involved the development of the plantation system and the extensive employment of slave labour.

In the American Colonies, perhaps more than elsewhere, the proximity of the Indians and of the hostile Spanish Colonies to the south increased the danger of possible slave revolts and made the exercise of extreme caution necessary. Intermarriage was forbidden in Virginia, and baptism of negroes in both Virginia and Maryland, because it was doubtful whether it was possible to keep a Christian in slavery; in Maryland no slave was allowed to travel for more than three miles without a pass, or to carry a

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gun beyond the limits of his master's plantation. The size of the plantations varied enormously, from the small plantations with an average of thirty slaves under one master to the large estates of Virginia and Maryland, where one master might own over a thousand slaves.

### I. The New England Colonies—The Northern Group.

*New Plymouth.*—The earliest of the New England Colonies was the Puritan settlement of New Plymouth. In 1608 the independent congregation of Scrooby, a Lincolnshire village, withdrew in a body to Leyden. They stayed there for ten years, but were dissatisfied with their life in Holland and wanted to emigrate to America. A spot near the Hudson River was chosen, negotiations were opened with the London Company, from whom a patent was obtained. A Royal Charter was refused, though James gave a sort of general promise that they should not be molested as long as they lived quietly. In 1620 a hundred and twenty emigrants left Southampton in two small vessels—the “Mayflower” and the “Speedwell.” The “Speedwell,” after two attempts to start, was proved to be unseaworthy and had to return. The “Mayflower” crossed the Atlantic and arrived at Cape Cod, a hundred and thirty miles to the north of its destination, but as the Captain refused to take them any further the colonists were obliged to land there. The spot was on the whole favourable for a settlement, for the soil was fairly fertile, the harbour good, the climate, though bleak, was healthy, and the Indians were inclined to be friendly.

As the colonists had settled outside the territory of the London Company the patent they had obtained from it was valueless, and a fresh patent was granted them by the Plymouth Company, the territorial owners of the soil they were occupying. The business of the Colony was managed at first by a body of merchants who formed a small corporation under the London Company. The colonists had the usual difficulties to deal with in the early days of the settlement. They arrived too late in the year and were exposed to the severity of a sharp winter before their houses were built; they had no cattle and, when their food supply was exhausted, had to live for a time almost exclusively on shell-fish. The hardships were so great that about half the colonists died during the first winter, but when an opportunity to return presented itself in the Spring they refused to take advantage of it, and, though progress was slow, there was after 1623 no general scarcity of food. In a few years the cultivation of corn had increased so much that

they could not only supply their own needs but also those of neighbouring Indians, and trade in fish and fur was carried on with the West of England; by 1627 the settlers were sufficiently prosperous to buy up all the stock of the Company, paying for it by instalments, and thus became the owners of the land they occupied.

*Massachusetts.*—A second Puritan colony was founded in 1627. A grant of land on the coast was obtained from the New England Company, the successor of the Plymouth Company, a group of settlers was sent out and two years later the founders were incorporated by Royal Charter as the Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. A few months later the whole organisation of the Company was transferred to America, thus freeing the colony from all effective control from England. About the same time preparations were made for the emigration of about a thousand new settlers, the bulk of whom belonged to the Puritan middle class and were taken from the Eastern Counties.

*Other Puritan Colonies.*—Massachusetts became a centre for colonisation, and several other colonies—Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Haven—owed their origin to it, wholly or in part. Rhode Island was formed as the result of religious dissent by the followers of two Leaders—Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson—whose doctrines were thought to be heretical and dangerous to the State. The settlement of Connecticut was due to the need for expansion to get more pasture land, and also to the fear that the fertile, well-watered district on either side of the Connecticut River would be occupied by the Dutch who already had settlements on the Hudson. New Haven was a small settlement formed thirty miles to the west of Connecticut by emigrants from Massachusetts who wanted to maintain Puritanism in all its rigid simplicity. New Hampshire was formed by the consolidation of a number of small settlements, but it was soon incorporated with Massachusetts.

*Maine.*—Maine was not Puritan and owed its origin to a Royal Charter granted to Gorges, a favourite of the King, in 1638, and was separated from the other settlements by a large tract of waste land. The industries were mainly hunting and fishing, and it remained poor and undeveloped. After a few years it was purchased by Massachusetts.

Towards the middle of the century common dangers tended to draw the New England colonies more closely together. The Indians were hostile, border warfare was going on between the English and the French, and the Dutch were extending their boundaries and had occupied the land between Delaware Bay and

Connecticut. In 1643 a confederation was formed for purposes of defence, but it did not work very well and little was heard of it after the Restoration.

The Commonwealth was favourably disposed towards the Puritan settlements, but in the later Stuart reigns they had a struggle to maintain their liberties. Charters were annulled, governors subservient to the king were sent out, and Andros, a man of some honesty but of little intelligence, was given almost absolute authority over all the northern colonies. Under his arbitrary rule no man's life or property was safe and political liberties ceased to exist. When the news of the Revolution reached America the people deposed and imprisoned him and reverted to their old forms of government, and under William and Mary the forfeiture of charters was declared by the Home Government to be invalid.

*Character of the New England Colonies.*—The men who founded the New England Colonies were well suited for the work of colonisation. Impelled to emigrate by the desire to gain religious freedom and prepared to endure hardships and privation for the sake of their opinions, they formed steady and industrious communities. Puritan in religion, they were democratic in government and all freemen had equal political rights. The most noticeable feature of their social organisation was the prominence given to town life. If fresh land was to be occupied a little group of settlers went off and formed a new township. The farms were for the most part small and pasture land was held in common, consequently the population was not so scattered as in the south, where large private estates were the rule, and the people were able to combine for purposes of defence, education, religion and local government. The colonial governments as a rule interfered very little with the internal affairs of the towns and an Assembly of the whole body of townsmen controlled matters of public importance. Religious and political organisations were very closely united, for the township was generally the parish, and attendance at the Meeting House on Sundays was as a rule compulsory. Independency was the form of Puritanism most generally adopted, but nearly all other forms were allowed and there was little persecution except in the case of Quakers. In education the New England Colonies were far in advance of the Mother Country, and were one of the very few parts of the world where elementary instruction was compulsory. As early as 1647 a law had been passed in Massachusetts commanding every village where there were over fifty families to provide a teacher, and to establish a Grammar School as soon as there were a hundred families. Harvard

College was opened in 1638. The chief industries in addition to agriculture were the fur trade with the Indians and shipbuilding, and there was some manufacture of cotton, linen and woollen cloth. The chief exports were corn, salt-fish, timber and furs.

## II. The Central Group.

*The Dutch Colonies.*—These colonies were formed from the Dutch settlements of the New Netherlands, originally the territory of the Dutch West India Company, which had been granted in 1621 the sole right of planting colonies in North America. As the main object of the Dutch was to establish trade with the Indians, their colonies, unlike those of the English, extended inland instead of spreading along the coast, and except for a small settlement on Long Island, the whole of the coast between the Hudson and the Delaware Rivers—though claimed as Dutch territory—was unoccupied. There was little political freedom, and as the capital, New Amsterdam, had a monopoly of the trade little general prosperity in the colony and little attention was paid to it by the Home Government.

*New York.*—The English had long been jealous of these Dutch settlements, for they separated the New England Colonies from Virginia and Maryland, and so prevented the English presenting a united front against the French; moreover, the Dutch had some of the best harbours along the coast and the control of the Hudson River, which was an important highway for the fur trade. In the first Dutch war of the reign of Charles II an attack was made on the colony. New Amsterdam surrendered and in a few months the whole province was subdued, and the English became the possessors of the coast from the Kennebec River to Savannah. The newly conquered land was granted by Charter to the Duke of York and the name of the colony was changed to New York. One of the most important results of the conquest was to lay the foundation of the friendship with the powerful native tribes known as the Five Nations, who were glad to be able to continue with the English the trade they had carried on with the Dutch; in 1677 a final peace was made in which they acknowledged the sovereignty of the English King, paying a tribute of beaver skins and a nominal quit rent of two arrows. The province settled down quietly under English rule, for, partly owing to the cosmopolitan character of the settlement, there had been little attachment to the Dutch Government; representative institutions arose and New York became one of the most prosperous of the American colonies.

*New Jersey.*—In 1664 the Duke of York granted to Sir George

Carteret and Lord Berkeley the tract of land between the Hudson and the Delaware, which, though small in extent, was very valuable, for it included nearly the whole of the sea coast, and its proximity to New York afforded protection against the Indians. Ten years later Berkeley sold his rights to two Quakers, who formed the provinces of East and West Jersey as a refuge for Quakers, though there was from the first a tolerably large admixture of other sects. In 1702, when the proprietors surrendered their rights to the Crown, the two districts were united and New Jersey became a Crown Colony.

*Pennsylvania.*—Penn, the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, was one of the proprietors of New Jersey and had taken a leading part in its settlement. Himself a Quaker and desirous of establishing another Quaker colony, he obtained from the King in 1680 a grant of land between Maryland and New York on payment of a debt of £16,000 owing to his father, and was invested with almost absolute sovereign rights. Penn, however, established the government on a liberal and democratic basis, "with an honest mind to do uprightly, and not to usurp the right of any or to oppress his person." Religious toleration was granted to all who believed in God; to maintain social equality no man was to possess more than a thousand acres, and all children were to be taught some trade. To preserve friendly relations with the Indians and prevent cheating, it was decreed that all trade with them was to be carried on in the open market, and Pennsylvania was the only State where the relations with the Indians were consistently peaceful. The population of the colony increased rapidly, and its capital, Philadelphia, soon became one of the most important towns in America. A description of the city written in 1698 mentions "its stately houses of brick, its fine squares and courts" and adds "it hath in it three fairs every year and two markets every week . . . and great and extended traffic and commerce with the other colonies, the West Indies and England. . . . There are no beggars to be seen, nor indeed have any here the least temptation to take up that scandalous lazy life." Later on freed slaves and indentured white servants formed a disorderly class, and in the western part of the colony there was a rough element, but the industrious farming class still formed the bulk of the community.

*Delaware.*—In 1682 the district now known as the State of Delaware was added to Pennsylvania. This district which was of value because it would give his colony an opening on the sea-board and water communication with the coast, was ceded to Penn by the Duke of York and was known as the "Territories." Pennsylv

vania proper being called the "Provinces." There was some trouble from internal quarrels and from disputes with Maryland about boundaries, and soon after the death of Penn the patent was surrendered to the Crown, for his descendants, though inheriting his proprietary rights, took little interest in the colony.

*Maryland.*—Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, who obtained from Charles I, in 1632, a grant of land to the north of Virginia on either side of the Potomac River. In its industrial and social conditions Maryland was very like Virginia, and tobacco was cultivated so extensively that laws had to be passed to ensure the production of a sufficient amount of corn. The Indians were well treated, their relations with the settlers were on the whole peaceful, and, though slavery existed, the treatment of the slaves was humane. With the exception of some disputes about land with Virginia and some religious trouble as the Puritan element grew stronger, there was little difficulty, and the prosperity of the colony steadily increased. The rights of the proprietors were surrendered to the Crown at the Revolution.

### III. The Southern Group.

*Virginia. Raleigh's Settlement.*—A premature attempt to found a colony in Virginia was made by Raleigh, who in 1584 obtained a charter from the Queen. A small settlement was made at Roanoke. It promised well at first, but prosperity soon deserted the infant colony; the hostility of the Indians was aroused, provisions began to fail, the ships daily expected with fresh supplies did not arrive, and the disheartened colonists were glad to return home with Drake, who touched at that part of the coast on his way back to England. Almost directly after their departure the provision ships arrived, but, finding the colonists gone, returned leaving fifteen men behind with provisions for two years to mark the spot. Of these men nothing more was heard, and though Raleigh made other attempts later, none of them met with any success.

*Settlement by the London Company.*—The effective colonisation of Virginia was the work of the London Company. In 1607 two shiploads of emigrants landed at Chesapeake Bay and founded the settlement of Jamestown. On their arrival they opened sealed orders containing the names of those who were to form a council, and they chose Wingfield as their first Governor. As one of the ostensible objects of the scheme was the promotion of Christianity in the New World, the Company had tried to be careful in the choice of the men sent out, and had given orders

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to refuse "all idle and wicked persons, such as shame or fear compels into this action, and such as are the weeds and rankness of this land." Notwithstanding these efforts the settlers were on the whole not suited to the work required of them. Half of them were gentlemen, a large proportion of the rest soldiers or servants and only a few were labourers and mechanics. It was arranged that a third of the settlers should be occupied in building, a third in the cultivation of the soil, and a third in the work of exploration, but many of them proved idle and thriftless, the stores were exhausted before a fresh supply could be raised and famine seemed imminent.

The man who did most for the colony at this crisis was Smith, who had already had an adventurous career as a soldier of fortune. He gives a vivid description of the sufferings of the colonists soon after their arrival. "There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia; we watched every third night, lying on the cold, bare ground, what weather soever came, and warded all next day, which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small can of barley, sodden in water, to five men a day; our drink, cold water taken out of the river, which was at flood, very salt and at low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men." More than half the colonists died between June and the following January, and it was mainly due to the energy of Smith, who seems to have been the only man among them capable of taking the lead, that the colony did not disappear altogether. He scoured the coast in search of food, established trade with the Indians, had houses built, and soon superseded Wingfield and became practically head of the settlement.

The next year a fresh batch of colonists was sent out, but the only result at first was to increase the difficulties. The new settlers were described by Smith as "unruly gallants, sent out by their friends to save them from ill destinies"; they arrived without their leaders, Gates and Somers, who had been wrecked off the Bermudas, and they mutinied and refused to work. To make matters worse Smith met with a serious accident and had to return to England, and when Gates and Somers at last arrived, matters looked so bad that many of the colonists were in favour of breaking up the settlement and returning home.

*Development of the Colony.*—With the arrival of a new Governor, Delaware, order was established and settled government began, and though for some time strict military rule was found to be necessary, the colony steadily advanced after the first few years. By the middle of the seventeenth century the population had

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risen to forty thousand, and prosperity had begun with the cultivation of tobacco, which soon became the recognised medium of exchange. This industry, however, brought some difficulties in its train; it roused the jealousy of the Spaniards, the cultivation of corn was neglected, and it led to the introduction of negro slave labour on the plantations, though all through the seventeenth century the slaves formed a comparatively small proportion of the population and a great deal of the work was done by white labour. James I had sent over a batch of convicts at least once, London had sent out a hundred homeless children, and by 1688 it was stated that the bulk of the immigrants were those "who are bought in as merchandise to make sale of"; in 1672 when the price of negro slaves ranged from £20 to £25, the price of a white servant bound for a term of five years was about £10.

One of the worst results of the plantation system was the absence of town life in the colony. Large scattered estates grew up, for the planters required a great deal of land, and, as the tobacco crops quickly exhausted the soil, were constantly taking fresh land under cultivation. This decentralising tendency was encouraged as well by the facilities for river communication and by the preference of the English gentry, who formed the bulk of the planter class, for a country life. The Company had made some attempts to encourage the development of a class of small proprietors, but this stopped as soon as the colony came under the Crown. The absence of town life prevented the growth of a middle class and of a class of artisans, with the result that most of the necessaries of life had to be imported from England and there was little retail trade. Virginia consequently tended to become a country of planters and slaves.

The constitutional development of the colony was marked by a good many changes. In 1609 the King granted a charter to the London Company forming it into a Corporation and giving it political authority. Representative institutions arose after a few years; in 1618, we are told, a House of Burgesses "broke out" in Virginia and three years later the colony obtained a written constitution. In 1624 the London Company was forced to surrender its charter, for it was regarded with jealousy by the King, who considered it a training school for his Parliamentary opponents. The colony was now entirely dependent on the King and had no security against arbitrary government, but as in practice it was left to itself and was even allowed to choose its own governors, subject to the approval of the Crown, it gained rather than lost by the change.

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Virginia was not much affected by the Civil Wars. It was inclined to be royalist, but was quite ready to make terms with the Commonwealth on the arrival of a Parliamentary fleet. At the Restoration its trade was hampered by the Navigation Laws, for tobacco could be exported only to England, and riots broke out when the King refused either to alter the laws or to prohibit the cultivation of the plant for a year in order to enhance the price in England. After the Restoration there was as well political discontent, for there was a steady tendency in the direction of arbitrary government. The franchise was restricted and the colonists lost the right of choosing their Governor, who was now a Royal nominee. The Revolution of 1688 lessened, though it did not remove, colonial grievances.

*The Carolinas.*--The Carolinas were not settled until the latter half of the seventeenth century. In 1663 Charles II made a grant of all the land between Virginia and Florida to a group of eight patentees, among whom were Albemarle, Clarendon and Shaftesbury. Many of the Cavaliers who had lost their lands in England settled here, though the new colonies were peopled as well by emigrants from the other American colonies and Barbados, and there was also a considerable Huguenot element. North Carolina remained poor and undeveloped; the population was scanty, there was no good harbour and no direct trade with England, and the settlers were for the most part small proprietors, living on the products of their own farms and occasionally exporting the surplus to other colonies. South Carolina was much more prosperous. It had greater natural advantages--better river communication, good harbours, and a more fertile soil--and some trouble was taken by the proprietors to get suitable settlers. The chief crop was rice, which was grown on the plantations by slave labour, and as a result the negroes soon far outnumbered the white population. Difficulties were experienced almost from the beginning with the Indians and with the Spanish in Florida, and though there was little fear of combination between them the double danger gave cause for alarm, especially with a population of which negro slaves formed such a large element. Proprietary rights ceased early in the eighteenth century and the Carolinas became Crown Colonies.

*Georgia.*--Georgia, the last of the colonies to be settled, was established for the purpose of founding homes for the poor and needy, providing a refuge for debtors and establishing an outpost on the side of Florida. The founder, Oglethorpe, was a military officer who had entered Parliament and had been appointed Chairman of the Commission for investigating the condition of the

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prisons. Struck with compassion at the hopeless position of debtors he determined to found a settlement for them in the New World, and in 1732 obtained a Charter from the King.

As the colony was to be a poor man's colony and the chief emigrants were bankrupt traders and debtors, rather severe restrictions were imposed on the settlement in the early days. To maintain social equality no man was to have more than five hundred acres of land; every man was to be provided with arms and was to be trained as a soldier; slavery was prohibited, because it tended to close the labour market to free men; all sports were prohibited in the interests of order and public morality, and no provision was made to give the settlers any share in the government. Bankrupts and debtors were not the best material out of which to form a colony, but the immigration of Moravians from Germany and Highlanders from Scotland introduced a steadier element, and in spite of difficulties the settlement fulfilled its function as an outpost against the Spanish, and the administration was carried on by the trustees honestly and disinterestedly for the general good. In 1752 Georgia became a Crown Colony and developed on much the same lines as the Carolinas.

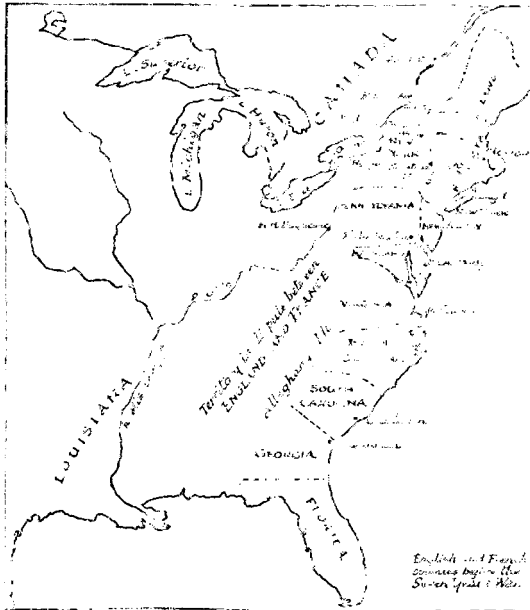
## PART II.—THE STRUGGLE WITH THE FRENCH

**The French Colonies.**—The French began to colonise in North America about the same time that the first English settlement was made on the shores of Virginia, and, like the English, they laid vague and indefinite claims to the greater part of the Continent. The territory actually occupied by them covered three different areas:—(1) Acadia—the modern provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with Cape Breton; (2) Canada—the valley of the St. Lawrence; (3) Louisiana—the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi.

The exploration of the St. Lawrence Valley was the work of Cartier, who in 1534 took possession of the Gaspé Peninsula in the name of his King, but effective colonisation did not begin until the early days of the seventeenth century, when Champlain founded Quebec and laid the foundations of French rule in Canada. The settlement consisted at first only of a few traders and their servants, and, as its very existence depended on the fur trade with the Indians, every effort was made to secure the friendship of the tribes in the vicinity—the Algonquins and Hurons. During the administration of Colbert, when a much more active interest was taken by the Government in colonial matters, more emigrants

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were sent out and the colony became moderately prosperous. In the latter half of the seventeenth century the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi were explored, La Salle in 1682 penetrating to the Gulf of Mexico. The whole of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys were now taken as French territory under the name of Louisiana; as yet, however, this land was not occupied, and it was not until 1718 that the settlement of New Orleans was established at the mouth of the Mississippi.



**Character of the French Colonies.**—An enormous extent of territory was now under French control, but over the greater part of it the only signs of French occupation were scattered military, missionary and trading stations, and it was only in Canada—round Montreal and Quebec—and in Acadia, that colonisation in the true sense of the word existed. There was no surplus population in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and apart from the fact that the feudal conditions that prevailed there tended to check freedom of movement, there was little desire on the part of the people to emigrate. The Huguenots, who would have come over in large numbers after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and would have made excellent colonists, were not

allowed to settle in the French dominions. Moreover the natural increase of the population was checked by the concentration of energy on the fur trade which drew men off into the wilds out of the reach of civilisation. The life of the *coureurs de bois* (fur traders and hunters), solitary except for intercourse with the Indians, unfitted them for the more settled life of towns. More often than not they married Indian squaws, and a race of half-breeds was growing up in the west. That some of the French realised themselves how detrimental this dispersion of the population was to the growth of steady industry and to the development of the colony is seen from the report sent home by the Intendant of New France in 1706, in which he compares the English and French Colonies:—"The Anglo-Americans, not leaving their homes as most of our people do, till their ground, establish manufactures, open mines, build ships, etc., and have never yet looked upon the peltry traffic but as a subordinate branch of their trade. Let us take example from them, and encourage agriculture, the exportation of salted provisions, etc." No notice seems to have been taken of this warning by the home Government.

Social and political conditions also were not such as to encourage an intelligent interest in the life of the colony by the people living there. The government of Canada was very like that of a French province; the Governor was in command of the troops and was nominally head, but more real power lay with the Intendant, who had the right to report directly to the King on colonial affairs. The colonists had no rights of self-government and individuals had little liberty of action; trade and industry, though fostered by the Government, were fettered by monopoly, and in every department the life of the colony was hampered by "a system of authority, monopoly and exclusion" (Parkman).

Another important element in determining the character of the colony was the strong influence of the Jesuits. Jesuit mission stations were always outposts of civilisation, and by 1660 the Jesuits had traced the outlines of Lakes Erie and Superior, and in the course of the next few years had explored as far as the Great Prairie to the West of Lake Superior. They brought to their work a zeal and intelligence that overcame all obstacles and no branch of knowledge that would help them was neglected; they were the best cartographers, ethnologists, linguists and scientists of the day, and at the same time could work as artizans, builders and farmers. Living in isolated stations and forming little centres of civilisation in the wilderness they often ran great risks, for, though their influence over the natives was very great, they were

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liable to be involved in native feuds, and not a few of them met their death in inter-tribal wars at the hands of hostile natives. The influence of the Jesuits was not an unmitigated benefit for the colony, for their main object was always the conversion of the heathen rather than colonial development, and the premium placed on celibacy was unfavourable to the natural growth of population.

### **The Struggle with the English.**

*The Seventeenth Century.*—The great struggle for the possession of North America was not fought out until the eighteenth century, but the relations between the English and the French were unfriendly throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. It was Acadia that first bore the brunt of the struggle, partly because this part of the coast was claimed by England, partly because from its position it could be easily attacked by sea. As the colonies of both nations developed, friction was steadily increasing. The conquest of the Dutch colonies of the New Netherlands in 1665 had given the English command of the Hudson River and had brought them into contact with the Iroquois, with whom they carried on a flourishing trade in furs. The region from which the furs were obtained—the territory north of the Great Lakes—was claimed by the French, and as this trade developed the relations between the Iroquois and the French became more hostile.

*The Wars of the Grand Alliance.*—During the succession of European wars that lasted, with a brief interval of peace, from 1689 to 1713, the relations between the English and French in North America became more actively hostile. Neither side received effective help from Europe, and from a military point of view the two races seemed to be fairly evenly matched. The French were few in number, but they were united under an able leader, Frontenac; the English had the friendship of the powerful Iroquois tribes, but jealousy between the different colonies prevented unity of control. The character of the wars between the English and French was affected by the participation of the Indians on either side, for the native methods of warfare not only meant that the wars were carried on with a savage ferocity unknown in Europe, but that the insecurity and difficulties of war for the civil population were greatly increased. It was not only fortified posts that were attacked; when Indians were on the war-path no isolated farm was safe, and it was dangerous to venture into the open country; the people had to live in barricaded houses, and fields could only be cultivated by armed bands. In the spring of 1692 it was

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impossible in some parts to carry on the work of agriculture, for all the men were engaged in fighting, and the horrors of famine were soon added to those of war. By the Treaty of Ryswick some attempt was made to deal with the questions of disputed boundaries and fishing rights, but with little result.

When the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, border raids began again and the colonists in 1710 attacked Port Royal. The defences were weak, and after a short siege the fortress fell and one hundred and fifty-six starving soldiers were allowed to march out with the honours of war. As Port Royal was the only fortress in the district the surrender of all Acadia followed. The next year a few troops came out from England to co-operate with the colonists, and attacks were planned on Quebec and Montreal, but were not attended with any success. Though the only military advantage gained by the English during the war had been the capture of Port Royal, yet the exhaustion of France in the European War forced her to grant the demands of the English and to give up all claim to Newfoundland, with the reservation of certain fishing rights, to Hudson Bay Company's Territory, and to "the whole of Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia, with its ancient limits and all its dependencies."

*The Wars of the Middle of the Century.*—The years following the Peace of Utrecht were years of peace and comparative prosperity, but it was not likely that the peace would be permanent, for the great question at issue—the supremacy of the English or French in North America—was not yet decided. War between France and England was not formally declared again until 1743, but for many years before that both nations in America had been preparing to continue the struggle, and the uncertainty of boundaries on the side of Acadia and the Ohio would provide opportunities at any moment for the re-opening of hostilities.

With Acadia and Newfoundland, the two gateways to Canada from the west, in their hands it was now possible for the English to cut Canada off from the sea. Cape Breton Island (Isle Royale) and the Island of St. John, which the French still possessed, now became of first rate importance to them as outposts of Canada, and on Cape Breton the Fortress of Louisburg was built to enable them to control the mouth of the St. Lawrence. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out the importance of Louisburg as the French naval base was seen, and the French privateers made the seas unsafe for American trade. Its capture by a British force, composed mainly of New England colonists, was the chief military advantage gained in America during the war, and its

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restoration to France in exchange for Madras at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 caused a good deal of discontent in the American colonies.

With Louisburg again under French control, the English realised the necessity of strengthening their hold on the province of Acadia, to which as yet very little attention had been paid. The fortifications had been almost entirely neglected, the garrison was weak, and in 1727 the Governor had stated that everything at Annapolis was "wearing the face of ruin and decay" and that the ramparts were "lying level with the ground in breaches sufficiently wide for fifty men to enter at once." The territorial limits of the English province had never been clearly defined. To the French, Acadia "with its ancient boundaries" meant at the most the district now known as Nova Scotia, and they remained in actual possession of the St. John River, where they fortified their settlements. To the English, it meant New Brunswick as well as Nova Scotia, and to make their occupation effective, Halifax, which long remained a principal naval base, was founded in 1749 at the expense of the English Government.

Hitherto the French Canadians, who had remained in the colony after it passed under English rule, had been left undisturbed. Quiet, peace-loving, ignorant, and having little or no intercourse with the world outside, they troubled themselves little about political questions as long as they were allowed to cultivate their lands in peace. Influenced by the priests, however, they declared themselves "neutrals" and hesitated to take an unqualified oath of allegiance. "Better surrender your meadows to the sea and your houses to the flames, than at the peril of your souls take the oath of allegiance to the British Government" was the advice given to them and blindly obeyed. As a result, in 1756 the inhabitants of the villages of Grand Pré and Minas were disarmed and expelled; their lands, houses and live stock were forfeited to the Crown, and the people themselves were either shipped to the Southern States, or scattered about in the New England colonies.

The English and the French came into conflict too in the Ohio Valley and the region lying between the most westerly of the English colonies and the Mississippi. Here the French were still unquestionably holding their own and were on friendly terms with the native tribes, and, as the English colonies showed signs of expanding westward, they definitely asserted their claim to all the land as far as the Alleghanies, and were carrying out the scheme first started by Frontenac of safeguarding the French territory by a line of forts connecting Quebec in the north with

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New Orleans in the south. The French policy was not new, and for many years the English colonists had realised the danger of allowing the lake and river communication which gave control over the interior to fall into the hands of the French, for with that control would go the influence over the natives and the profits of the fur trade.

When the wars in the middle of the century broke out, the French seemed to be the better prepared and certainly had the advantage in the early years of the struggle. Forts were rising rapidly. Frontenac, Niagara, Detroit and Machillimackinac commanded the route by way of the Great Lakes from the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, and Frederic (Crown Point) and Ticonderoga, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, commanded the waterway that connected Canada with the territory of New York. It was on the valley of the Ohio, however, that the struggle was most acute. The whole of the Ohio Valley was claimed by the French as part of Louisiana and it had always served as a route between the Mississippi and Canada; after the War of the Austrian Succession they determined to make good their claim, and Forts Presqu'île, Le Boeuf and Duquesne were erected. Of late years this region had been frequented as well by English traders, and was claimed by the English on the ground that, by the Treaty of Utrecht, all the country of the Five Nations had been declared subject to Great Britain. To assert their right the Government of Virginia sent Washington, then a youth of twenty-one, to warn the French that they were encroaching on English territory and to demand an explanation, but the only answer he received was that the French intended to keep the Ohio valley and that the French officer had orders to seize every Englishman found there.

The English Government did not seem inclined at first to adopt a very active or definite line of policy. Though claiming the disputed district as English they chose to regard it as the Hinterland of Virginia, and threw the burden of resisting the French there on the colonies, which were not individually strong enough for the task; any effective union among them was prevented by mutual jealousies, and only the colonies immediately affected, chiefly Virginia and New York, took any real interest in the struggle. Both English and French tried to secure the friendship and goodwill of the natives who were in actual occupation of the land in dispute. The Iroquois were still friendly with the English, but were dissatisfied with the inactivity of their allies. "Look at the French," said a Mohawk chief at a conference held at Albany

"they are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But,

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we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, without any fortification. It is but one step from Canada hither and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors."

Thus a state of war was tacitly recognised in America, though as yet the interval of peace between England and France that followed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was not over. In 1755 a little help was sent from England under Braddock, and in co-operation with the colonists a fourfold attack on the French forts was planned, Braddock himself leading a force against Fort Duquesne. From the first there was friction between the English regulars and the colonial militia. The English officers always took precedence and paid little attention to the advice of the colonial leaders, though they had themselves no knowledge of the country and no experience in Indian warfare. Braddock made little secret of his contempt for the colonial forces, finding in them "little courage or goodwill," and he had no idea of the difficulties of the task he had undertaken. "The savages may be formidable to your raw American militia," he is reported to have said on one occasion, "upon the King's regulars and disciplined troops, it is impossible they should make any impression." The advance to Fort Duquesne was slow, for the troops had to cut their way through dense forests, making roads and bridges as they went; and when within a few miles of the Fort, they fell into an ambush and were attacked on all sides by the French and their Indian allies. The English troops, advancing in close formation against an invisible foe, were almost entirely destroyed and Braddock himself died of wounds received there a few days later. The effect on American opinion was disastrous. "The whole transaction," said Franklin, "gave the Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the powers of British regular troops had not been well founded."

*Conquest of Canada.*—For a time the French were everywhere successful in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, but the accession of Pitt to power in 1757 brought about a change of fortune. Able generals were sent out, a more conciliatory policy was adopted towards the colonists and definite plans were made for the conquest of Canada. As a result Louisburg was taken by Amherst and Wolfe, its fall involving the surrender of Cape Breton Island and the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island), and a campaign for the conquest of the Ohio Valley resulted in the capture of Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne, which was known henceforth as Pittsburg. The attack on the forts on Lake Champlain was a failure, due mainly to the death of Howe in the early days of the campaign.

Now that Cape Breton and the forts of the Ohio Valley had been taken the conquest of Canada was only a question of time, and a threefold attack on Quebec was planned for the following year. Amherst was to invade Canada from the south, Prideaux to advance from the west and Wolfe to approach by way of the St. Lawrence. Both Amherst and Prideaux were successful in the early stages of the campaigns, but could not advance quickly enough to give any help in taking Quebec. Wolfe meanwhile had advanced up the St. Lawrence, landed at the Island of Orleans and was closely investing Quebec, but the natural position of the fortress was so strong that it seemed impossible to take it without support. A long siege was in itself a great strain both on the French and the English, for the French were running short of supplies and the health of the English troops was seriously affected, but still Montcalm refused to be drawn into a battle, hoping to hold out until the approach of winter forced the English to withdraw. Wolfe knew that decisive action was necessary if the expedition was not to end in failure, and after an attack on the French encampment to the east of Quebec had been repulsed, he went further up the river and landed to the west of the city, by this means drawing off a detachment of the French to guard the approach to Quebec from that side. On September 12th he decided on a surprise attack, and dropping down the river by night, landed at a spot where a narrow pathway led up the cliff by a steep ascent which was thought to be inaccessible and so was insufficiently guarded. At daybreak the army was drawn up on the Plateau, and the battle which followed, in which Wolfe was killed and Montcalm mortally wounded, sealed the fate of Quebec; in a few months all that remained of Canada had passed into English hands.

*The Treaty of Paris.*—By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, France formally ceded to England Cape Breton and all other islands in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, Canada with all its dependencies, and all the land east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans. Fishing rights were still reserved to the French off the coast of Newfoundland, and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to them as fishing stations.

*Causes of the Success of the English.*—In investigating the causes of the success of the English in the long struggle with the French, two factors stand out prominently—(1) the large population of the English colonies compared with that of the French, and (2) the more effective help given by the Mother Country. Of these the former was by far the more important, for it meant that ultimately supremacy must fall to the English. That the scantiness of the

population was a fundamental source of weakness had long been evident to the French colonial officials, though it was not realised by the Home Government. As early as 1714 the Governor of Canada had pointed this out and had stated that while Canada had only 4,454 inhabitants capable of bearing arms for its defence in addition to a small force of colonial troops, "the British colonies have 60,000 males fit for war, and it is not to be doubted that, as soon as war supervenes, an attempt will be made by them to achieve the conquest of Canada." "New France," said Montcalm in the middle of the century, "needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall; such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies."

The lack of military support from the Mother Country and the reaction on America of the military situation in Europe hastened the fall of the French colonies. Unlike England, France exhausted her military resources in European Wars, and all through the eighteenth century had been able to send little help to her colonies. In the War of the Spanish Succession, when the French had to keep eight armies in the field at once in Europe, the Government wanted if possible to prevent the war spreading to the colonies, and, when it was evident that this was impossible, gave reluctant permission to their colonial officials to fight, but only on condition that the war could be carried on at little cost, and advised them as an alternative to accept the Iroquois' offer of mediation.

In the Seven Years' War there was the same difficulty, and the only answer sent to Montcalm's appeal for reinforcements was that the King relied upon his zeal and energy. In any case the English control of the sea would have seriously hampered the communication of the French with their colonies. During the greater part of this time, however, the English did little more to help their colonies than the French. The cession of territory at the Treaty of Utrecht was the result of the exhaustion of France caused by the European War, not of the military situation in America, and when help was sent, the friction between the English troops and the colonial militias, and the inefficiency of many of the leaders prevented it being of any real value. The struggle consequently might still have dragged on for many years had not the more active policy of Pitt brought it to a decisive issue, for when a well organised attack was planned under efficient leaders, the weakened French colonies were unable to resist.

## PART III.—THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

**Causes of Discontent.**—The long struggle with France had important effects on the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction caused on either side by the mistakes and disasters of the war the colonists had realised that as long as the French held a strong position in North America the support of the Mother Country was a necessity to them, and they had been quite ready to co-operate with her in fighting against France. When the French were driven out the position was changed and it was clear to most far-sighted politicians that the conquest of the French lands would before long bring in its train revolt in the English colonies. This view was openly expressed by the French Ambassador at Constantinople. "The consequences of the cession of Canada," he said, "are obvious. I am persuaded that England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burden they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence."

Specific causes of discontent were not wanting. The Home Government still considered that colonies existed mainly in order to advance the interests of the Mother Country and to increase her trade, and that their charters and liberties could be destroyed by her at will. There was, as a matter of fact, little active interference except in matters of trade and industry, but there had been a good deal of neglect and indifference to their welfare. No care had been taken to appoint suitable Governors and no notice was taken of the constant friction between the Governors and the colonial Assemblies.

*Restrictions on Trade and Industry.*—The Navigation Laws and the industrial policy of the Government pressed very hardly on the colonies. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century their trade had been unrestricted. In the reign of Charles II a list of "enumerated" articles was drawn up, to which constant additions were being made, and these goods could only be sent to England or to another English colony. Goods sent to the colonies from foreign countries had to touch at an English port on the way, and be sent in English ships or in colonial built ships manned mainly by English sailors. In the eighteenth century the restrictions increased; trade between the English and foreign colonies, hitherto unrestricted, was hampered by duties, and goods from the East could only be imported into the colonies from Great Britain.

The preference given to colonial goods in English markets and the relaxation of the laws in the case of semi-tropical produce were not sufficient compensation for the restrictions.

Colonial manufactures were restricted on the double ground that they competed with English manufactures and tended to lessen the dependence of the colonies on Great Britain. The northern colonies were developing flourishing textile and hardware industries, but these were almost destroyed by English Legislation. In 1669 it was forbidden to send any woollen goods of American manufacture from one colony to another, and in 1731 hats and caps were subject to the same regulations; in the eighteenth century the iron industry was also seriously hampered and restricted.

*The Policy of Grenville.*—The immediate cause of the outbreak of revolt was the policy of Grenville and the attempt to raise a revenue from the colonies. Until the reign of George III the severity of the commercial and industrial restrictions had been modified in practice by laxity in administration; smuggling was extensively carried on and not one-tenth of the tea consumed in the colonies came from England. Grenville, Premier from 1763-5, took more interest in colonial affairs than was usual at that time and determined to enforce the laws. He caused indignation by sending out men of war to stop the trade that had always gone on with the Spanish colonies to the South, the colonists exchanging their forest produce for precious metals. This policy would have made it difficult for the colonies to get supplies of the precious metals and was adopted just at the time when the Home Government was restricting the use of paper money in the colonies. The interference with colonial currencies was an attempt to check the disorder which had arisen with the rapid extension of the use of paper money and its depreciation in value, but the prohibition of its use as legal tender currency caused great indignation.

*The Question of Taxation.*—The right of England to tax the colonies had never been definitely settled. The English judges had declared that England was legally able to tax, but this claim had been repudiated in the colonies; and the first serious attempt to raise a revenue from them was Grenville's Stamp Act of 1765, which declared that after a certain date, fixed about a year hence, all legal documents were to bear stamps varying in value from 2d. to £10. The excuse for this measure was that it was only fair that the colonies should bear part of the expense of the Seven Years' War, which had been fought mainly for their protection, and the colonists resisted it on the ground that they enjoyed all the liberties of English subjects. The general view among intelligent

men in the colonies seems at first to have been that the Act was unwise and harmful but not unconstitutional. Resistance on constitutional lines was raised first by Virginia, which asserted "that the General Assembly of this colony have the only sole and exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony."

The feeling against taxation without representation was rapidly growing. A Congress to which nine of the colonies sent representatives met at New York, and as it was found impossible to enforce the Act in the face of steady opposition, it was repealed the next year, but at the same time the Declaratory Act was passed which asserted the right of the English Parliament to legislate for the colonies and tax them at will. This was followed by the Revenue Act of 1767, imposing duties on glass, tea, paper and other articles. As a result of the rapidly rising distrust, the Act of 1767 was so bitterly resented that in 1773 North attempted a compromise by taking off all taxes except the tax on tea, but by way of compensation tea could be sent directly from India to America and the duty was reduced from 1s. to 3d. The only result of this concession was the Boston Tea Riots in December and the colonists refused to pay any duty at all. The English Government retaliated by the Boston Port Act, which stopped all trade with the city, and a little later the Massachusetts Charter was confiscated and all the rights and liberties of the people were swept away. Little notice, however, was taken of this in practice and the Assembly continued to sit and act under the name of a Convention.

*The Congress of Philadelphia.*—The rise of a general spirit of resistance was marked by the summons of a Congress at Philadelphia, to which all the colonies except Georgia sent representatives. This Congress, where the term "state" was first used instead of "colony," drew up the Declaration of Rights, denying the right of the Mother Country to tax and opposing the maintenance of a royal army in America, but as yet there was no talk of independence. "It would be as reasonable," one of the leading citizens of Massachusetts had declared, "to set two of the King's beefeaters to prevent a baby from getting out of its cradle and doing mischief, as to guard against revolution in America"; and just before the outbreak of war, Washington could assert "that no such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in all North America."

**The War of Independence.**—Open hostilities broke out in 1775, and the first phase of the war was fought out in the New England States, where the resistance was strongest. The first important battle, Bunker's Hill, was ultimately a victory for the English,

but it was fiercely contested, and the American troops proved that they could meet the regulars on equal terms. The colonists now made a final bid for peace and sent the Olive Branch Petition to England asking that the laws passed since 1763 might be repealed. The only reply was a royal proclamation declaring the Americans to be rebels and prohibiting all trade with them. This was met in America by a declaration of Congress, repudiating all trade restrictions and throwing their trade open to the world, and by the Declaration of Independence (1776).

The Declaration was followed by a year of disaster for the Americans. In 1776 Howe was forced to evacuate Boston and New England was free from English troops, but in the Central colonies, which were now the chief scene of the war, the English were for a time successful and Washington was obliged to evacuate New York. The difficulties with which Washington had to contend at this time seemed to be insuperable: jealousy and want of union among the different colonies, the want of discipline among the troops, the short terms of enlistment for the militia, in some cases not more than six months, the lack of stores and ammunition, and the general indifference and absence of patriotic feeling in the country, seemed to make success impossible. There was some improvement when a standing army was granted by Congress in September, 1776, but there was still difficulty from want of money, which made it impossible to keep the army properly supplied with necessaries, and the pay of the soldiers was always in arrears. A double invasion of the New England colonies was planned by the English towards the end of 1776; one army was to advance from the south up the Chesapeake and another was to come from Canada and join forces with it. The expedition from the south was successful, but the expedition from Canada under Burgoyne was delayed, and the surrender of this force at Saratoga in October, 1777, was the first decisive advantage gained by the Americans, and closed the first period of the war.

Hitherto the struggle had been confined to England and the colonies, but after the surrender of Saratoga the French openly joined the Americans and the war broadened out into a world war between England and France, in which all the English dominions were involved. In America the seat of war was transferred to the Southern colonies, for the English now found that it was impossible to maintain their hold on the North; Philadelphia had been evacuated when the French came into the war, and in the South they hoped to get more support from the people. An attempt at conciliation by Lord North, in which he offered the colonists all

that they had asked for in the Olive Branch Petition and described recent events merely as "disorders among His Majesty's faithful subjects in America," was indignantly rejected. The chief military events were the invasion of Georgia and South Carolina by the English, who met with some success at first and were able to take Charlestown and subdue South Carolina in 1780. The plundering of the English troops, however, alienated the people. The march of Cornwallis into North Carolina was checked, and his surrender at Yorktown in 1781 virtually put an end to the war. By the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 American Independence was acknowledged and Minorca and Florida were restored to Spain.

## CHAPTER IV

### CANADA

#### PART I—CANADA UNDER ENGLISH RULE

**The Proclamation of George III.**—By the Treaty of Paris the English became the undisputed masters of North America, and they were now brought face to face with a problem not hitherto met with in colonial history—the administration of a continental area already peopled by another European race who were now, by right of conquest, English subjects. The Proclamation of George III, issued in 1763, dealt with two main questions—(1) the territorial settlement; (2) the administration.

(1) *Territorial settlement.* The French colony was dismembered. Labrador, east of the St. John's River, and Anticosta were placed under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland, whilst Cape Breton and the Island of St. John were joined to Nova Scotia. What remained of Canada was little more than a strip of land on either side of the St. Lawrence, bounded on the east by the St. John's River and on the west by a line connecting Lake Nipissing and Lake St. Francis. All the vast inland territories south of the Great Lakes were treated as an Indian reserve, on the ground that "it is just and reasonable and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories, as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them or any of them as their hereditary grounds." As a result of this policy a large tract of land was reserved, "under our sovereign protection and dominion for the use of the said Indians," and was left without any settled form of government. It was open to trade, but not to grants or settlements and was not annexed to any colony. The object was partly to keep the land open for the fur trade, and partly, as the English claimed that they had always had a right to this territory, to prevent the Indians thinking that it was a recent acquisition. Equitable treatment of the natives was provided for, and in the districts reserved to them no land was to be bought except by the Government.

(2) *Administration.* After 1760 Canada was for a short time

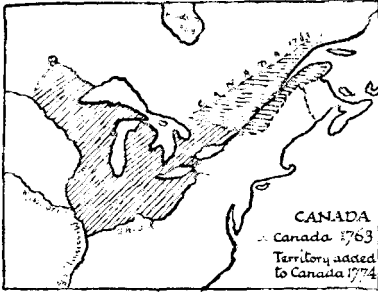
under military rule. Civil rule was established in 1764 when the Royal Proclamation came into force. All authority was vested in a Governor helped by a nominated executive Council; law and justice were to be English, but the administration was to be carried on in a conciliatory spirit, former customs were to be respected as far as possible and Roman Catholicism was to be tolerated. To encourage English settlement grants of lands were to be given to retired officers and soldiers who had fought in the recent wars.

**Pontiac's War.**—It was in the region set apart as native reserves that serious trouble first arose. This land, as yet hardly touched by civilisation and almost unknown to the English, was "one continuous forest, interrupted only by rocks or prairies or waters, or an Indian cleared field for maize. The English came into this illimitable waste as conquerors, and here and there in the solitudes all the way from Niagara to the Falls of St. Mary and the banks of St. Joseph's, a log fort with a protected enclosure was the emblem of their pretensions. In their haste to supplant the French they were blind to danger, their posts were often left dependent on the Indians for supplies and were too far from each other for mutual support. The smaller garrisons consisted of an ensign, a sergeant, and perhaps fourteen men. Yet feeble as they were they alarmed the red man, for they implied the design to occupy the country which for ages had been his own" (Bancroft). Disaffection among the tribes, who as yet had hardly come into contact with the English at all, was fomented by French traders who had been hitherto left undisturbed, and a revolt was organised by an able leader, Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas, who styled himself "King and Lord of all the North-West." Little resistance could be offered by the small scattered English garrison, and the natives were at first everywhere successful. Forts were taken and the garrisons massacred, and the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania were raided. The war dragged on for a time, but the Indians could not keep up the struggle indefinitely and the French officers, to whom they had looked for support, not only refused help but took steps to bring about a general pacification. "De Ney, a French officer at Fort Chartres, sent bills, messages and peace papers to all parts of the Continent, exhorting the many nations of savages to bury the hatchet and take the English by the hand, for a representative of the King of France would be seen among them nevermore" (Bancroft).

**The Quebec Act.**—Before many years were over it was seen that there was need for some change in the government. The first civil Governor, Carleton, was a man of fact and ability, but his

Council was formed entirely of men drawn from the Protestant minority, Canadians were excluded from all posts of profit or trust, and the incapacity, ignorance and unsympathetic attitude of many of the English officials increased the difficulty of enforcing English law among a people to whom it was quite unknown. Disaffection among the Canadians at this time was especially disquieting, as the discontent of the American Colonies was now growing to a head and the military defences of Canada had been neglected, none of the forts, with the exception of Quebec, being properly maintained. Carleton saw that some steps must be taken to strengthen the hold of the English on Canada and urged on the Crown the necessity for an adequate military establishment and for some measure to conciliate the Canadians and inspire them

with "a cordial attachment and zeal for the King's Government."



As a result the Quebec Act of 1774 was passed and was specially designed to meet the needs of the French Canadians. The Government of Canada remained that of a Crown Colony, but a Legislative Council was formed in addition to the Executive Council, from which

French Canadians were not excluded; it was a nominated council with very restricted powers, but this was not felt to be a grievance by the French who had never been accustomed to political liberty under the French Crown. The Roman Catholic clergy, hitherto only tolerated, were secured in the legal enjoyment of their estates and were entitled to receive tithes and "all their accustomed dues and rights," and the French system of land tenure and French civil law were brought back.

Important territorial changes were made and all the land which had been declared an Indian reserve in the Proclamation of 1763 was now included in the Canadian Government, for there were a good many French and English traders there and it was thought that some organised form of Government was desirable.

The Quebec Act was unpopular with the Protestant minority in Canada, who naturally disliked the reversion to French law and were dissatisfied with the very limited amount of political freedom granted. It also increased the ill-feeling of the American colonies, who claimed the newly enclosed territory by virtue of their original

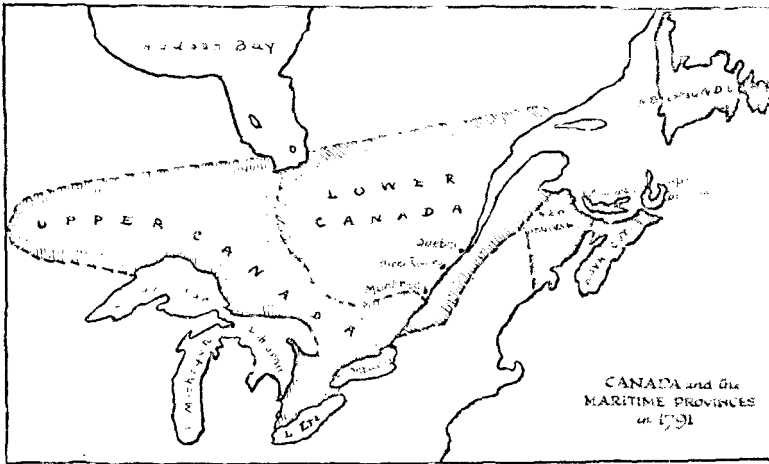
charters and saw their chances of expanding westward curtailed. The French Canadians, however, were conciliated and remained quiet during the disturbed period of the American War of Independence.

**The War of Independence.**—When the War of Independence broke out Canada lay open to attack, for in spite of the warnings of Carleton the military defences had not been strengthened; there were very few troops in the country and it was still doubtful what reliance could be placed on the loyalty of the French population. Yet there was little or no internal disturbance and no desire to join the Southern Colonies, for the people were on the whole contented with the Government, and they had little sympathy with the demand of the Americans for constitutional liberty. An attack on Canada was planned and at first the Americans met with some success, and captured several important forts, but the difficulties encountered on the march to Quebec were so great that only about a third of the invading force was able to reach the city. It was soon forced to retreat and no further attempt at invasion was made. By the Treaty of Versailles the land south of the Great Lakes was ceded to the United States, but the withdrawal of the English garrisons did not take place at once, and it was not until after Jay's Treaty in 1794 that the western posts were definitely given up.

*The United Empire Loyalists.*—The chief effect of the war on Canada was the influx into the colony of the United Empire Loyalists—Americans who had taken the side of England in the War, and who now found that they were deprived of their property and citizen rights, and were forced to seek new homes. It was only natural that they should turn to the neighbouring English colonies, where they could obtain free land grants and money compensation. It is impossible to estimate their numbers with any accuracy, but it is thought that about 28,000—of whom 3,000 were negroes—settled in the maritime provinces, mainly in New Brunswick, and about 10,000 in the Valley of the St. Lawrence. Of these a few settled in the towns in Quebec, but by far the greater number went further to the west near Lake Ontario, where the town of Kingston was soon founded. The Mohawks who had supported the English were also given land on the British side of the frontier between Lakes Erie and Huron.

**The Constitution Act.**—It was to the immigration of the United Empire Loyalists that the fundamental change in the government brought about by the Constitution Act of 1791 was due. From the first the English in the older parts of Canada had been dissatisfied with the Quebec Act, and, though they were only a small

majority and had settled almost exclusively in the towns, the use of French civil law had certainly caused difficulties, and it was obviously impossible to continue a system of government, designed to satisfy French Canadians in the newly settled district of Ontario, with a population who had in their former homes been accustomed to an advanced form of local self-government. To reconcile the conflicting interests of the two races Pitt decided to form two distinct provinces and to establish in each a form of government as like that of England as possible, but with due regard to the prejudices of the French. Hence the Constitution Act divided Canada into the two provinces of Lower Canada (Quebec;



and Upper Canada (Ontario). A Governor General was to be sent from England to represent the Crown, and each province was to have a Lieutenant Governor, though in Lower Canada he was only allowed to exercise authority in the absence of the Governor General. In each province there was to be a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown for life, French and English being equally represented on it in Lower Canada, and a representative assembly chosen by the people. Thus Canada was now granted representative government, the form of government that had been enjoyed by the American colonies before the war and which was at that time considered to be the final stage of colonial self-government.

There were two innovations in the constitution. In the first place an attempt was made to establish a State church, and one-seventh of the uncleared Crown lands was set aside as clergy

reserves to provide maintenance for the Anglican clergy. In the second place there was an attempt to create a governing class. Power was given to the King to confer hereditary titles on Canadians and to annex to the title a right to sit in the Legislative Council, but this was not a success and only three peerages have been given to native-born Canadians. In 1918 a recommendation was sent to the Home Government to the effect that hereditary titles should not be granted in the future and that those already granted should lapse after a term of years.

*The American War, 1812-14.*—The security of Canada was again threatened by the war between England and America which broke out in 1812 as a result of the trade restrictions caused by the Napoleonic wars. The Americans expected to meet with little difficulty in overrunning Canada, for the frontier line was long and exposed and the population small and scattered, but the attempted invasion proved a failure, though a successful raid on Upper Canada resulted in the destruction of the Government buildings at the Capital and the capture of Fort George on the south-west corner of Lake Ontario. The Treaty of Ghent, which closed the war, settled disputed questions about boundaries which had been left uncertain by the Treaty of 1783.

**Development in Canada.**—The early part of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the short period of the American War, was a time of peace and comparative prosperity for Canada. Population was increasing fairly rapidly, and immigration was encouraged by the policy of the Home Government, for the early part of the nineteenth century in England was a time of great poverty for the masses of the people and there was an idea that the country was over populated. Large tracts of Crown lands in Canada were granted away to Companies and individuals who would help in the work of emigration, and numbers of hand loom weavers, unable to hold their own in competition with machinery, agriculturists from the Highlands who had lost their lands, paupers sent out by the local poor law authorities, all emigrated to seek their fortune in the new world.

**Growth of Discontent.**—As the nineteenth century went on political, social and racial difficulties were developing in both provinces, but especially in Lower Canada, and showed the necessity for further change. In both the provinces representative government tended to be little more than a farce. Political power was in the hands of groups and cliques who dispensed all patronage. The Governor was generally a partisan and the Legislative Assemblies were crowded with office holders.

*Lower Canada.*—In Lower Canada the difficulties were mainly racial. There the English and French had settled down side by side but had not mixed, and, though there was no great hostility, social intercourse between them had almost ceased and there was little or no intermarriage. The French Canadians wanted Lower Canada to remain a French province, and they resented immigration because it tended to turn the balance in favour of the English. They also resented the fact that political influence and wealth were still in the hands of the English minority, for the French population was mainly agricultural, whilst the English, who were concentrated in the towns, were commercial, and the timber trade, the chief source of wealth in the province, was almost entirely in their hands. There was constant friction between the Assembly, which was elected by the people and controlled by a strong French Canadian majority, and the Executive Government, appointed by the Crown and representing English interests, for the Assembly resented the authority of officials it had had no voice in appointing and could not get rid of, and the officials for their part showed little respect for an Assembly on which they were not dependent.

The struggle was fought out mainly on the question of money. The control of finance was shared between the Executive Government and the Assembly. Hitherto the Government had obtained its revenue mainly from the proceeds of certain customs duties, but as time went on and its expenses increased these proved inadequate and it was becoming increasingly dependent on the Assembly for supplies. This meant, as there was no permanent civil list, that such matters as the salaries of Government officials were open to discussion in the Assembly and could be made an excuse for attacks on individuals, thus enabling the Assembly to exercise some control over the Executive. The refusal of the Assembly to grant a permanent civil list was resented by the officials and by the Home Government.

*Upper Canada.*—In Upper Canada, though discontent was deep-seated, there were no racial difficulties and political strife was carried on with less bitterness. In the early days of the Province, when the energies of the pioneers had been absorbed in the work of clearing the land, cutting roads and raising a food supply, little attention could be paid to politics and the first meeting of the Assembly elected under the Constitution Act of 1791, being held at harvest-time, was attended by only seven members out of twenty-one. With more settled social and economic conditions and the increase of material comfort came a desire for greater constitutional liberty and a steadily growing demand for responsible

government. Full control of the revenues was granted in 1832, for the Assembly was quite willing to grant a permanent civil list, but the demand for responsible government met with strong opposition within the province itself from the official element, for political power was in the hands of an exclusive clique, known as the Family Compact, who monopolised all official posts. Other causes of discontent were the clergy reserves and trade grievances. A great deal too much land had been set aside in 1791 for ecclesiastical purposes and the greater part of it was left uncultivated, for the Church did not farm its own land, and, as grants could be obtained freely from the Government, people were not anxious to rent land from the Church. Moreover, as those tracts of land, though uncleared and uncultivated, could not be touched, the making of roads and the growth of villages were hampered. It was an additional grievance that only clergymen of the Church of England, and later of the established Church of Scotland, could use the reserves, and the large numbers of dissenting clergy were left unprovided for; consequently there was a growing demand for the secularisation of these lands to enable them to be used for public purposes. The trade grievances were connected with the collection of customs duties at the ports. The duties were import duties collected for revenue purposes only, and it had been arranged that they should be divided in the proportion of one-fifth to Upper and four-fifths to Lower Canada. This division, justifiable at the time when it was made by the small population of Upper Canada, became increasingly unfair as time went on, for Lower Canada was for the most part self-supporting, while Upper Canada imported large quantities of clothing and other manufactured goods, and her population was increasing more rapidly than that of Lower Canada. There was also friction concerning the disposal of Crown lands, which had been too recklessly granted away. Limitations on the size of free grants had been evaded, and land had been allowed to fall into the hands of speculators and had often been withheld from cultivation.

• *Papineau's Revolt.*—In Lower Canada discontent broke out into open rebellion in 1837 under Papineau, a violent party leader, who had for some years been the head of the Opposition in the Assembly. The French Canadians took up arms, but the revolt in itself was not formidable and was easily suppressed by the loyal element in the province, for very few men of good social standing joined the rebels, and Papineau, who was not a soldier and had no talent for organising a revolt, soon fled. Order was restored, but the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended for a time.

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**Lord Durham's Mission.**—It was evidently necessary for the Home Government to take some decisive steps if a catastrophe was to be averted, and, as a preliminary measure, Lord Durham was sent out as Governor General and High Commissioner to make a thorough investigation of conditions on the spot and to advise the Government as to the best course to pursue. Lord Durham was in many ways well fitted for the post; he was a very able man and he had sympathy with the colonists, but he was impulsive and not inclined to submit to control. He had expected to go out with full authority, and notwithstanding the fact that his powers had been restricted by Parliament, acted as a Dictator on his arrival in Canada and took vigorous measures to get order. One of his first steps was to deal with political prisoners who had taken part in the recent disturbances, and as it would have been impossible to have them tried by the ordinary courts, he deported them to the Bermudas, forbidding them to return without permission on penalty of death. In doing this, however, he exceeded his authority, for the Bermudas were outside his jurisdiction, and it was also very doubtful whether he had any right to create a new crime punishable by death. The Opposition at home demanded his recall, a demand that the Government of the day was not strong enough to resist; but meanwhile Lord Durham, indignant at the way in which his work was hampered, had already sent in his resignation and returned to England, where he published a vindication of his actions that was virtually an attack on the Ministry.

**The Act of Union.**—Notwithstanding the short time he had spent in Canada he had been able to learn enough about the state of affairs to form conclusions as to the best course to adopt, and the Act of Union was based on his report. There are two main points to be considered in connection with the change now made:—(1) the union of the provinces and (2) the new constitution. The union of the provinces, which meant a fusion for political purposes of the English and French elements, had been advocated by Fox when the Bill of 1791 was under discussion in Parliament. It had been hoped in separating them that the two provinces could have developed harmoniously side by side on their own lines, but this had been proved to be impossible, partly because of ill-feeling between them, partly because of the racial friction within Lower Canada itself, and it was thought that some of these difficulties at any rate would be solved by union. The government was to be in the hands of a Governor, a Legislative Council appointed by the King for life, and a Legislative Assembly elected by the people

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for a maximum term of four years, to which each province was to send an equal number of members..

*Responsible Government.*—The most important change and one that marked an era in the history of the Empire was the introduction of Responsible Government, a more complete form of self-government than had yet been granted to any colony. By it the Legislature gained control over the Executive, and the English Cabinet system was introduced. Hitherto the officials had been responsible only to the Crown and had held office irrespective of the wishes of the Legislature; their place was now to be taken by ministers who should be responsible to the Assembly and should hold office only as long as they were supported by a majority of the members. Yet important as the change was, no reference was made to it in the Act, because it was regarded as a change not so much in the form of the constitution as in the spirit in which it was worked, and even in England the Cabinet system was not part of the written constitution. It was the practice of the English Constitution that the framers of the act had in mind, and at this time many people thought that Canada was on the eve of separation from the Empire and that it was advisable to establish some form of government that could be effectively carried on without English control.

Definite instructions were sent to the Governor General by Lord Russell "to call to his Council and to employ in the public service those persons, who, by their position and character, have obtained the general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the Provinces." In spite of the attitude of the Home Government, however, it was some time before Responsible Government became a reality in Canada, for it was a new experiment in colonial history and was not established as a working principle of the constitution without a struggle. The Governor felt it was not possible to reconcile his position as Governor of a Colony, responsible to the Colonial Office, with that of the constitutional head of a self-governing state, responsible to the representatives of the people. Yet he was given to understand from Downing Street that he must not oppose the wishes of the Assembly unless "the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire" were deeply concerned. The first two Governors ruled in accordance with this principle, but there was trouble with the third, Metcalfe, who was imbued with the idea that the Governor should exercise as much influence as possible and that the interests of the Crown should take precedence of all local considerations. He ignored the advice of his ministers, and when they resigned in consequence, secured the

return of a weak though more amenable Cabinet by an unwise exercise of his personal influence. The Assembly, however, would no longer submit quietly to official domination and passed resolutions asserting that the advisers of the Governor should be men who possessed the confidence of the people, and that the people had a right to expect that "the Imperial authority within its constitutional limits shall be exercised in the manner most consistent with their well-understood wishes and interests."

Under Elgin, a broad-minded man of liberal views, responsible government became a reality, and the period of his rule (1847-54) was a time of both political and economic progress. In these years Acts were passed relinquishing to the Colony fragments of power which had remained in the hands of the Colonial Office and tending to give the Government a more democratic character. In 1840 a Bill was passed to deal with the Clergy Reserves, and the money derived from the sale of these lands could be divided among the different sects in proportion to their numerical strength; in 1854 they were secularised and were distributed among the townships, who were to make use of the proceeds for education and other public purposes. The restrictions on the use of French for official purposes were relaxed, questions concerning religion and crown lands were no longer reserved for the consideration of the Home Government, and in 1856 the Legislative Council was made partly elective. England had in fact completely surrendered all the rights that were once considered essential to the holding of colonies.

**Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.**—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had formed in the past the French Colony of Acadia. Nova Scotia had been claimed by the English as well and had been granted by James I to Sir William Alexander, but the French rights in the district had been acknowledged by treaty in 1632. It was formally ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, but the boundaries were not defined. In 1749 Halifax was founded as a counterpoise to Louisberg. After the withdrawal of the French from North America in 1763 Nova Scotia made steady progress. Representative institutions were granted in 1758 and responsible government in 1848. The fisheries are by far the most important industry, and lumbering is still carried on extensively, though the forests are decreasing.

New Brunswick was claimed by the English as part of Acadia in 1713, though the claim was not acknowledged by the French until 1763. About that time the first English settlement was made, and twenty years later the population was largely increased by the

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influx of the Loyalists from America. As a result New Brunswick which had hitherto been attached to Nova Scotia, was made a separate colony. It received responsible government in 1848. The forests are very extensive and lumbering is the most important industry.

Prince Edward Island (the Island of St. John) was attached to Nova Scotia until 1773, when it became a separate colony.

**Federation—The British North America Act, 1867.**—The pioneer in colonial self-government, Canada was also the pioneer in colonial federation. With development and progress came the need for further political change, for the colonies of British North America had too many interests in common for complete separation to be desirable, and they were too different in character and industries and of too vast extent to make union under a central government possible. The union of the two Canadas had not been altogether successful. Upper Canada was dissatisfied, for though her population and wealth had increased much more rapidly than that of Lower Canada and she was contributing three-fourths of the revenue, her representation in the Assembly was still the same as that of Quebec. Moreover England wanted some political settlement in North America that could solve the difficulty of dealing with the still unoccupied regions of the Hudson Bay Company, and that would draw British Columbia out of its isolation.

The idea of Federation had originated many years before. Lord Durham in 1839 had given it as his opinion that it would be the best way of settling the question of race, but that the time was not yet ripe for it. About ten years later the subject was brought up again and was referred to the Colonies for consideration, Nova Scotia being the first to declare in favour of it. It was, in fact, in the Maritime Provinces which had all recently received responsible government that the Federal movement found strongest support, for their interests were very closely connected and they were already taking steps to form a union among themselves. The strained relations between England and the United States at the close of the American Civil War caused some alarm and showed the need for union for defensive purposes. In 1864 a Conference held at Charlotte Town was attended by representatives from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Island of St. John, and later from Canada, and the feeling in favour of federation was so strong that the same year a more formal meeting was summoned, known as the Quebec Convention, in which all the Colonies, including Newfoundland, were represented. After deliberating for eighteen days it decided in favour of Confederation and drew up seventy-two resolutions

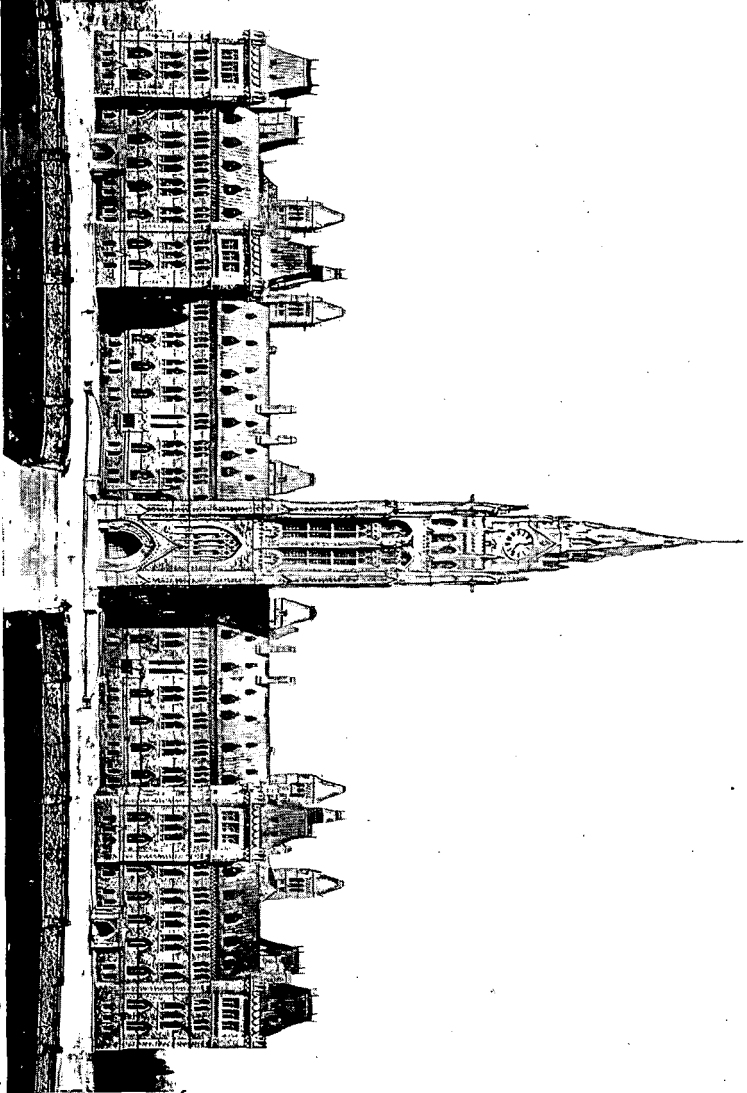
which, after they had been submitted to the Colonial legislatures, formed the basis of the British North America Act of 1867.

*The British North America Act.* -The Convention had expressed a desire to follow the model of the British constitution, and the form of government adopted shows much fewer traces of American influence and a much closer approximation to English principles than the Australian Federation of 1900. The main point was that the reserve of power was to lie with the Central Government, and not as in the United States with the provinces, for the American Civil War had shown the danger of giving sovereign powers to the state governments. "The true principle of confederation," said one of the leading Canadian statesmen, "lies in giving to the general government all the privileges and powers of sovereignty, and in the provision that the subordinate or individual States should have no powers but those expressly bestowed on them. We should thus have a powerful Central Government, a powerful central legislature, and a powerful decentralised system of minor legislatures for local purposes."

The most important matters handed over to the Provincial governments to deal with were the following: the management and sale of crown lands lying within their territories, all purely local offices such as public works and municipal and charitable institutions, the administration of justice, education (though with a proviso for the protection of religious minorities), agriculture and immigration, provided that nothing was done in these last two that would conflict with any legislation passed by the Dominion Parliament.

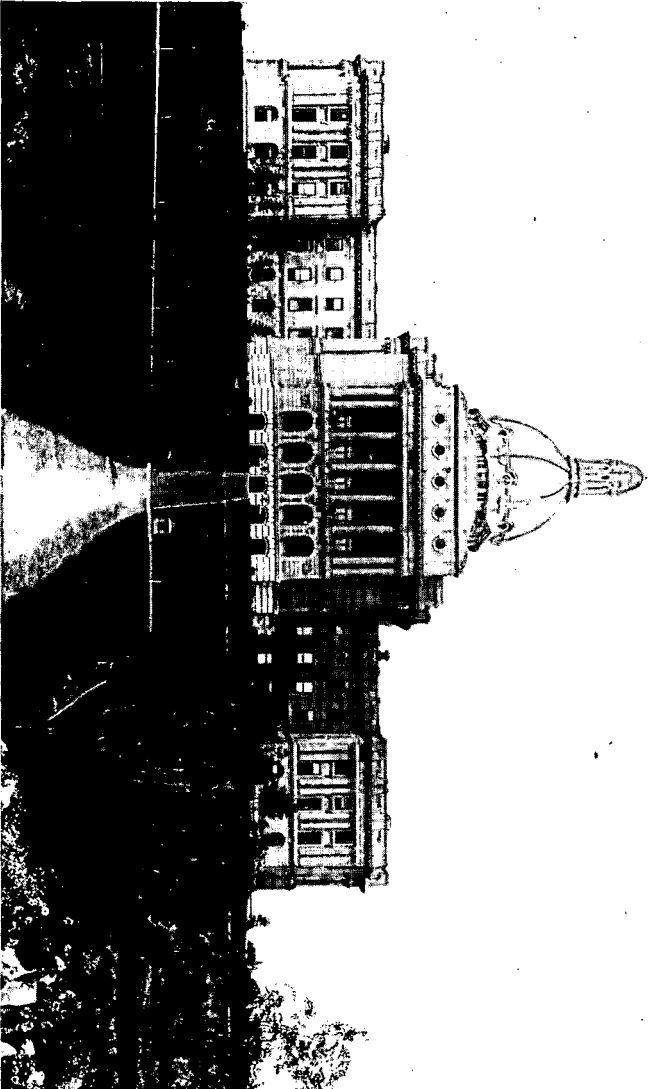
At the head of the Federal Government is the Governor General, who is appointed by the Crown for five years and is in much the same position as a constitutional sovereign. The members of the Cabinet are all members of the Privy Council, a body newly constituted by the Act, and are also members of the Legislature. The Legislature consists of two houses - the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senate, consisting originally of seventy-two and now of ninety-six members, is appointed by the Crown for life. The question of an elected upper house was considered, but it was feared that it might encroach on the powers of the lower house, and it was thought that an independent body would be more likely to act as a moderating influence. On the whole the Senate has not played a very important part in Canadian politics, and nearly all the seats in the Cabinet are filled by members of the Lower House. The House of Commons is elected on the provincial franchise for a maximum term of five years. At the head of the

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PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA

*[By courtesy of the Canadian Government.]*



ALBERTA LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS

*Canadian National Railways Public Information Dept.*



*[Canadian National Railways Public Information Dept.]*

ALBERTA UNIVERSITY, EDMONTON



*South African Railways and Harbours Publicity Dept.*

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, CAPE TOWN



RHODES STATUE, KIMBERLEY

*[South African Railways and Harbours Publicity Dept.]*



[South African Railways and Harbours Publicity Dept.]

PALACE OF JUSTICE, PRETORIA

Provincial Government is the Lieutenant Governor appointed for five years, nominally by the Governor General, in practice by the Ministry of the day. All the provinces, with the exception of Quebec and Nova Scotia, have one-chamber legislatures. Ottawa was taken as the capital and the term "Dominion" was chosen as the title of the Confederation. The question of finance presented difficulties, for in all the provinces the chief source of income had been customs and excise duties; these now had to be set apart for the needs of the Federal Government, and to provide revenues for the provinces it was decided that the Federal Government should grant them annual subsidies. The provinces also get money from the sale of Crown lands and licenses, and direct taxation has been imposed in some of them. The judicial system was supplemented by the establishment in 1876 of a supreme court at Ottawa to act as a court of appeal from the provincial judicatures. The currency in 1871 was assimilated to that of the United States. There is a branch of the royal mint at Ottawa which coins money for Canada, and Canadian sovereigns and half-sovereigns are legal tender all over the Empire.

The provinces which joined to form the Federation in the first instance were Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland still held aloof, but the former came into the Union in 1873. The inclusion in the Dominion of the North-West Territories and the land on the Pacific slope had been provided for in general terms in the British North America Act and took place in the later years of the nineteenth century.

**Hudson Bay Company's Territory.**—The vast, vaguely defined region known as Hudson Bay Company's Territory, or Prince Rupert's Land, from the name of its first Governor, was in the seventeenth century claimed by both the English and the French. The Company of Adventurers of England Trading with Hudson Bay had been formed in 1670 and had received, in return for an annual rent of two elks and two black beavers, a grant from Charles II giving them the right to "all the lands, countries and territories upon the coast and confines of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds lying within the entrance of Hudson Strait," if not already in the possession of other Christian nations. The Company was given very wide powers to establish colonies and make laws; it had a monopoly of the fur trade, and no English subject might settle in the district without its permission. It built forts, of which two of the most important were Fort Rupert and Fort Albany, as centres of the fur trade, and here

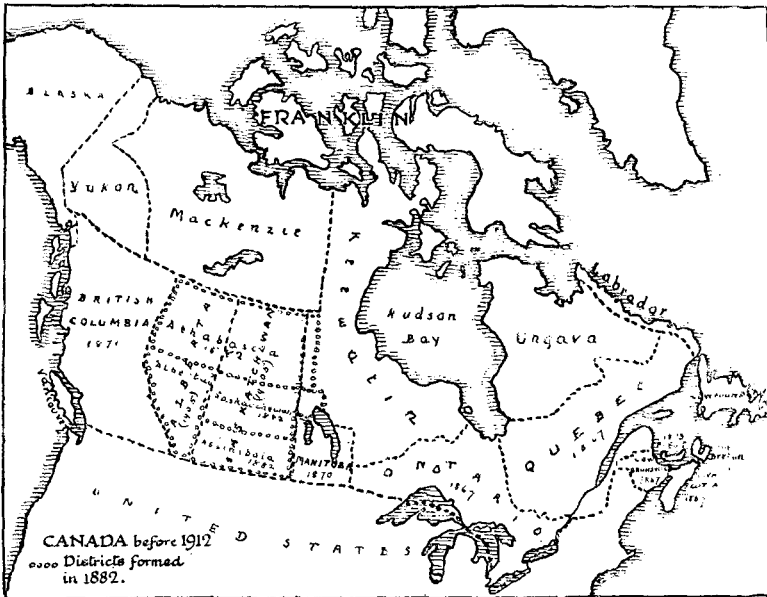
the Indians came annually to sell their furs, receiving in exchange goods from the Company's stores. By the end of the seventeenth century about sixty posts were established and over 4,000 persons were employed. Some difficulty was experienced from the hostility of the French, but the whole region was declared to be English by the Treaty of Utrecht, and the Company held undisputed sway over all the land watered by the rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean, its domains extending from the Atlantic to the Rockies, and later to the Pacific Ocean. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it was threatened by the competition of a Scotch trading Company, who took the French half-breeds—the *coureurs de bois*—into its service and had its chief depôt at Grand Portage on Lake Superior. This meant that the furs coming to the Hudson Bay Company's posts were intercepted, and, as the Company could no longer rely on the Indians coming from great distances, it had to establish more posts in the interior and send agents inland to trade with them; by this means too it thought to make good its claim to hitherto unexplored and unoccupied land. The rivalry between the two Companies often led to violence, but this difficulty ceased with their amalgamation in 1821. The same year all the land claimed by England west of the Rockies was recognised as forming part of the territory of the Hudson Bay Company, and under its control small settlements grew up both in Vancouver and on the mainland. The Company now entered on a period of peace and prosperity; the territory was still used almost exclusively for the fur trade, and, as long as it was ruled by a Company which derived enormous profits from this trade, it was kept simply as a great game preserve and no development was possible. There were occasional attacks on its monopoly in Parliament, but the matter for a long time attracted little public attention, for no one outside the Company knew the value of the fur trade or of the land, and the greater part of the north and west was thought to be merely wilderness which it would be difficult to utilise in any other way. By 1867, however, agitation for the abolition of the monopoly had become more persistent, and a resolution was passed in the Dominion House of Commons urging the Home Government to unite the North-West Territory with Canada. As a result the Hudson Bay Company agreed to give up its exclusive rights in return for a sum of £300,000 paid by the Canadian Government; though losing its monopoly it still retained its trading rights and was allowed to keep its posts and stations with a block of land adjoining each, and its influence in the North-West is still very strong.

The first difficulty that the Canadian Government had to deal with in the newly-ceded territory was a revolt in the district known as Manitoba. The population was composed mainly of French half-breeds, who took alarm when the work of surveyance was begun, fearing that under the new conditions they would be deprived of their lands. In 1869 they broke out in revolt under their leader, Louis Riel, but were soon subdued. In 1870 Manitoba entered the Federation as a province, and a Lieutenant Governor was appointed, who was also given charge of the unorganised parts of the North-West. To keep order in these partially settled regions the Canadian North-West Mounted Police Force was organised and did a great deal to render life and property secure. This force has recently been amalgamated with the Dominion Police, and the combined force is now known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

In 1878, at the request of the Dominion Parliament, an Order in Council was issued annexing to the Dominion of Canada all British possessions in North America not yet included in the Federation. In 1895 the outlying parts of the North-West Territory were divided into four districts, and in 1898 as the result of the gold discoveries at Klondike, Yukon was organised as a separate territory, governed by a Commissioner and an elected Legislative Council, and sending a member to the Canadian Parliament. In 1905, as a result of increasing immigration, the four provisional districts already formed in the South—Alberta, Assinaboia, Saskatchewan and Athabasca—were formed into the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. These, with Manitoba, are generally known as the Prairie Provinces, and they exercise the same powers as the other provinces, except that the control of public lands remains in the hands of the Dominion Government. In 1912 the Southern parts of the North-West Territory were included in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba, and what is left of the Territory is now divided into the three districts of Mackenzie, Keewatin and Franklin. It is governed by a commissioner, a deputy commissioner and five councillors; and the seat of government is at Ottawa.

**The Pacific Coast.**—In establishing their claim to a share in the land on the Pacific Coast the English had to contend with the rivalry of the Spanish in the eighteenth, and of the Americans in the nineteenth century. In the early days of the nineteenth century the Americans had penetrated to the western sea-board, and in 1819 the Spanish gave up to them all their claims to the Pacific Coast north of Mexico, but the British claim to land north of California

remained, and for a time there was joint occupation of the Oregon district, which was regarded as neutral territory. After a few years, however, the United States began to assert exclusive rights, and in 1845 claimed the whole coast as far as Alaska. This brought the two countries to the verge of war, but the dispute was settled peaceably by the Oregon Treaty, which took latitude  $49^{\circ}$  as the boundary on the mainland and gave the whole of Vancouver Island to England. Even then it was uncertain whether the boundary line running round the south of Vancouver Island went south or



north of the Island of San Juan. In 1872 the question was submitted to the arbitration of the German Emperor and San Juan was adjudged to belong to the United States.

The boundaries of Alaska were another source of difficulty. Alaska had been bought by the United States from Russia in 1867, but the southern boundary was not clearly defined and a long strip of the coast was claimed by America, which cut Yukon off completely from the sea. The question became of importance when the Klondike goldfields were opened, and in 1903 it was referred to a Judicial Commission on which the United States, England and Canada were represented. No great interest was taken in the

question in England, but to Canada the matter was of first-rate importance and great indignation was roused when the decision was given in favour of the United States. The Canadians declared that they were "being sacrificed on the altar of American friendship," and the Canadian representative refused his signature to the Treaty.

British Columbia was first approached from the Pacific, and the exploration of the coast began with the visit of Cook in 1778; a few years later Vancouver surveyed almost the entire coast for the British Government. About the same time the district was approached from the interior by Mackenzie and the fur-traders of the North-West Company, the rivals of the Hudson Bay Company, and when the two Companies were amalgamated in 1821 the whole district was recognised as being within the sphere of the Hudson Bay Company, who ruled it for the next twenty-eight years. In 1849 Vancouver Island was proclaimed a British Colony, and in 1858, as a result of the gold discoveries and the large influx of miners, the mainland was also annexed to the Crown. In 1866 the two colonies were united under the name of British Columbia, and in 1871 British Columbia agreed to come into the Federation on condition that railway communication with the East was opened up in the near future.

## PART II.—CANADA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE early years of the twentieth century were a time of great development and progress in Canada. It was the time when the great prairie lands of the centre were being opened to settlement, when railway communication was being widely extended and the population was being rapidly increased by immigration. The effects of this expansion both on rural and urban life were very marked.

**Agriculture.**—Agriculture is still the primary Canadian industry; it is extensively carried on in all the provinces, and the centre is almost exclusively agricultural. Over the greater part of Canada mixed farming is general; stock raising as a separate industry is still carried on in the Prairie Provinces, but even there a great deal of pastoral land is being broken up into small agricultural holdings. Dairy farming is carried on most extensively in Ontario and Quebec. For the rapid advance that has been made in the present century the country is indebted to a great extent to Government action which had done much to increase the area under cultivation and to stimulate production.

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Cheap and plentiful land is the first requisite for a farming population, and in all the provinces except Prince Edward Island the Crown or public lands still cover large areas. The management of these lands was handed over to the provincial governments, and in the older provinces, with the exception of certain parts of Ontario, land for settlement could only be acquired by purchase, though as all the provinces were anxious to attract suitable settlers the price demanded was generally low. In the Prairie Provinces the amount of unoccupied land was so great that free grants were made, and a freehold of a hundred and sixty acres could be obtained by any bona fide settler, subject only to certain conditions of residence and improvement within the next three years. By the Homestead Law, settlers might group their houses together in a hamlet and were not forced to live on their holdings.

A great deal has been done of recent years to promote agricultural organisation and education. Since 1886 experimental farms have been working under Government control, and agricultural schools and colleges have been formed by the provinces. The Agricultural Instruction Act of 1913 provided for the expenditure of 10,000,000 dols. for educational purposes, the payments to be spread over a period of ten years, and since 1919 scientific survey of the soil has been carried out, and each of the Prairie Provinces now has its survey board.

Co-operation among the people has developed side by side with Government action, especially in the Prairie Provinces, where for a time the farmers suffered severely from their dependence on the corn dealers for the marketing of their produce. To meet the difficulty associations were formed among them which enabled them to get a better price for their produce and to buy the commodities they needed at a reasonable rate. Of recent years the farmers have become organised for political purposes as well and have formed a Farmers' Party, which is now represented in the Dominion Parliament. The main plank of their political platform since 1910 has been the policy of tariff revision. They object strongly to protection, because it raises the cost of living and tends to keep down the population and check the development of the Prairie Provinces; they consider that the interests of agriculture, the primary industry on which the prosperity of Canada depends, are being sacrificed to those of secondary industries which are of much less importance to the country.

Considerable attention is now paid to forestry. Crown forests are under the control of the provincial governments except in the Prairie Provinces and the Railway Belt, forty miles wide, in British

Columbia; in Ontario and Quebec provision has been made on a large scale for artificial reforestation. Other industries, such as the preparation of timber for building, flour milling, the making of agricultural machinery, and the manufacture of wood pulp are for the most part closely connected with forestry and agriculture. Except for the gold-producing districts of Yukon, the North is still given up mainly to hunting and fishing.

**Town Life.**—In the early twentieth century urban development was relatively much greater than rural development. Not half a century ago the town population was only 14 per cent. of the total population of the country: at the beginning of the present century it was only 37 per cent., and at the present time it has risen to 50 per cent. It is in connection with the towns that the evils of land speculation have been most rife. In many of the more recently occupied districts towns have sprung up very rapidly, often covering large areas and encroaching on the surrounding agricultural lands. This wide extension of township areas has greatly increased the expense of the provision of such municipal facilities as lighting, water-supply, communications, and as in some cases certain industrial and educational institutions are exempt from taxation, the towns are often burdened with debt. Little control over the municipalities has hitherto been exercised either by the Dominion or the Provincial Governments, and the problems of municipal administration have not yet received sufficient attention. To check land speculation, more especially in the town areas of the West, the policy of taxing land values was adopted with good results, especially since legislation has been passed in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia to ensure a more rigid enforcement of the tax. The effect of this policy has been to prevent land lying idle, to keep down the price of land in the vicinity of townships, and to encourage the purchase rather than the renting of farms.

**Labour and Industry.**—Until recently the Labour Movement has played no important part in Canadian politics. The struggle between labour and capital has not been very acute, as the small manufacturer has been able to hold his own, and as the wage-earners have been scattered over a large area there has been little concentration of industry. The working-classes have been effectively organised, and trade unions and labour councils developed fairly early, but the Labour Movement has been relatively weaker than in England and the United States, and until recently labour questions have been kept out of party politics. It was not until 1900 that the Trade and Labour Congress pronounced in favour of political action, and a Labour party was not organised until 1917. In

1900 a Department of Labour for the Dominion was founded, which became in 1909 a separate Ministry of Labour. There has been no compulsory arbitration in labour disputes, but the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 attempted to check strikes by conciliation. Industrial legislation has hitherto come within the sphere of the provincial governments, but in 1919 a National Industrial Convention held at Ottawa formed a commission to investigate such questions as conditions of work in factories, shops, mines, the system of workmen's compensation and the need for a minimum wage. It advocated the unification of existing laws.

**The Railways.**—In the industrial development of Canada railway construction has been of the first importance, especially before the opening of the Panama Canal. Federation was not possible without improved communications, and one of the first results of the British North America Act was the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway to connect Quebec with the Maritime Provinces, for Quebec hitherto had been dependent on the United States for communication with England and the adjacent colonies when the St. Lawrence was frozen over. The Canadian Pacific Railway was planned when British Columbia came into the Federation in 1871, but was not completed until 1886. Recent railway development has been concurrent with agricultural and industrial expansion. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway from Monckton in New Brunswick to Winnipeg and thence to Prince Rupert in British Columbia was begun in 1905 and finished in 1915, and branch lines have since been constructed. Government encouraged railway construction by land grants and subsidies, but the work was carried on too rapidly, and in 1914 there was a serious financial crisis which threatened a collapse of national credit. To meet the difficulty a Royal Commission was appointed by the Dominion Government, which recommended the creation of a new public authority to take over the railways and work them in the national interests. As a result the Government took over twenty thousand miles of railway, known in 1918 as the National Canadian railways, but they are not yet self-supporting. In 1921 the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was also taken over by the Government.

**Defence.**—Through the greater part of the nineteenth century the work of defence was undertaken by England, though the different colonies had their own militias. In 1868 a uniform militia system was formed for the Dominion, and English troops were gradually withdrawn; after 1871 only the fortified harbours of Halifax and Esquimaux were garrisoned by the Imperial Government, and in 1905 these were handed over to Canadian control. The active

forces consist of a permanent regular army and a citizen army. The army is recruited by a system of voluntary enlistment for a period of three years, but in case of necessity service could be made compulsory and the men required could be chosen by ballot. At the time of the Second Boer War volunteer troops were equipped and sent to South Africa at the expense of the Canadian Government, but it was felt that this policy should not be taken as a precedent. The Act of 1904 declared that the Dominion forces were not to be used beyond the frontier, except for wars by which the Dominion was directly affected, though the Government retained the right to authorise volunteers to take part in any wars that affected the Empire.

When the War broke out in 1914 Canada had a small permanent force of three thousand men employed for garrison purposes and for training the militia, and there was no reserve. Yet her contribution to the Expeditionary forces was considerably over half a million of men. In November 1915 a munitions board was formed as an integral part of the British Ministry of Munitions, and in the winter of 1917-18 voluntary enlistment was superseded by conscription under the provisions of the Military Service Act. By the National Defence Act of 1922 a Department for National Defence was formed and a Council of Defence to advise the ministers.

Canada required a naval force for the protection of the fisheries, and a small number of gun-boats had been maintained and had been placed under the control of the Ministry of Marine and Fisheries. When the question of Imperial naval defence was discussed in 1909 both political parties were in favour of a more vigorous naval policy, but the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier wanted a fleet built and controlled by Canada, while the Conservatives, led by Borden, were in favour of merging the Canadian with the English fleet and placing it under the orders of the English Admiralty. It was the Liberal policy in favour of maintaining a Canadian fleet as a separate unit that found favour with the majority of the people, but it was decided that in case of emergency Canada should be permitted to put her fleet at the disposal of the Empire to serve with the Imperial forces. As the Conservatives came to power soon afterwards, however, the scheme of naval construction remained in abeyance. After the War the question was raised again, and Admiral Jellicoe visited Canada in 1919 to give advice and make suggestions, but the Canadian Government decided to defer action on the grounds that the financial condition of the country did not warrant the expenditure, and that no permanent Imperial naval policy had yet been decided on. On the whole

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Canada's military and naval policy has been national rather than imperial, and though she has shown herself quite ready to take a share in Imperial burdens she is determined to do it in her own way and to keep control over her own resources.

**Trade.** -- Before the adoption of Free Trade by England, though Canada had been hampered by the Navigation Laws and by other restrictions, she had always enjoyed preference in the English markets, and it was mainly to this that her progress in trade was due. The loss of her monopoly in the English markets was a heavy blow, and it was not until the Reciprocity Treaty was made with the United States in 1854 that her industrial system recovered from it. This Treaty established free trade between Canada and the United States in products of the forests, mines and seas, and granted to the Americans the right to navigate the St. Lawrence and to use the canals on the same terms as British subjects, giving the Canadians reciprocal rights to navigate Lake Michigan. It was made, however, only for a term of twelve years, and in 1866, when the period terminated, the relations between England and the United States were so strained that the Americans refused to renew it. As there were now several questions in dispute between Canada and the United States-- the boundaries of British Columbia, the navigation of certain rivers and lakes, and fishing rights in Canadian waters--Canada asked that a Commission should be appointed to adjust these differences. As a result the Treaty of Washington was drawn up in 1871, but the question that most closely concerned Canada--freedom of trade with the United States--was not dealt with, and hence Canadian goods were still excluded by a hostile tariff from American markets.

It was at first expected that the colonies would follow England in the adoption of free trade principles, but it was soon realised that, though it might suit the economic conditions of the Mother Country, it was not possible in new countries whose infant industries required protection. In 1858, in response to a demand for protection, increased duties were imposed by the Budget and though the British Chamber of Commerce and the Colonial Office protested against the right asserted by Canada to set up her own tariff system, Canada held that freedom in fiscal matters was essential to self-government, and this contention was not challenged. The duties were at first moderate, and it was not until 1878, when the Conservatives entered upon what proved to be a long term of office, that a definitely protective policy was adopted, of which the first result was a rapid growth of factory industries coupled with a rise in the cost of living and a falling off in immigration. The

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Liberals advocated duties for revenue purposes only and wanted to come to some agreement with the United States, as the Mac-Kinley tariff of 1898 was affecting Canadian farmers and lumbermen rather severely, but when they came into power in 1896 no drastic change was made. As there seemed to be little chance of improved trade relations with America, Canada looked to other countries, and more especially to Great Britain, for new markets. Consequently in 1897 trade advantages were granted to England, preferential treatment being accorded to English goods at the rate of 12 per cent. over those of other countries, and this rate was raised to 25 per cent. in 1898, and to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. in 1900. In 1897 Canada had virtually made England a present of the preferential tariff and had not hoped for anything in return, for reciprocity was impossible unless England gave up free trade. In 1902 the situation was changed, for a low duty for revenue purposes was imposed on grain, and this seemed to give an opening for colonial preference. The duty, however, was soon withdrawn, and it was clear that England had no desire to give up free trade. Canada still continued to give preferential treatment to English goods, and preference was extended later to other parts of the Empire.

In the early years of the century there had been little opposition to the tariff because it was the time of the great Western land boom, and the general prosperity was so marked that the effect of the increased taxation was little noticed. When the boom began to subside the demand for free trade rose again, voiced this time by the Farmers' Party. The Prairie Provinces, where agrarian interests are strongest, are in favour of free trade or at any rate of much lower duties and of a continuance of preference to British-made goods, because it is to their interest to be able to buy manufactured goods as cheaply as possible; the Eastern provinces, where the manufacturing interests are stronger, are still in favour of protection. No important change in tariff policy is likely in the near future, for both Liberals and Conservatives realise that it will be necessary to retain duties for revenue purposes, if not for protection, in view of the financial strain caused by the War. In 1917 a reciprocity agreement was arranged with the United States in connection with wheat and flour.

**Races in Canada.**—In Canada, though the English element predominates and there is little probability of anything in the nature of a "race question" arising, the mixture of races is very considerable.

*The French.*—The French still hold their own in the older provinces and remain a distinct race, French-speaking and Roman

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Catholic in religion. Their numbers are increasing, the increase being due solely to a high birth-rate, for there is no immigration from France and a good many French Canadians have emigrated of recent years to the New England States. Yet they form a smaller proportion of the total population than in earlier days, for they cannot keep pace with the English element which is constantly fed by immigration. Attached as they are by ties of race, language and religion to France, the French Canadians have no desire for political union with the land of their origin, for the country that their ancestors knew was the France of the *ancien régime*, and with the secular spirit and official administration of modern France they have little sympathy. Sir Wilfrid Laurier voiced the sentiments of his countrymen when he said, "Whilst remaining French, we are profoundly attached to the English institutions . . . we can be at the same time loyal to the country which is the birth-place of our race and to the other country to which we owe our liberty."

*The Indians.*—The danger from the Red Indians is now a thing of the past, but the native element is by no means negligible. The Indians were bound to fall back before the advance of civilisation and the restriction of the area of their hunting grounds, but their numbers are not now decreasing. Treaties were made with them at different times, as their domains were gradually falling under the authority of the Dominion Government, and they received land reserves and money payments in return for resigning their proprietary rights in the land and their political independence. Except in British Columbia and the more recently settled districts they nearly all live on reservations which they cannot alienate though they are not confined to them. There are some Indians in all the provinces and everywhere they are under the control of the Central Government and are regarded as its wards; they are educated in Government schools and are being gradually converted into a self-supporting agricultural population. "The Indian has proved that he can withstand the shock of contact with our civilisation, that he can survive the manifold evils of that contact and transfer his native energy into the channels of modern life." (Duncan C. Scott.) The Eskimos, on the other hand, cannot hold their own in the face of European civilisation, and it is doubtful whether they will survive except in the parts where they can live in isolation. The half-breed element has been of great importance, especially in the development of the North-West, but it is difficult to estimate its strength.

*The Asiatic Races.*—Oriental immigration has been a difficulty

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on the Pacific Coast, especially in British Columbia, where the Asiatic element forms already a tenth of the whole population and is being rapidly increased by immigration and a high birth-rate. Orientals are as a rule industrious and law abiding, but they work for a lower wage than white men and economic competition is the main cause of their unpopularity. The immigrant races are Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. The Chinese came in first from California after the gold rush in 1849; later they were employed in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Their numbers were increasing so rapidly that a poll tax was imposed at the rate of 50 dols. in 1885 and 100 dols. in 1901, certain classes—merchants, teachers, students and diplomats—being exempted. The Japanese did not come in in any considerable numbers until the beginning of the twentieth century. The political alliance with Japan rendered racial discrimination in their case more difficult, and restrictions imposed in British Columbia were disallowed by the Dominion Government. In 1908, however, Canada made an agreement, known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, with Japan by which the Japanese Government agreed to limit the number of working-class emigrants to Canada to four hundred a year. The Hindus began to come in about the same time as the Japanese. Their numbers at first increased rather rapidly, but it was found possible to restrict them by means of a clause of the Immigration Act which allows the exclusion of immigrants who may come to Canada in any other way than by continuous journey from their native land. In 1913 when Canada acceded to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911, the proviso was inserted that nothing in the Treaty was to affect the control of immigration by Canadian laws and regulations.

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a steady stream of immigrants from Europe, mainly from England, though many other countries were represented. There has also been very considerable immigration from the United States, the American immigrants of recent years being almost equal in number to those from Great Britain; they are mainly farmers who have been attracted to Canada by the facilities for obtaining land, and have proved excellent settlers. American influence has been felt in other ways as well, for the United States supplies a good deal of capital for Canadian enterprises, great American industrial houses have branches in Canada and economically Canada is more dependent on and more closely connected with the United States than with England, though there is no desire for a political union.

In recent years steps have been taken by all the provinces except Prince Edward Island to attract settlers of a suitable character,

especially from the British Isles and the United States, and the same policy is carried on by the Dominion Government more especially with a view to attracting immigrants to the unoccupied Crown lands and to the grain-growing provinces west of the Great Lakes. One feature of Canadian immigration is the large number of children who are sent out by charitable and other organisations, and for whom suitable positions are found. Immigration was one of the subjects over which the provinces and the Dominion Government have concurrent jurisdiction, but as a matter of fact the work of regulation has been left almost entirely to the Dominion Government and is under the control of the Minister of the Interior. It was found necessary to pass an Immigration Law to exclude undesirables and the Government can within three years of landing deport any person who has become a charge on the public funds, who has been convicted for an offence or who is insane.

**Growth of Political Independence.**—The chief feature of the history of Canada since 1840 has been the development of the colony into an independent nation, and Canada has gradually thrown off such traces of the control of the Mother Country as were left, and has asserted her right to complete control, not only of her internal affairs, but of external relations as well.

*Legislation.*—In legislation the right of the Governor General to reserve bills for the consideration of the Home Government is now obsolete. In the first eleven years after 1867 no fewer than twenty-one bills were reserved, but Canada protested and the right of the Governor General to reserve certain classes of bills was given up. Bills are never reserved now, and though the Home Government can inform the Governor General that certain legislation is opposed to Imperial interests, the final decision rests with the Canadian Government. The Home Government also claimed the right to disallow any act of the Dominion Government within two years, but since 1867 this power has only been exercised once, and it is now obsolete.

*Naturalisation.*—By the Canadian Nationality Definition Act a distinctive Canadian nationality was recognised. Canada had refused to accept the scheme for imperial naturalisation drafted in 1911, on the ground that no one could be naturalised as a Canadian citizen without the authorisation of the Canadian Parliament. In 1914 concurrent legislation was created by the British and the Canadian Parliaments to the effect that a person naturalised in Canada becomes *ipso facto* a naturalised British subject in the United Kingdom, but not in other parts of the Empire.

*Control of External Affairs.*—In external affairs which may be

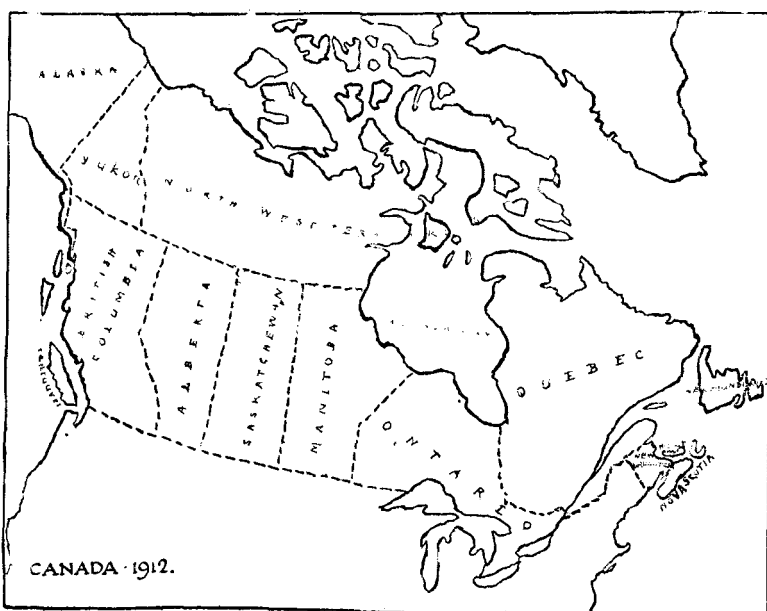
taken to include economic matters, boundary disputes and questions of general political importance, Canada gained control more gradually and with greater difficulty.

In economic matters she has for a long time managed her own relations with other countries. She has had complete control of her own tariff regulations and the right to arrange commercial treaties was gradually obtained though not without a struggle. In 1895 the Colonial Secretary refused to recognise that a Dominion had any power to negotiate a treaty: "A foreign power can only be approached through Her Majesty's representatives, and any agreement entered into with it affecting any part of Her Majesty's dominions is an agreement between Her Majesty and the sovereign of the foreign state . . . to give the colonies the power of negotiating treaties for themselves without reference to Her Majesty's Government would be to give them an international status as separate sovereign States and would be equivalent to breaking up the Empire into a number of independent States." These principles, however, were not rigidly enforced. In 1907 when negotiations were being carried on for a trade convention between Canada and France, Sir Edward Grey, in a letter to the English Ambassador at Paris, referred to this dispatch, but said he did not consider it necessary in that case to adhere strictly to the letter of the law, and that it would be advisable to leave the negotiations to the Canadian ministers who would no doubt keep him informed of their progress. When the negotiations were concluded they were to be signed by both the English ambassador and the Canadian minister. A similar course was followed in the trade agreement made between Canada and France in 1921. In 1908, in considering the question of a proposed immigration treaty with China, Sir Edward Grey took the view that a minister of the Crown in Canada has as much right to act in the name of the sovereign as a minister of the Crown in Great Britain.

The question of general politics presents more difficulty, for there is always in the background the possibility of war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking in 1911, gave it as his opinion that such matters should "be left altogether to the responsibility of the United Kingdom . . . you ought not to give advice unless you are prepared to back that advice with all your strength." Laurier thought that Canada could always stand out of imperial wars if she wished to do so; Borden, on the other hand, held that if the Empire was at war Canada would necessarily be at war too, and consequently that she ought to have a voice in imperial politics. The Dominions were not permitted to have diplomatic relations with

foreign governments, but for many years the Consuls General of most of the Great Powers at Ottawa have discharged functions of a quasi-diplomatic character, and in 1913 direct negotiations were carried on between the Canadian Premier and the Japanese Consul General in connection with Canada's adherence to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911.

Canada's status as an independent power, like that of the other self-governing dominions, was openly recognised at the close of the War. In 1915 Borden attended the meetings of the Imperial



War Council in London, and in 1918 Canadian plenipotentiaries took part in the peace negotiations, and not only signed the treaties but had it placed on record that the authority to sign was derived from the Canadian Government. The treaties were then ratified by the Canadian Parliament.

Canada has now a department of external affairs and a diplomatic representative at Washington, who is authorised to take charge of the British embassy and to act as Imperial representative in the absence of the British ambassador.

**Newfoundland.**—Newfoundland had been discovered by Cabot in 1497, and two attempts had been made by the English to colonise

it—by Gilbert in 1524 and by Baltimore a century later—but neither had been successful. The island was also claimed by the French, who included it in the territory known as New France, but they made no attempt to occupy it, and for the first two centuries after its discovery it was valued only for the fisheries off the coast, which were declared by Sir Francis Bacon to be worth more than all the mines of Peru. Newfoundland was the common meeting-place of fishing boats of all nations, but from the first the English seem to have exercised some sort of supremacy there. Hakluyt noted in 1578 that “the English are commonly lords of the harbours, where they fish and help themselves to boatloads of salt and such, in return for protection against rovers and other violent intruders who do often put them (the foreign fishermen) from good harbours.” The master of the first fishing vessel from England, Wales, or Berwick that entered a harbour after the opening of the fishing season was known as the fishing admiral and was ruler over the fishermen for the year, doing justice and settling disputes. The master of the second English vessel was vice-admiral, and the master of the third rear-admiral, and until the eighteenth century the code of these fishing admirals was the only law recognised. The justice thus dispensed was very rough and ready, and as the admirals in many instances were judges in their own causes, not by any means impartial. The English trade grew rapidly, and by 1674 there were 270 English ships and 11,000 English seamen engaged in the fisheries. Newfoundland was, however, still regarded only as a fishing station and a nursery for sailors, and settlement was discouraged by the Government, for it was afraid that, if a colony were established, the profits of the fisheries would go to the settlers and would consequently be lost to England. Laws were passed forbidding any one but sailors to go out in fishing vessels, ordering the fishermen to return to England every year and prohibiting the cultivation of the land within six miles of the shore.

The Treaty of Utrecht recognised Newfoundland as an English colony, but allowed the French still to land and dry their fish on the north and west coasts. Not long afterwards civil government was established, for, in spite of the prohibition, the number of settlers was slowly but steadily increasing. In 1715 it was represented to the Home Government that “the admirals prove generally the greatest knaves, and do most prejudice, being generally judge and party on hearing suits for debt and when they have served themselves they will do justice to others. So it will be requisite to have a civil government and persons to administer justice in

the most frequented places, so that we may be governed as Britons and not live like banditti without law or gospel." In answer to this the first Governor was appointed in 1728 with a commission to establish a *form of civil government*.

For many years after it had come under English rule Newfoundland still derived its importance mainly from the fishing industry, and the fishing rights accorded to other nations—chiefly to the French and Americans—were a constant source of dispute. In 1783 the areas allotted to the French were altered and ill-feeling was roused because, by their interpretation of the wording of the new agreement, they now claimed exclusive rights over part of the west coast, and the bounties granted by the French Government to their fishermen enabled them to undersell their English rivals. Disputes went on all through the nineteenth century and were not closed until, by the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, the French agreed to give up their rights, receiving in return territorial compensation in Tropical Africa.

There was also some difficulty in connection with fishing rights granted to the Americans, and these were referred to the Hague tribunal for settlement in 1907.

After civil government had been established population steadily increased, but there was no rapid growth until the end of the century, when a time of prosperity was brought about by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, which meant for Newfoundland the cessation of competition in the fishing industry and a rise in the price of fish. In 1809 Newfoundland was made responsible for Labrador. In 1832 representative government was granted, and in 1855 responsible government. Though taking part in the preliminary negotiations, Newfoundland refused to come into the Federation.

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## CHAPTER V

### THE WEST INDIES

**The Spanish in the West Indies.**—The colonisation of the West Indies was begun by the Spanish, who by virtue of the Papal Bull of 1493 claimed to exercise exclusive rights over the whole region.

The Spanish monopoly was first attacked by English seamen in the sixteenth century, and Spanish shipping and trade suffered



severely from English hostility. The galleons were forced for safety to sail in squadrons under the protection of warships, and the peril was so great that one year only twenty-five ships out of a total of a hundred and twenty-three arrived in Spain. As a result of these piratical voyages the West Indies were becoming known to English explorers, and in the early part of the seventeenth century English, French and Dutch began to settle on the smaller

islands, for the configuration of the coast was favourable for smuggling and piracy and it was impossible for the Spanish to watch all the harbours and creeks. They still claimed exclusive rights though they only occupied the larger islands, and they were consistently hostile to the settlers of other nations whom they were unable either to exclude or to expel. It was in the West Indies that all nations seemed to meet, and it was here that the Spanish monopoly in the New World was first broken down. Progress was necessarily rather slow, for the Spanish were for a long time far stronger than any other race in the New World, and the distance from Europe was sufficiently great to make them dangerous to interlopers who could only settle in small numbers. Moreover the Caribs were a strong and independent native race, and were a factor that had to be taken into account in West Indian colonisation.

**English Settlements.**—The area of English settlement included the Bahamas, the Leeward and Windward Islands.

*The Bahamas.*—The Bahamas had been visited by Columbus and by other Captains, both Spanish and English, in the sixteenth century, and had been depopulated by Spain to provide labour in the early days of Spanish settlement; they were then for a time inhabited only by the pirates and wreckers who settled on the coast and lay in wait for Spanish trading ships. There was no permanent English occupation until the middle of the seventeenth century, and not much colonisation before the Revolutionary Wars. Though a Governor was sent out from England, he was able to exercise little practical authority over the turbulent elements of the population, and law and order were not established until the eighteenth century.

*The Leeward and Windward Islands.* Settlement on the islands had been started by the enterprise of Sir Thomas Warner about 1624, and three years later a royal grant of most of the Leeward and Windward Islands was made to Lord Carlisle. Under this grant a good many of the Leeward Islands were settled, but the Windward Islands, where the Caribs were stronger, received little attention until the second half of the eighteenth century. The colonisation of the Leeward Islands went on steadily, with little or no interference from Spain, and they became tolerably prosperous. The cultivation of tobacco was very profitable, and they not only enjoyed free trade with the French and Dutch, but were able to carry on contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, as the Spanish Government was too far off to enforce the trade laws effectually. The Colonies were adversely affected by the Navigation

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Laws, for hitherto nearly all the carrying trade of the islands had been in the hands of the Dutch, who had supplied them with European produce, and as a result of the blow struck at the Dutch trade by the Act of 1651 they were seriously hampered. The development of the sugar plantations in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the fact that they had the monopoly of the home and colonial markets, which absorbed the whole supply and paid good prices for it, made them more independent of foreign trade and went far to counteract the effects of trade restriction.

The islands on which the English settled were Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Barbados, Dominica, Montserrat and the Virgin Islands. Of these the most important in the seventeenth century were Barbados and St. Kitts.

*Barbados.*—Barbados was claimed for England as early as 1605, when the sailors of an English ship which touched at the coast set up a cross with the inscription "James, King of England and of this Island," but it was not until twenty years later that there was any attempt at permanent occupation. It was at that time a desolate uninhabited land, but the climate and soil were favourable, it was easily fortified, and as it lay off the main routes of the Spanish ships it was tolerably secure from attack. Its progress was steady and fairly rapid, and representative institutions soon arose. Until the conquest of Jamaica, the capital, Jamestown, was a sort of metropolis, and Barbados was the social and political centre of English life and interests in the West Indies. In the eighteenth century it was the rendezvous of the military and naval forces engaged in the wars with France and Spain, and was the only important island which never fell into the hands of a foreign power.

*St. Kitts.*—St. Kitts was occupied simultaneously by the English and French in 1625. The two races settled down peaceably side by side and made common cause against the Caribs, the French occupying the northern and southern extremities and the English a strip of land through the centre, a larger and more defensible district than that of the French. St. Kitts became a little centre of English colonisation and sent out settlers to Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis and Barbados. Prosperity came with the cultivation of tobacco, but, as this was the only industry, the settlers were dependent on Dutch traders for all other produce.

**The Buccaneers.**—An important feature in the history of the West Indian Islands was the presence of the Buccaneers, who took a not inconsiderable part in the work of breaking down the Spanish monopoly. The Buccaneers were smugglers and pirates

of all nations, who made common cause against the Spanish and almost drove Spanish trade from the West Indian Seas. In 1630 they settled in the little island of Tortuga to the north-west of San Domingo, which became the headquarters of the sea rovers of all nations, the market for their booty and the storehouse for their supplies. They obtained their food from the larger islands, where there were extensive hunting grounds and herds of wild cattle and hogs, which had been placed on most of the islands by the Spanish. In 1638 their settlement was plundered and almost destroyed by the Spanish, and in 1640 it was taken under French control, though it was still open to adventurers of all nations. Jamaica after its conquest in 1655 offered a more secure shelter for English buccaneers and Port Royal became a centre to which their plunder could be brought. It was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that any measures were taken to suppress them. Hitherto, like the seamen of the sixteenth century, they had been countenanced more or less openly by the Governments of both England and France, and in time of war letters of marque were often granted to them which enabled them to add privateering to piracy; some of them even held commissions from both the English and the French Governments at the same time, using whichever one they found to be most convenient at the moment. The settlers on the islands showed no hostility to them, for they were not strong enough to run the risk of incurring their hostility, and they benefited to a certain extent by their trade, though the general feeling of insecurity was somewhat prejudicial to the development of the colonies. Between the years 1660 and 1685 the Buccaneers were at the height of their power; their operations were not, as before, confined to the Caribbean Sea, but were extended to the Pacific Ocean and the mainland, and under strong leaders they were able to ravage the coast of South America from California to Chili. One of the most noted of these was a Welshman, Henry Morgan, who plundered Portobello and Panama. Then, finding that plots were being formed against him by his followers, he returned to England with the greater part of the booty, and managed to gain the favour of Charles II, who knighted him and appointed him Governor of Jamaica. Henceforth he devoted his energy to the work of maintaining law and order. The suppression of the Buccaneers was a work of time, but by the end of the eighteenth century they had lost all cohesion and organisation and were no longer a factor to be considered in West Indian colonisation.

**Jamaica.**— The expedition, led by Penn and Venables, which

ended in the capture of Jamaica in 1655 was the first open attack by the Government on the Spanish position in the West Indies. In its main object, the capture of San Domingo, it failed, and was only successful at Jamaica because it met with little or no resistance, for, from the character of the men sent out, many of whom were vagrants or were taken direct from the prisons—"a sad miscellany of distempered, unruly persons"—no brilliant exploits could be expected. Jamaica was not defended, for it was not considered a valuable possession by the Spaniards, and the Governor, left almost entirely without troops, surrendered after the first few shots had been fired. The natives had been exterminated long ago and the greater part of the country, reduced almost to a desert, was overrun by cattle, dogs and pigs. The population, numbering about three thousand, of whom about half were slaves, was concentrated in the south, and many of the Spaniards, refusing to acknowledge English authority, fled to the woods.

Thus the colony when the English took it over was almost deserted. The Government of Cromwell did what it could to encourage colonisation, and land grants were given to settlers, who were exempted from taxation for ten years. A good many planters went over from the other islands. A heterogeneous collection of people, mainly of an undesirable type, were sent out from the British Isles, and when Jamaica became also the headquarters of the Buccaneers the disorderly elements seemed to be so greatly in the ascendant that in Cromwell's time it was kept under martial law. After the Restoration a more stable and reliable element was introduced by the immigration of Quakers, Jews, and political refugees, and in 1664 representative government was granted. Though poor at first, Jamaica, from its size and its excellent harbours and from the increasing prosperity of its sugar plantations, soon became one of the most valuable of the English possessions, and traders of all nations resorted to Port Royal. After 1692, when Port Royal was destroyed by an earthquake, Kingston took its place as the commercial and political capital of the island.

*The Maroons.*—The Maroons were a constant source of difficulty until the end of the eighteenth century. The word "Maroon" is an abbreviation of Cimaroon, the name given to runaway Spanish slaves, of whom there were a large number on the island, for a large and mountainous country like Jamaica offered favourable opportunities for outlaws and refugees. The Maroons were joined by those Spanish colonists who had refused to submit to English rule, and later on by a large number of negro slaves who had escaped from the English plantations. They were constantly harassing

the settlers and raiding the plantations, and the general feeling of insecurity caused by them retarded the development of the colony. After several years of irregular warfare a pacification was made in 1739, and two separate tracts of land, 25,000 acres in all, were granted to them in perpetuity, the Maroons on their side promising to keep the peace and to give up runaway slaves. There was no further serious trouble until 1795 when a revolt broke out in the centre of the island, for which the unrest caused by the spread of French revolutionary doctrines and the news of the successful negro rising in Hayti were probably mainly responsible. As before, the plantations were raided and white men murdered, but the revolt was soon suppressed and a pardon was guaranteed to all who gave in their submission by a certain date. The time allowed, however, was not sufficient and the harsh measure was adopted of deporting those who, though willing to submit, were not able to come in by the date fixed. About six hundred were sent to Halifax, but as the climate proved to be unsuitable they were later transferred to Sierra Leone. The rest remained in Jamaica and in 1842 were granted all the rights of British citizens.

**The European Wars and the West Indies.** The reigns of the two last Stuart Kings were a time of comparative calm for the West Indies, for the struggle with Spain was now practically over and the contest with France had not yet begun. The English and French agreed to make a division of the islands between them and to make common cause against the Caribs. In 1670 Spain gave up its exclusive claim to the West Indies and recognised the right of the English to Jamaica.

During the wars of the eighteenth century the West Indies was one of the great fields of naval warfare and the islands were constantly changing hands, but on the whole the English made steady progress. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, St. Kitts became entirely English and the Leeward Islands were placed outside the scope of French influence. After this both French and English began to turn their attention to the Windward Islands, to several of which they put forward rival claims, but at the close of the Seven Years' War most of them passed under English control, only St. Lucia remaining French. Definite orders were sent out after this war to break off all trade intercourse with the French and Spanish settlements, with the result that a great deal of the West Indian trade fell into the hands of the Dutch and Danes.

The War of American Independence affected the West Indies because there had always been a close trade connection between

the islands and the mainland of America, the West Indies obtaining from America a good many of the necessaries of life and a large proportion of the food supply for the slaves. This trade was now stopped, and, as the crops hurriedly grown as a substitute were destroyed by a hurricane, a famine resulted, fifteen thousand negroes dying in Jamaica alone. During the latter part of the War, when the French were fighting on the side of the Americans, most of the English islands passed into their hands, but Rodney's victory in 1780 destroyed the French naval supremacy in these regions and at the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 all the islands, except Tobago, were given back to England.

In the Revolutionary Wars, 1793-1802, trouble was caused by the spread of the revolutionary spirit, for the French extended the doctrines of the Rights of Man to the negroes and abolished slavery throughout the French colonies. Great excitement was roused among the negro population and in St. Domingo, the most flourishing of the French colonies, the negroes revolted and demanded a share in the Government. Under an able leader, Toussaint, they succeeded in driving out the French and established the independent republic of Hayti, of which Toussaint was the first President, and though he was taken prisoner and killed in the Napoleonic Wars, the republic was not conquered and the negroes maintained their independence. This revolution in St. Domingo stimulated revolt in the English colonies and there were risings in Jamaica and the Windward Islands, which were, however, soon suppressed. All the conquests made by the English during the war were, with the exception of Trinidad, given back at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Trinidad was governed as a Crown Colony, and with the development of its resources and the cultivation of sugar and cocoa it soon became prosperous.

During the Napoleonic Wars almost every island in the Caribbean Sea, with the exception of Hayti, submitted to the English, and at the end of the war Tobago and St. Lucia were ceded by France and Guiana by Holland. No changes of any importance have taken place since.

**Slavery and the Plantations.**—Slavery in the West Indies was introduced by the Spanish as soon as colonisation began. The rapid extermination of the natives on the plantations made it necessary to look to other sources for the labour supply and the West African negroes, who were known to be a stronger and hardier race, soon took their place both in the West Indian plantations and in the mines of South and Central America. Their employment is said to have been suggested first by a Portuguese

bishop, Las Casas, in the hope of checking the exploitation of the natives of the New World. It is also reported that the bishop realised before his death that a greater iniquity was being perpetrated in the wholesale enslavement and expatriation of the African negroes, but already the system had been proved to be commercially profitable and it could not be stopped. On the English plantations there was no great demand for labour until the development of the sugar industry in the latter part of the seventeenth century, as a result of the discovery that if the canes were allowed to ripen for fifteen instead of for twelve months the juice could be boiled down and crystallized.

*White Labour on the Plantations.*—As the plantations developed, great difficulty was found at first in obtaining an adequate supply of labour, and for a time there was a considerable European element working side by side with the negroes. Many political prisoners were sent out after the Scotch and Irish Wars of Cromwell's time, and after Monmouth's revolt, when grants of prisoners were frequently made to courtiers, who could, on paying a small fee to an agent, receive the profits of their sale to the planters. It was decided to allow felons convicted for slight offences, sturdy beggars and vagabonds to be sent out, and as a result contingents were regularly drafted from the prisons. A practice grew up also of kidnapping for the purpose men, women and children from the coasts of Scotland and Ireland—"spiriting" as it was called—and complaints of this practice, and more especially of the extent to which young people were enticed away, became so serious and insistent that the Mayor of Bristol and the Lord Mayor of London asked the King for permission to search ships before they left to see that people were not being taken off against their will, but in spite of the co-operation of the Government, "spiriting" still continued.

On the plantations the negro labourer was rated at a higher value than the white man, a strong African negro fetching £16 whilst a white man was worth on an average only £14 13s. 4d. This was partly because the negroes could stand the climate better and were easier to manage, partly because the white men, though working as slaves on the plantations, were legally in the position of indentured servants in that they only served for a term of years, generally five, after which they had to be sent back, whilst the negroes were slaves for life. Many of these white labourers never returned to England at all, and after their term of service was over settled down in the islands as small landowners or became overseers on the plantations. The lowest of them formed the

class of "mean whites" who had no settled place in the social system and were universally despised.

*Increase of Negro Slavery.*—In the eighteenth century the supply of black labour was very much increased, and the European element became much less important and disappeared altogether towards the end of the century. Gradually the English were beginning to take a much greater share in the slave trade. In 1713, by the Assiento Treaty, they were given the monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies for thirty years, and the right to exercise this monopoly was granted by the English Government to the Guinea Company, but the trade was burdened with such heavy dues that the Company was eventually ruined. Still a great impetus had been given to the trade of supplying the English colonies with slaves; between the years 1733 and 1766 the average number of slaves taken every year from West Africa was 20,000 and by the end of the century the number had risen to 100,000, the majority of these being taken in English ships.

*Treatment of the Slaves.*—The treatment of the slaves varied a great deal on different islands and under different masters. A strong and healthy negro was valuable and would be well treated in order that his master might get full value out of him; the old, sick and impotent were often neglected even when they were not actually ill-treated. The domestic slaves, who came more closely into contact with the planter and his family, were on the whole better treated than those employed in field labour. The planter was not allowed an entirely free hand in dealing with his slaves, for laws were passed by most of the Colonial Legislatures regulating slavery. In the Leeward Islands the weekly allowance of food that a slave was to receive was laid down by law, or in lieu of food he might have a plot of land not less than forty feet square, from which to raise his own food crops. In some cases he received an allowance in money of 4s. a week instead of either food or land, and then he was to be allowed two half-holidays a week on which to go to market and buy his supplies. Everywhere it was the general rule that the slaves were entitled to half an hour's interval for breakfast and two hours' rest at noon.

Manumission was also strictly regulated by law, partly because the increasing number of free negroes was thought to be a political danger and partly to prevent the rates being burdened with the maintenance of old and impotent negroes who were of no further use to their masters. In a good many of the West Indian islands laws were passed making it obligatory on every person manumitting a slave to pay into the public Treasury £300 in the case

of a female and £200 in the case of a male, so that freed slaves might be provided with maintenance allowance at the rate of £18 a year for a woman and £12 a year for a man. It could be asserted with truth that the West Indian slave was better fed and clothed than the average labouring man in England in the early part of the nineteenth century. Yet the high rate of mortality on the plantations and the constant necessity of bringing in fresh supplies of labour in spite of the bounties given to encourage births, afford in themselves sufficient proof that the conditions of life on the plantations must have been unsatisfactory. Flogging was a very general punishment and the slave had little protection against personal violence on the part of the master or foreman; in some islands he could even be killed with impunity. The separation of families was allowed, an abuse which was forbidden in the French colonies. On the whole conditions on the English plantations seem to have compared unfavourably with those in the French colonies, partly because the principle of granting representative institutions placed the slaves at the mercy of Colonial Assemblies formed mainly of planters, who reflected the prejudices and legislated in the interests of their own class.

In the plantation colonies the black population always largely outnumbered the whites and there was an ever present dread of slave revolts. There were three slave risings in Barbados in the seventeenth century and a dangerous outbreak in Jamaica in 1734, when several plantations were destroyed and a hundred and thirty-four white men were killed. Slave plots and attempts at revolt were numerous, but generally speaking, they met with very little success, for more often than not they were betrayed by domestic slaves, whose fidelity could generally be relied on, and were nipped in the bud.

*The Movement for Abolition.*—A feeling against slavery began to rise in the latter part of the eighteenth century and found expression in the works of the liberal and philosophic writers who heralded the dawn of the French Revolution. Montesquieu in his "Esprit des Lois," 1750, declared that "slavery was contrary to every principle of law, human or divine, civil or moral," and the doctrine of the Rights of Man, as put in practice by the Revolutionists, recognised no distinctions of race or colour. In England the agitation in favour of abolition was begun by the Quakers, who were soon followed by the Wesleyans, and Adam Smith had already brought forward the argument that slavery was economically unsound. In 1772 the important point had been established by the judicial decision of Mansfield that slavery could not exist on

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English soil, and several of the leading statesmen—Grenville, Pitt and Fox—were known to be favourable to abolition.

*Abolition of the Slave Trade.*—The efforts of the leaders of the Abolitionists, Wilberforce and Clarkson, were directed first to the abolition of the slave trade. Clarkson published his history of the slave trade, describing the cruelty involved and the horrors of the Middle Passage, for it was estimated that twelve and a half per cent. of the negroes died on the journey across the Atlantic. The question was taken up by the Government and Bills were brought into Parliament, but the outbreak of the French Revolution checked for a time all liberal schemes. It was not until 1807 that the slave trade, already abolished by Denmark in 1792, was abolished by England on a motion of Fox, whose death took place before it could be put into effect. Slavery was not yet abolished, but it was hoped that this Act would improve the condition of the slaves already working on the plantations, because, now that the supply of fresh labour was cut off, they would be more valuable and the planters would be forced in their own interests to treat them better. The results hardly justified these expectations, for the slave trade was not easily stopped. It continued for a time as a smuggling trade under even worse conditions, and it was only by the activity of the English men-of-war stationed on the West African coast and by the punishment of offenders as felons that it was eventually suppressed.

*Abolition of Slavery.*—The abolition of slavery itself was only a question of time; already steps were being taken to prepare the negro for freedom, and missionary work was actively carried on. In 1823 Canning's Orders in Council were issued to improve the condition of the slaves on the plantations. Flogging in the field was forbidden; the flogging of women was altogether prohibited; slaves were allowed to contract legal marriages, to hold property and to buy their freedom, and were placed under an official protector. Except for the fact that they were tied to the plantation and were forced to work, they were now regarded as citizens; but these Orders were not always everywhere enforced, as the Colonial Legislatures objected to being over-ridden by Orders in Council. In 1833 a Bill was at length passed which abolished slavery throughout the British dominions.

**Causes of the Decline of the Plantations.**—*Difficulties before the Abolition of Slavery.* The Acts of 1807 and 1833, though they were unassailable from a humanitarian point of view, seemed likely to handicap very seriously the main West Indian industry, but they were only one cause among many of the declining prosperity

of the plantations, for all through the latter part of the eighteenth century there had been complaints of increasing difficulties and diminishing profits. One cause of this lay in the nature of slave labour itself, for, as it is notoriously unintelligent, it is almost impossible to teach slaves new work; thus it tends to stereotype industry, and the effect of this was especially bad in the case of sugar, which very rapidly exhausts the soil. Towards the end of the century the planters were feeling rather severely the competition of the French sugar growing colonies, which undersold the produce of the English West Indies in neutral markets, and before 1783 had carried on a flourishing smuggling trade with the American colonies in defiance of the English Navigation Laws. This competition naturally became more serious after the War of American Independence when America was free to go to the cheapest markets for its sugar. The effect of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was to cause still further trouble, by reducing considerably the price of colonial produce. Sugar, shut out since 1783 from the ports of the United States by the English Navigation Laws, was now shut out from the Continent by Napoleon's decree, and British warehouses were stored with the sugar and other tropical produce, not only of her own colonies but of those of the Dutch and French as well.

The abolition of the Slave Trade struck another blow at their prosperity by enormously raising the price of labour, for the value of a slave soon rose from £20 to £100 or £120, and scarcity of labour made it impossible to bring more land under cultivation. Moreover, as the West Indian islands had served as a trade depôt and had supplied other colonies with slaves, the cessation of the trade was in itself a serious loss.

*The Effect of Abolition.*—The abolition of slavery, it was expected, would complete the ruin of the planters. The compensation paid them only amounted to about a third of the value of the slaves, and unfortunately the change coincided with other disasters—earthquakes, hurricanes, and pestilence—which increased their difficulties. Between the years 1832 and 1848 a hundred and forty sugar estates were abandoned, and in cases where they were kept on many of the planters were absentees and left them to be managed by agents, with the result that the greater part of the compensation money was diverted to Europe and was not spent in the West Indies at all. Yet it was found that properly managed estates could still be made to pay fairly well under the new conditions. The problem of labour was solved in various ways. It was confidently asserted that the negroes would not work except

under compulsion and in some cases this was found to be true. In Jamaica especially, and in some other islands where there was a good deal of unoccupied land, the negroes settled down on this land, and as with the minimum amount of effort they could raise a sufficient food supply to support life, they refused to work as wage earners. In other islands, such as Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts, where there was little or no spare land, the negroes were obliged to work or starve, and here the value of the land and the amount of sugar produced was even increased. Trinidad and Guiana took the lead in importing coolie labour from India, and their example was followed in those West Indian islands in which negro labour could no longer be relied on.

It was in Jamaica that the change was accompanied with most difficulty, and corruption in the colonial government was the main cause of the trouble. Race prejudice was very strong and the judicial cruelties to which the negroes were subjected were so great that in 1839 the English Parliament passed the West Indian Prisons Act, withdrawing the regulation of the prisons from the colonists. The Jamaica Assembly refused to do any business until its rights were restored and a temporary suspension of the constitution was threatened. The condition of the colony all through the middle of the century continued to be unsatisfactory, and in 1865 corruption and oppression caused a negro revolt. The outbreak itself was not serious and not more than eighteen white men lost their lives, but it was savagely suppressed by martial law. Over four hundred negroes were executed, and as a result of representations made to the Home Government the constitution was withdrawn and Jamaica became a Crown Colony.

*Free Trade and the Sugar Bounties.*—An additional difficulty for the planters was the adoption of free trade by England in 1846. Hitherto the monopoly of the home market had always been secured to them, but now they had to cope with the competition of other sugar-growing districts and in some cases had to compete with slave grown sugar on equal terms. Yet another grievance in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the competition of the bounty-fed beet sugar of the Continent. The manufacture of beetroot sugar had been started during the Napoleonic Wars when the English control of the seas had made it impossible for the time for the Continental markets to get any supplies of sugar at all. Later on in the century the industry was encouraged by bounties on exportation, which in 1896 equalled about a third of the value of the sugar, and foreign markets were flooded with sugar which was sometimes sold under cost price in consequence.

A Royal Commission appointed in 1896 to enquire into the conditions of the sugar industry reported that the depression was due to the competition of other sugar-growing countries and more especially to the competition of beet-sugar, and recommended the abandonment of the bounty system, the improvement of steam communication and the establishment of other industries. Steps were taken to act on the lines suggested in the report. In the early years of the present century the sugar bounties were modified. European conventions had met from time to time to discuss the question without much result, but in 1902 a convention was signed by all the Powers concerned, with the exception of Russia, agreeing to reduce bounties for a period of five years starting from September 1st, 1903, and this term was subsequently extended for five years longer. Of recent years steps have been taken to develop trade between the West Indies and Canada, and in 1898 the Canadian preferential tariff was extended to the West Indies. Substantial benefits have resulted as well from the efforts to get greater variety of industries. Fruit is extensively grown in Jamaica, and the cultivation of coffee, cotton and cocoa is increasing; many of the smaller islands which are well suited for fruit growing are hampered by difficulties of transport and communication. In 1903 an Imperial Department of agriculture was established, the cost of which was defrayed from Imperial funds. The liability to earthquakes and hurricanes will always be a drawback, and a Treasury Fund has been established in Jamaica to make provision in case of these disasters. Considerable sums are now provided also in most of the islands for the diffusion of scientific and agricultural knowledge. More capital has been attracted to the development of industries, and in 1909 it was stated that no West Indian Colony was then in receipt of a grant in aid.

**The Race Question.**—The black and coloured races are in a great majority in the West Indies, but there is very little racial hostility, especially in Jamaica, where the white and coloured races live together on better terms perhaps than anywhere else in the world. The negroes for the most part cultivate small peasant holdings varying in size from one to fifty or a hundred acres and provide a certain amount of casual labour, though they cannot be relied upon for steady work. "The African is for the most part an unskilled labourer, but he is strong, and when he is pleased to work he is highly efficient within the limits of his skill. He works best in gangs under social impulse, he works with extreme industry on his own small holding up to the limit of his limited wants. There are no bounds to the trouble he will take in service in which

his goodwill or affection is engaged. The capitalist system of industry has not disciplined him into a wage slave and I doubt if it ever will." (Olivier.)

The impossibility of getting a steady supply of labour from the negroes led to the introduction of coolies from India who have supplied most of the labour required for the plantations; they worked as indentured labourers until the system was stopped by the Indian Government under Lord Hardinge on the ground that it discredited the natives of India. The mixed coloured races supply the artisan and tradesman element; a great deal of the clerical and professional work is done by them, and there is no colour bar shutting them out from any work for which they show capacity. The coloured races have only gradually gained political powers and have been taught to govern themselves in local affairs and to take part in the work of police and justice. "On the whole the negro population taken in the mass are orderly, law-abiding, contented, still backward in their education but apparently advancing. They are generally loyal to the Government. The best of them are aspiring in their own way and wholesomely self-conscious, yet there is no doubt whatever that English white men are the essential controllers of the destiny of the country." (Olivier.)

**Government of the West Indies.**—The West Indian Islands are either Crown Colonies or colonies with representative government. The only fortified places are Port Royal in Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Lucia, which are all important as coaling stations. There are local volunteer forces on many of the islands and a police force on the model of the Irish constabulary, generally officered by Europeans. Weights, measures and currency are the same as in England, but in some of the islands American coins are current. For political purposes the islands are divided into six groups. (1) The Bahamas. (2) Barbados. Both of these enjoy representative government. (3) Jamaica. In 1866 Jamaica became a Crown Colony, but since 1884 the Legislative Council has been enlarged by elected members who are now in a majority and who have almost complete control over finance. Attached to Jamaica and dependent on it are several smaller islands, of which the most important are Turks and Caicos Islands. (4) The Leeward Islands (Antigua, with Barbuda and Redonda; St. Kitts; Nevis, with Anguilla; Dominica; Montserrat; the Virgin Islands). Since 1870 the Leeward Islands have had a form of federal government. The Governor is also Commander-in-Chief and is assisted by a Federal Executive Council, appointed by the Crown, and a Federal Legislative Council, partly appointed and partly elective, which meets

once a year. Each of these islands or groups of islands also has its own Executive and Legislative Councils. (5) Trinidad, with Tobago, which is a Crown Colony. (6) The Windward Islands (Grenada, St. Vincent, the Grenadines and St. Lucia). These islands are under one Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and have a common Court of Appeal, but have no form of federal government. They are now all Crown Colonies, but Grenada and St. Vincent retained representative institutions until 1876.

**The Bermudas.**--The Bermudas had been discovered by the Spanish, but were neglected by them as they lay out of the route of their ships. They were visited in 1595 by Raleigh, who found there what he described as "the hellest sea for thunder, lightning and storms," and there is some ground for thinking that the scene of "The Tempest" was laid here, but as the islands became better known their fertility and the salubrity of their climate were generally recognised.

An English settlement was first made there in 1612, and three years later the islands were granted by letters patent to an offshoot of the Virginia Company, but the trade restrictions imposed by the Company were oppressive and towards the end of the seventeenth century the Colony was taken over by the Crown. The Bermudas had always had a very close trade connection with the American colonies and the loss of the American trade after the War of Independence struck a serious blow at their prosperity. Since the abolition of the Navigation Laws, trade with the United States has again sprung up; the chief industries are market gardening, the production of vegetables, bulbs, etc., and the islands get their food supply mainly from the United States and Canada. The Colony has had representative institutions from very early days, and is an important naval base.

**British Guiana.**--Guiana seems to have been from early times a region of myth and fable; legends were told of the Amazons, of men whose heads grew beneath their shoulders, and of El Dorado, the city where, according to the tale of a Spanish soldier, the houses were roofed with gold, and which seems to have been identical with the City of Manoa, sought by Raleigh in 1595. There were Dutch settlements in the district from the early years of the seventeenth century and some attempts at colonisation were made by the English, but were not very successful. After changing hands several times the district was finally ceded to England in 1814. The colony now has representative institutions, but its constitution still bears traces of its Dutch origin. The chief industries are the cultivation of sugar and cotton.

**British Honduras.**—Honduras was neglected by the Spanish because there were no precious metals to be found there, but it was visited by the English, and the natives, who were hostile to the Spanish, were always inclined to be friendly. English colonisation began with private adventurers, who held their own there in spite of the proximity of a hostile foreign power, and finally forced their own government to recognise and help them. The main industry was log-cutting, which had begun in Yucatan, probably as early as the reign of Henry VIII, though there are few notices of it as the trade was at first contraband. There was a close connection between these log-cutters, generally known as Baymen, and the buccaneers of Jamaica, and the Spanish soon began to object to the settlement, complaining that it was an infringement of their exclusive and sovereign rights, but there was little active hostility on their part, for the wood-cutters naturally went where the forests were densest and in those parts there were few or no Spanish settlers. Their rights were first formally acknowledged by the Spanish Government by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when they were given permission to remain and carry on their trade, though the district was still claimed as Spanish territory. Disputes about boundaries continued and in 1798 the Spanish finally renounced their claim. A struggle arose next between the English Government and the Baymen, who wanted protection but resented interference. As time went on and the population increased the need for organisation and control became apparent, and in 1839 a superintendent was appointed with an Executive Council. It was not declared to be a colony until 1862, and it was then for some time subordinate to the Governor of Jamaica.

#### Islands in the Atlantic

**Ascension.**—Ascension was occupied by the English in 1815 as a result of Napoleon's detention in St. Helena, and after his death it was retained as a naval station and was for a time the headquarters of the West Africa Squadron. It is now used mainly as a sanatorium and is garrisoned by marines; it is under the control of the Admiralty and is rated as a man-of-war.

**St. Helena.**—St. Helena was first occupied in the seventeenth century by the East India Company, who used it as a port of call for homeward bound ships. During the years when Napoleon was there (1815–1821) it was treated for the time being as an Imperial fortress, but it remained a possession of the East India Company until 1833, when it was transferred to the Crown and became a Crown Colony. Its importance as a port of call for

ships homeward bound from the East declined with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, but it is an important naval station connecting England with South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. After the Second Boer War it was used as a place of captivity for Boer prisoners. In 1906 the military garrison was withdrawn and a marine detachment was substituted in 1911. About a third of the island is suitable for cultivation; the population is mainly coloured and is of mixed origin Eurasian, African and East Indian.

**Tristan da Cunha.**—Tristan da Cunha is the most important of a little group of islands occupied in 1816 in order to prevent the possibility of the rescue of Napoleon from that side, but the garrison was withdrawn the following year. Some men, however, obtained permission to remain on the island and were soon joined by others, chiefly from whaling ships, and thus a small settlement of mixed descent grew up. They live under patriarchal rule and are governed by one of themselves; they get their living by supplying passing ships with potatoes and live stock, and import in return the necessaries of life. This trade has been declining since the development of steam communication and the opening of the Suez Canal route, and many of the younger members of the community migrate to South Africa. In 1914 the population was only 102. There is a resident English chaplain and the settlement is visited annually by a man-of-war.

**The Falkland Islands.**—The Falkland Islands were discovered by English navigators in Elizabeth's reign; they became a British possession late in the eighteenth century and are now a Crown Colony under a Governor with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. Sheep-farming is the chief industry, and they are important strategically as a protection to the trade round Cape Horn. Their importance will decrease when the Panama Canal is more generally used for trade. South Georgia and the Archipelago, about eight hundred miles to the east, are dependencies of the Falkland Islands and are valuable mainly for the whale fisheries of the coasts.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOUTH AFRICA

**The Cape as a Port of Call.**—“ In the days when the Portuguese were lords of the sea, the Cape was a point on the route to and from the East to be sighted and gladly passed by. Under the Dutch it was a trading station, subsidiary to and maintained in the interests of the Netherland Indies. In British keeping it has been the nucleus of a great European Colony, the home and abiding place of a large white population ” (Lucas). This passage summarises the history of the Cape since its discovery at the end of the fifteenth century. For a hundred years after Vasco de Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India, it was little more than a landmark. Although it had been described by Drake as “ a most stately thing and the finest Cape we ever saw in the whole circumference of the earth,” it often justified the name first given to it—the Cape of Storms; ships seldom touched there unless they were in need of fresh water and were thankful if they were able to get round without disaster. In the early part of the seventeenth century the formation of the English, French and Dutch East India Companies caused the Cape route to be more frequented, and Saldanha, or Table Bay, soon became the general stopping place where ships going to and from the East could get fresh supplies of water and often fresh food as well, for some trade had already sprung up with the Hottentots. Notwithstanding the growing importance of the Cape as a station for passing ships no attempt was made to colonise it, for though the possibility of colonisation was considered by both the English and Dutch East India Companies, it seems to have been thought that the enterprise would not be worth the trouble and expense. Both Companies wanted to concentrate all their energies on trade with the East and did not want the responsibility of supporting an isolated station which would have to be defended against both hostile natives and rival European powers.

**The Native Races.**—The native races in South Africa at the time when the Europeans first came into contact with the country were the Bushmen, the Hottentots and the Bantus, who are more generally known as Kaffirs. The Bushmen were a primitive race of a low type, Physically weak and incapable of hard work, with

little or no social or political organisation and without settled homes, they wandered about the country associated in small groups, and were not sufficiently strong or numerous to be a factor in the history of African colonisation. The Hottentots, a race of pastoral nomads, were probably a mixed breed, formed by the crossing of some alien race in past times with the Bushmen. Their numbers were not large and they were only found on the southern coast and on the banks of the Orange River and its tributaries. A lazy, vagrant race, lacking in energy and industry, they were not sufficiently warlike to constitute a danger and yet were seldom on good terms with the white men. They were incorrigible thieves, and Europeans in their vicinity always had to be on their guard against cattle raiding; though enslaved by the Dutch, they were of little value as servants and tended to drag down the standard of work among the settlers to their own level. In the Bantus Asiatic traits were mingled with those of the pure negro type. They were a strong, vigorous, warlike race, and when the Europeans first settled in South Africa were pressing down from the centre, advancing most rapidly along the eastern coast, where they reached the Kei River by the middle of the seventeenth century. There are now three main branches of the Bantus in the south—(1) the Zulus and the Kosas on the eastern seaboard, who have spread over the eastern districts; (2) the Bechuanas and Basutos on the central plateau between the Orange River and the Zambesi; and (3) the Ova Herero and Ova Mpo in the south-west, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the centre and south-west were still left to the Bushmen and Hottentots.

When the Europeans first came across the Bantu races they were a collection of tribes that had hardly emerged from the nomadic stage and the tribal organisation was very lax. Smaller and weaker tribes became merged with larger and stronger ones, or different tribes or parts of tribes would coalesce, the organisation of a tribe depending upon its leader, and the most powerful tribes were those that had been given coherence and unity by the military discipline imposed on them by a great warrior. Thus, Tchaka and his successor, Dingaan, organised the Zulu power, Moselekatse and his son Lobengula that of the Matabele, and Moshesh that of the Basutos. A strong tribe thus formed plundered and raided its weaker neighbours and the history of the South African native races at this time is a record of wholesale extermination by conquering tribes, in which it is reckoned that about a million lives must have been lost.

**Settlement by the Dutch.**—In 1648 the Haarlem, a ship belonging

to the Dutch East India Company, was wrecked on the South African coast. The crew settled down, began to cultivate the land and traded with the natives, and when after five months they were taken back to Holland by a passing Dutch ship, they gave such a favourable report of the country that the East India Company determined to establish a permanent station there for the purpose of supplying ships on their way to and from the East with fresh provisions. A fort was built and small land grants were given to burgher families and to discharged servants of the Company. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 a considerable Huguenot element was added to the white population, the Huguenots bringing, as they did elsewhere, their industries with them, and introducing especially the cultivation of the vine. They were dispersed among the Dutch population and soon adopted the Dutch language and customs. In the eighteenth century the boundary was pushed forward as far as the Fish River, but under Dutch rule the colony was not likely to advance beyond a certain point. There was little emigration from Holland and the colonial government, though not oppressive and corrupt until the last part of the century, was not satisfactory. As a dependency of the Dutch East India Company the Cape was still valued mainly as an outpost of the East India settlements, the Governor was appointed by the Company and the settlers were heavily taxed and hampered by trade restrictions. As a result the population of the colony, already scattered to get pasture land, now dispersed deliberately, in order to settle outside the limits of the Company's authority.

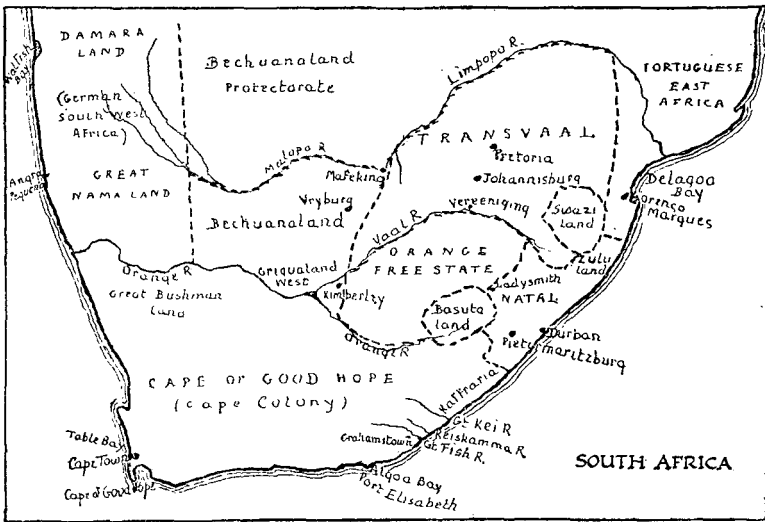
**Conquest by the English.**—Towards the end of the eighteenth century the position of the Dutch at the Cape was becoming less secure. The Company was in great financial difficulties, and was obliged to reduce the garrison and to neglect the fortifications just at the time when the growing intensity of the struggle between the English and the French in India increased its political importance as a station on the route to the East. Consequently in the Revolutionary Wars, when Holland was conquered by France, the Stadtholder, then a refugee in England, arranged with the English Government that the Cape should be taken temporarily under English control in order to prevent conquest by the French, and orders were sent out to the Governor to admit a garrison of English troops. The Governor refused at first, for the course of European politics was only imperfectly understood at the Cape, but the resistance offered was weak and half hearted and in a short time the Colony capitulated and was taken under English military control. As the English were only holding it as trustees, it was

given back by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and was placed under the direct control of the Dutch Government; all trade restrictions which had been imposed on the settlers during the rule of the East India Company were removed. Only two months after the English had withdrawn war broke out again and in 1806 the Cape was again captured by an English force. It was secured to the English by the Treaty of 1814, but Dutch ships were to be allowed free access to the ports for supplies and repairs.

**Early Days of English Rule.**—Cape Colony, when the English took it over, extended from the Great Fish River on the east to the Buffalo River on the west; on the north the boundary had not as yet at any point reached the Orange River. The resources of the country were as yet undeveloped, and agriculture, pasture farming and the cultivation of the vine were still the only industries. The colonists supplied their own wants and those of passing ships, but trade as yet hardly existed, and, except on the coast, the farmers led isolated lives on their own homesteads. There was little or no communication with the outside world, the Dutch population was conservative and unprogressive, and when English rule began there was not a single printing press in the Colony. The English found the institution of slavery already in existence, for the Dutch had, since the middle of the seventeenth century, brought in slaves, mainly from Mozambique and the Malay Peninsula, whilst the Hottentots had been reduced to the position of serfs. There was not the same excuse for slavery in Africa as in the West Indies, for the climate was not unsuited for white labour, but on the other hand, the slaves do not seem to have been badly treated on the whole and their numbers showed a tendency to increase. With the object of checking the nomadic habits of the Hottentots, which could not be tolerated in a settled community, reserves were set apart for them in those districts where they had been longest settled, and a proclamation of the Government deprived their chieftains of power and subjected them to European law.

Immigration soon began to increase as a result partly of the opening up of the country by missionary enterprise, partly of the pressure of economic and social distress in England, for there was a good opening for artisans and labourers at the Cape, and systematic emigration was encouraged by the State. In 1821 the Albany settlement at Algoa Bay, just to the west of the Great Fish River, was founded, and an impetus was given to the industries of the Colony by the residence of Napoleon at St. Helena, for during this period St. Helena formed a market for South African produce.

**Government of the Colony.**—For the first few years of English rule the Governor was the sole authority. He alone had legislative power and could issue new laws or modify those already in existence; he could impose taxes, exercise a general control over the administration of justice and appoint nearly all the officials; the local boards lost all initiative and were completely under his control. It was not until 1825 that a Council was appointed to assist him, and then it was a Council of officials only and the members could do little beyond discuss and vote on matters submitted to them



by him. A Legislative Council was added in 1834, but the constitution was still that of a Crown Colony. A little later the colonists, supported by the Governor, began to petition for representative government on the ground that it would help to develop the colony and encourage immigration. The Home Government, however, withheld its consent because it considered that the mixture of races and the want of good roads, which made communication between Cape Town and the country districts slow and difficult, would prevent the system from working well. The matter was dropped, but only for a few years, and in 1853 a constitution was granted which proved to be more representative in character than the colonists had expected. As was usual in this type of government, a legislature of two Chambers was provided for, but the Upper Chamber was to be elected on the same franchise as the Lower;

thus it represented the people and was not, as in other colonies, a nominated body to look after the interests of the Crown. The franchise qualification was low and there was no colour bar. Only two months after the meeting of the first Parliament under the new constitution a request was made for the grant of responsible government. The demand, however, was not unanimous, for responsible government would mean responsibility for defence against the natives, and the eastern part of the colony, which was more exposed to danger from Kaffir risings, felt that its interests might be neglected. Hence it was not until 1872 that responsible government was granted.

**The Kaffir Wars.**—When the English took over South Africa the Kosas had already settled within the borders of the Colony on the east; they had recently given trouble to the Dutch, and the early years of the English occupation were marked by a series of wars against them.

In 1834 they were driven beyond the Kei River. It was now suggested that this should be taken as the eastern boundary of the Colony, and that the new territory enclosed should be defended by a chain of forts and by a belt of loyal Kaffirs who should acknowledge themselves British subjects, and who should be gradually brought under civilising influences. This was a practicable and statesmanlike scheme, for the Kei River formed a good and easily defensible boundary, and it was evident that security was only to be gained by an extension of English authority. The policy was nevertheless reversed by the Home Government, who objected to any extension of the bounds of the Empire, and in spite of strong opposition in the colony, it was decided that the new province must be given up.

It was not many years before the wisdom of this policy was put to the test. The chiefs, with whom the English had entered into treaties as sovereign rulers, considered it a sign of weakness and lost all respect for English authority. Another war had broken out in 1846, and it was then decided to move the boundary of the colony again to the Kei River and to demand from the Kaffirs in this district recognition of the sovereign authority of the Queen. Outbreaks of war still took place in times of distress caused by drought or famine, when hostility to the white men was fomented by the native prophets and witch doctors. To defend the border districts a system of military frontiers, not unlike the Roman Colonia, was adopted. Grants of land with free rations for a certain time were given to settlers, on condition that they should organise themselves for purposes of defence. The border

farmers thus formed a local militia, making it possible to defend the frontier without the help of regular troops, and a white population was in this way planted down in the midst of the Kaffir district sufficiently strong to hold its own against the natives. Reservations were set aside for the Kaffirs, where they lived under the rule of their own chieftains and retained their tribal customs, subject to English supervision.

As time went on the authority of an English Resident was often substituted for that of the native chief, the authority of the witch doctors began to decline and civilised customs were gradually introduced. The district bordering on the Eastern Coast was known generally as British Kaffraria, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century it was annexed piecemeal to Cape Colony.

**Causes of Boer Discontent.**—There were various causes of discontent working among the Dutch population, which resulted eventually in the formation of the two independent Dutch Republics.

When the colony first came under English control the white population was almost entirely Dutch, and the Dutch language, law and local government had been retained, but a change came with the immigration of settlers from England, who objected to living under alien customs, and in 1828 English became the official language, the judicial procedure was remodelled on English lines and Dutch local government was abolished. These changes naturally gave offence to the Dutch, who still formed by far the larger proportion of the population and of whom only one-sixth understood English. Missionary activity was another cause of ill-feeling. The missionaries not only brought Christianity and civilisation to the natives, but by attracting the attention of Europe to South Africa helped to open up the country and make it better known. They were genuinely interested in the welfare of the natives and tried to bring about better relations between the white and the coloured races, but they often came out with insufficient knowledge of the people and of the conditions of life in South Africa, and in preaching the doctrine of the equality of men regardless of colour and race, they were aiming at an ideal impossible of attainment when Europeans were brought into contact with races at such a low stage of civilisation as the Kaffirs and Hottentots. The hostility of the Dutch was roused especially by the charges of cruelty to natives brought against them by the missionaries, and though these charges were not entirely without foundation, they were certainly exaggerated. The abolition of slavery was regarded by the Boers as an unjustifiable interference with their rights of

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property. Compensation was granted to the slave owners, but it was held to be insufficient, and there was also for a time a shortage of labour, which made it difficult to get the work on the farms done. A crowning cause of discontent was the refusal of the Imperial Government to grant protection against the Kaffirs in 1834 by moving the boundary to the Kei River. It must also be remembered that, except at Cape Town and the few other urban centres, the Dutch farmers, scattered about the country in isolated groups, came very little into contact with the English, and the two races showed no tendency to merge.

**The Great Trek, 1836.**—As a result of these accumulated causes of dissatisfaction, the Dutch fell back on their old practice of Trekking, which they had first adopted when they wanted to get out of the reach of the officials of the East India Company, and they now moved off over the veldt to get beyond the limits of English control. The absence of good road and river communication made voluntary isolation possible and the grass-covered plateau presented no natural difficulties to their progress beyond the occasional rivers and streams, which were generally fordable except in times of flood. The farmers migrated in groups, taking with them their families and Hottentot servants, their herds of cattle, horses, sheep and goats and all their worldly possessions. They travelled in large covered waggons drawn by from ten to twenty teams of oxen, and their progress was necessarily slow, for oxen could not cover more than twelve miles a day on an average, and a halt of several days or even weeks might be made at a spot where the pastures were specially good. The chief danger as they advanced further into unknown land was the chance of attack from hostile Kaffir tribes. Every man was armed, and when danger was expected a fortified camp, or laager, was formed by placing about fifty waggons in a circle and filling up any space in between with brushwood or the branches of trees, and a laager when once formed was almost impregnable. If after an attack had been repulsed the natives still threatened to give trouble, a punitive expedition was organised, for a comparatively small number of men, mounted and armed with guns, would be able to cope with large hordes of savages armed only with assegais and unmounted—in one of these expeditions, for instance, a hundred and thirty-eight Boer farmers won a complete victory over twelve thousand Matabele warriors.

**Formation of the Boer States.**—In all, from six to ten thousand of the Dutch crossed the Orange River and moved out of British territory. They settled first in the north of what was soon to be known as the Orange River Territory, where land was ceded to

them by a native chief, and a little later, in consequence of internal dissensions, a detachment crossed the Drakenberg Mountains and entered Natal.

*Natal.*—The district of Natal, north of the Tugela River, had recently been overrun by the Zulus, who had conquered and almost exterminated the weaker tribes in the neighbourhood. There were already a few English settlers there, for the Zulus had made a grant of the Port of Natal with some adjacent land to a few English officers, who had proclaimed the district British territory, though the Home Government refused to recognise the settlement as a colony. A deputation of the Boer trekkers, who came to Dingaan to get permission to settle in peace in the district, was received with so much apparent goodwill that they even ventured unarmed at the close of the negotiations into the chieftain's kraal. Suddenly at a given signal they were seized and the whole party, about sixty in number, dragged away and killed. This was followed by an attack on the detachment from which the deputation had come and a massacre, in which three hundred of the Dutch—men, women and children—lost their lives. As usual the Dutch were not deterred by these massacres; they settled in the district and made common cause with the English against the Zulus, and though at first hardly strong enough to hold their own, in 1838 they completely defeated them and two years later drove them out of Natal altogether. The English had already given up their rights in the district, and the Boers, under their leader, Pretorius, set up a simple form of government, amounting to little more than co-operation for defence.

*Annexation of Natal.*—For some time it was not decided whether the trekkers still owed allegiance to the English Crown. The Government was not anxious to incur the responsibility and possible expense of new colonies, but did not like settlements established over which it had no control, and objected more especially to the formation of a maritime state, which might lead to political complications in the future. Consequently in 1838 Napier, the Governor of Cape Colony, issued a proclamation in which he recognised the emigrants as British subjects and offered redress of grievances if they would return. As this met with no response more drastic measures were taken and in 1842 Natal was invaded and Durban occupied by English troops.

The following year the whole province was annexed by the English and English law was to be in force there, though the Boers were to be consulted as far as possible about local matters. In 1845 it was made a dependency of Cape Colony, and in 1856 became

a separate colony. The Boers who objected to English rule began to trek back into the Orange River Territory, but the exodus was checked in 1848 by the conciliatory policy of Sir Harry Smith. There was some European immigration, but from the first the native population was very large, for, as soon as the English had assumed control over the district, native refugees fleeing from the tyranny of the Zulus had poured into the colony asking for protection; their presence in such large numbers caused some anxiety, but no attempt was made either to expel or to exclude them and large tracts of land were set aside as native reserves.

**The Orange River Territory.**—The Boers in the Orange River Territory set up a state with a very simple form of republican government. The farmers were allowed to have almost entire control over local affairs, and as there was little work for the central government to do there was little need for revenue and consequently hardly any taxation. There was some difficulty with the natives—not with the Matabele who had already been driven beyond the Limpopo River, but with the Basutos and Griquas to the south. The power of the Basutos had been built up by Moshesh, who had settled with his followers in the south-eastern part of the country and had granted land and protection to outcasts from other tribes and to the victims of Zulu and Matabele oppression. The new community which was thus growing up was becoming a strong political and military power, for Moshesh was not only a great warrior but a statesman of unusual ability and foresight, and he had learnt a good deal that helped him in his dealings with the white men from the French missionaries whom he encouraged to work among his people, though he would not himself become a Christian. The Griquas, under their leaders, Adam Kok and Nicolas Waterboer, had become a power to be reckoned with, and were a mixed breed of Dutch and Hottentot descent who had settled in the south-west of the Orange River Territory.

*Annexation of the Orange River Territory.* The English Government did not look favourably on the formation of the independent Dutch state. It still affected to consider the Boers as English subjects and made treaties with the Griquas and Basutos, securing them in the possession of their lands and taking them under the protection of the English Government, for it was thought that the formation of fairly strong native States along their southern borders, which would isolate the emigrant farmers and cut them off from commercial intercourse with Cape Colony, would eventually force them to return. The result was not what had been expected. Great indignation was roused among the Boers by these treaties,

and in 1847 Pretorius went to Cape Colony to lay their grievances before the Government, but without any result. In the hope of arriving at some satisfactory settlement, Sir Harry Smith, who was trusted and liked by the Dutch, was sent into the Orange River Territory to investigate conditions there and decide on the policy to be adopted. As a result in 1848 the proclamation was issued which declared all the land between the Vaal and the Orange Rivers, henceforth to be known as the Orange River Sovereignty, to be subject to the English Crown. Sir Harry Smith was mistaken, however, in thinking that English authority could be enforced without a struggle, for the Boers, helped by the farmers who had settled beyond the Vaal, took up arms and were only defeated after a severe skirmish at Boomplaat. The most determined opponents of English rule left the Orange River Sovereignty and trekked north into the Transvaal; the remnant submitted and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Queen. A fort was built and garrisoned at Bloemfontein, many new settlers, both Dutch and English, came into the district, and the province settled down and became prosperous, though there was a desire on the part both of the English and the Dutch for a larger measure of self-government.

*Independence of the Boer States.*—Before long, however, difficulties were caused in the newly annexed territory by native hostility. The effect of the English policy in the past had certainly been to strengthen the Basuto power, but Moshesh was hostile to any European influence and now turned against his recent ally. Disturbances among the Kaffirs were fomented, the lands of English settlers and loyal Boers were raided, whilst the lands of recalcitrant Boers were left undisturbed. Before long a condition of anarchy prevailed in the southern districts, and alarmed at the prospect of a close alliance between Moshesh and the disaffected Boers, the English thought it advisable to come to terms with the settlers north of the Vaal River. The Transvaal Boers, however, under their leader, Pretorius, refused to enter into any negotiations unless their independence was first recognised. In view of the difficulties of the time and of the impossibility either of gaining effective control over the vast regions north of the Vaal River or of forcing the Boers to return to Cape Colony against their will, no other course was open, and the independence of the Transvaal was formally acknowledged by the Sand River Convention in 1852.

It was almost impossible to keep control over the Boers to the south of the Vaal River when those to the north of it were independent, and after another unsatisfactory campaign with the Basutos the question of withdrawal from the Orange River sovereignty was

seriously discussed. Already this policy had been suggested by the Home Government, though rather with the idea of avoiding expense and responsibility for the Mother Country than from a conviction of the right of the Boers to enjoy self-government. The recent war had made it clear that, if the Orange River Sovereignty was to bring the English into collision with the native races, the country must either be occupied by a strong military force or given up altogether unless the willing support of the bulk of the white people within the district could be relied on.

Withdrawal was finally decided upon by the Home Government, and by the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 all English sovereign rights were given up, and the Province was known henceforth as the Orange Free State. Thus all the interior of the country north of the Orange River was left to the Dutch, and the English renounced all alliances with native tribes north of the Orange River with the exception of the Griquas. This policy was very unpopular in Cape Colony and was bitterly resented by the English who had settled in the Orange River Sovereignty and by the loyal Boers. Protests were sent to England but without any result, the Government refusing to re-open the question on the ground that English authority was already too widely extended and that it was not advisable to take over any more territory in South Africa.

The chief difficulty the Orange Free State had to deal with was the renewal of Basuto hostility, for Moshesh was still hoping to drive the white men out of the country. Wars were constantly breaking out, but the Boers in 1868 were on the point of getting the upper hand, and breaking the Basuto power, when Moshesh, feeling that his vigour and his hold over his people were beginning to fail, placed his land and people under British control. As a result the Basutos became British subjects and could claim British protection. Griqualand had been acquired by the Boers by purchase, but a small district—Griqualand West—where diamonds had been found in the Kimberley district, was in dispute and was annexed by the English, though their claim to it was very slight. President Brand protested against this step, but the answer he received was that it was necessary for the paramount power in South Africa to be in possession of the diamond mines, and he was offered £90,000 by way of compensation, an offer which he judged it wise to accept, and the money was used to reduce the public debt of the Free State. Griqualand West was made a Crown Colony in 1871 and was annexed to Cape Colony in 1880.

The Orange Free State now entered on a period of quiet prosperity and the mining population near its borders, which centred

round Kimberley, provided a market for its produce, but except for this there was little trade and the population remained scanty. Bryce, who visited it towards the end of the century describes it as "a country of great grassy plains, brilliantly green and fresh after rain has fallen, dusty and parched at other times, but able to support great numbers of sheep and cattle. Rare farmhouses and still rarer villages are scattered over this wide expanse, which in the north-east, towards Natal, rises into a mountainous region." He found there "a contented and happy state," a land where there were no great industries, and hence no great capitalists and no economic strife; perfect religious freedom and no religious animosity; no political parties, no native troubles and no external dangers. Undisturbed socially and politically it continued its quiet uneventful career until the outbreak of the second Boer War in 1899.

**The Annexation of the Transvaal, 1877.**—As time went on the condition of the Transvaal gave cause for anxiety, for the Boers had internal political troubles and were in perpetual difficulties with the natives. The desire of the farmers to extend their stock farms had led to disputes about land and to encroachment on native territory, and, though strong enough to defeat the natives in the field, they were not able to reduce them to submission. The enmity of the Zulus had been roused because some land on the frontiers of the Transvaal and Zululand was in dispute, the tribes on the west and north, the Bechuanas and the Matabele, feared Boer aggression and the Bechuanas began to look to the English for protection. Relations between the Boers and the natives, in fact, had become so strained as to be a danger not only to the Boers themselves, but to the whole white population of South Africa. Moreover, there was serious disorder in the Transvaal Government, which was on the verge of bankruptcy; the Treasury was empty, coin was scarce, and trade was at a standstill. The central authority had little weight; it had imposed a labour tax on the natives, but was unable to enforce it. The scattered farms were left almost entirely to themselves and were hardly sensible of its existence, for communication was very difficult as there were few roads and the rivers were without bridges. The large number of vagrants and vagabonds drawn from all parts of South Africa who lived on the borders of the occupied area was quite uncontrolled, and lawlessness and brutality went on unchecked.

As the anarchic condition of the Transvaal threatened danger to the English lands in the vicinity, the British Government in

1877 sent out a special Commissioner, Sir T. Shepstone, to inquire into the state of the country and to annex it to the Crown if he judged it advisable. After spending some months in the country and seeing little chance of reform, Shepstone acted in accordance with these instructions and proclaimed the Transvaal British territory, but with a proviso that it was to remain "a separate Government with its own laws and legislature," and was "to enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of the people." The administration was taken over in the first instance by Shepstone himself, and as the Boer Government had not been popular, there was at first little open discontent. It is probable that under judicious treatment the Boers would have settled down quietly as English subjects, but though a promise had been given that the wishes of the people would be met as far as possible, the appointment as Governor of a military officer, who disliked and despised the Boer farmers, and the delay in granting representative institutions fostered discontent, which soon developed into a determination to strike for independence at the first opportunity.

**The Zulu War.**—One result of the annexation of the Transvaal was to bring the English into direct contact with the Zulus. Cetewayo seemed at first inclined to be friendly and agreed to submit the boundary dispute with the Transvaal, which was still pending, to arbitration, but as a matter of fact he objected to the change in the political situation, which meant that his land was now almost enclosed by English territory, and before long his attitude began to change. He soon made no secret of his hostility; he treated the English Agent with disrespect and many acts of robbery and violence committed by natives against Europeans went unpunished. Consequently, when in 1878 the boundary dispute was settled, though it was decided in his favour, Cetewayo was informed at the same time that his army must be disbanded and reparation made for the damage already done. This was equivalent to an ultimatum, and when no answer was returned the English army invaded Zululand in January, 1879. The expedition met at first with disaster, for the English had under-estimated the strength of the Zulus, and had disregarded the advice of the farmers to be on their guard against a surprise, with the result that a small force was nearly annihilated at Isandhlwana. An attack on the Stores at Rorke's Drift nearer the English base was beaten back, though with great difficulty, and Natal was thus saved from invasion. Reinforcements were hurried out from England and the Battle of Ulundi completely broke down the Zulu resistance.

Cetewayo was captured and sent to Cape Town, but Zululand was not annexed.

**The First Boer War.**—Meanwhile discontent among the Boers had been steadily rising and the Zulu War seemed to offer another opportunity to put forward a demand for independence. “Your Majesty,” they protested, “cannot desire to rule over unwilling subjects . . . unwilling subjects but faithful neighbours we will be. We beseech you to put an end to this unbearable state of things and charge your High Commissioner in South Africa to give us back our state.” Little notice was taken of this protest, and the long delayed constitution, when it was at last granted, gave them only the rights of a Crown Colony and not the representative government which they had hoped for. They were encouraged to persist in their demands in the hope that the Liberal Government under Gladstone, which had just entered office, would be more favourable to them. When that hope failed they took up arms. In December 1880 they issued a proclamation declaring their independence, and a provisional government was formed under the triumvirate, Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert.

In the war that followed the Boers were everywhere victorious. One British force had to surrender at Bronkhorst’s Spruit, and another, marching on Pretoria from Natal, was defeated at Laing’s Nek; the battle of Majuba Hill was the culminating disaster. The English had reinforcements in South Africa and could have continued the war and overwhelmed the Boers by weight of numbers, but Gladstone’s Government now decided on a change of policy and determined to withdraw from the Transvaal altogether. Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, was taken as mediator and the Boers were granted complete rights of self-government under the suzerainty of the Queen, subject only to British control in foreign affairs. Three years later, in 1884, this agreement, known as the Pretoria Convention, was modified by the London Convention, in which the acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Queen was tacitly dropped and the title of the “South African Republic” was recognised by England, though the obligation to have no treaties or engagements with any foreign or native states except the Orange Free State, without the consent of England, was still retained.

**The English and the Natives.**—Along the greater part of its frontiers the South African Republic was bounded by the territory of native tribes—by Matabeleland on the north, Bechuanaland on the west and Zululand on the south-east. There seemed to be some danger that the Boers would extend their territory and influence

at the expense of the native tribes, regardless of treaty arrangements, and it was the policy of the English Government to prevent this by making treaties with the natives and bringing them under English control. In 1885 all Bechuanaland south of the Motopo River was constituted a British colony, the northern part becoming a British protectorate. Treaties were made with Lobengula, chief of the Matabele, and with the Tonga chiefs. Zululand was taken under British control and was placed under the authority of the Governor of Natal, though it was not annexed to Natal until 1897.

**The Germans in South-West Africa.**— Until the latter part of the nineteenth century South-West Africa had been left to the native tribes and was occupied by the Namaquas, of Hottentot descent, and the Hereros, who were a Bantu race and were constantly at war with the Hottentots. About the middle of the century German missionaries working in this part of the country met with some difficulty from the natives, and asked through their Government if they could rely on English protection. Though the English had not occupied the land, there were a few English agents and traders there; some islands off the coast of Namaqualand which were rich in guano had been annexed, and it was an open question whether the whole district could be considered as coming within the English sphere of influence. Vague promises of protection were made to the missionaries, but little was done to give effect to them. German influence seemed to be increasing and Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Cape Colony, urged that the territory should be taken under English control. To this the Imperial Government refused to accede, but allowed the annexation of Walfish Bay, the only good harbour on the coast, and when the question of protection was again raised all British agents were withdrawn and responsibility was repudiated for any part of the district except Walfish Bay. In 1883 a German trader, Luderitz, who wanted to establish a trading station there, got a concession of land from the native chief at Angra Pequena and asked if he could look to his own Government for protection. Before replying Bismarck approached the English Foreign Office to enquire whether the Government considered the land British territory and would take over the administration of the coast. When a definite answer was delayed in order to give time to consult with the colonial authorities, the German flag was raised at Angra Pequena, and in 1884 a German Protectorate was established over the whole of South-West Africa with the exception of Walfish Bay and the Guano Islands. The boundaries of the colony were determined

by the Anglo-German Convention of 1890 and access was granted to it from the Zambesi River.

**The South African Chartered Company.**—It had been known for some time that there was great mineral wealth in the Transvaal and in the neighbouring countries, Bechuanaland and Matabeleland; gold and diamonds had been discovered as early as 1867 and mining companies were prospecting and were beginning to develop the resources of the district. Some combination among the Companies was necessary if profits were to be maintained at a high level, and in the work of organising and amalgamating the different companies and claims Cecil Rhodes was the leading spirit; by 1885 the De Beers Consolidated Mining Company, formed by his efforts, owned nearly all the mines and was able to keep up the price of diamonds by reducing the output. The Company already showed that it was not likely to confine its activities to trade only, for a clause in the agreement enabled it to spend money in other ways and even to become, if necessary, a territorial power. Fearing the aggressive tendencies of the South African Republic, it advocated the occupation and defence of Bechuanaland by the English Government, and in 1888 it sent an expedition to Lobengula and obtained from him a concession to work all the mines on his lands between the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

Its next step was to approach the Government with a view to obtaining chartered rights. Lord Salisbury, who was then Premier, had realised the importance of taking steps to bring these territories within the English sphere of influence in order to anticipate any possible movement in that direction on the part of Portugal or Germany, and also to strengthen the little British Protectorate of Nyasaland, under the African Lakes Company, where there had been fighting with the Arabs, but hitherto he had met with opposition in the Cabinet on the ground of expense. The acquisition of land and power by a chartered company seemed to offer a solution of the difficulty, for Rhodes offered to provide funds, if necessary, for the administration of British Central Africa between the Zambesi River and Lake Tanganyika. In 1889 the British South Africa Chartered Company was formed and was given powers of administration as well as trading rights, subject to the reservation of Government control over its political and administrative activities. The Protectorate of Bechuanaland was placed under its control and it was granted the right to develop the eastern part of Matabeleland and to work the gold mines; in 1891, after the Anglo-German Convention of 1890, the Charter was extended to cover the territory under British influence between the Zambesi

River and Lake Tanganyika, with the exception of the Protectorate of Nyasaland.

*The Matabele War.*—The Company established itself in the eastern part of the great central plateau, enrolled a force of military police and founded Fort Salisbury and other settlements in Mashonaland. The work of development was carried on steadily though in the face of considerable difficulties and hampered by native troubles. The chief difficulty was with the Matabele. Lobengula had granted mining concessions to the Chartered Company without realising what the result would be; his suspicion and alarm were soon roused on seeing the extent to which the white men were taking possession of his land, and he objected especially to the occupation of Mashonaland, which he considered was subject to him. In order to raise a rival interest to the Company, who as yet had only received from him the right to mine, he gave a land concession in Mashonaland to a prospector, Leppert, but the only result was that the Company bought up the concession and was in a stronger position than before. The immediate cause of the Matabele War which broke out in 1893 was a quarrel between the Mashonas and the Matabele. The Mashonas had paid a fine due to the English in cattle stolen from the Matabele, the English intervened to protect them from the vengeance which followed, and war broke out. The Matabele were defeated by the Company's mounted police force and Lobengula was driven out and died shortly afterwards. Matabeleland was now laid open to the Chartered Company, but the natives were not yet subdued; by 1896 both the Matabele and the Mashonas were in revolt, and even with the help of Imperial troops it was two years before order was re-established.

**The Bond.**—A sequel to the grant of independence to the Transvaal had been the growing strength of Dutch racial feeling all over South Africa; evidences of this were seen in the adoption of Dutch as the official language side by side with English in Cape Colony in 1882 and more especially in the formation of the Afrikaner Bond, which, though nominally a league for Afrikaners of both Dutch and English nationality, appealed especially to the Dutch element. "It was not anti-English in the sense of being hostile to the British community any more than was the French party in Lower Canada at the same time, but it was based not only on the solidarity of the Dutch race over all South Africa, but also on the doctrine that Afrikaners must think of Africa first and see that the country was governed in accordance with local sentiment rather than on British lines or with a view to British interests." (Bryce.)

**The Uitlanders.—Causes of the Second Boer War.**—The growth of ill-feeling between the English and the Dutch which led to the outbreak of the second Boer War was the result of the influx of the large foreign element, known as the Uitlanders, into the Transvaal, attracted there by the great mineral resources of the country, which the Boers showed no disposition to develop for themselves. About 1865 extensive goldfields had been discovered at Lydenberg and in the high land between the Vaal and the Limpopo Rivers, where Johannesburg on Witwatersrand soon became a populous centre. From all parts of the world immigrants poured into the mining districts, and in comparatively few years the Uitlanders seemed likely to become, as far as numbers and wealth went, the preponderating element in the country. They owned a third of the land and nine-tenths of the wealth, and formed about a half of the white population, while about five-sixths of them were English-speaking. The Government of President Kruger, always Conservative and unprogressive, had of recent years become increasingly inefficient and to some extent corrupt, and the country was still backward and undeveloped. The Boers disliked the Uitlanders as introducing a new and undesirable element, but glad to take advantage of any means of obtaining revenue, they taxed them heavily and even commandeered their services when they required help against the natives. Yet as they were afraid of their influence in political matters, the franchise qualification was raised from two to five years' residence in 1882 and to fifteen years in 1887; thus the Uitlanders had no share in the government and no voice in the expenditure of the taxes to which they contributed in so large a proportion. There were many other grievances as well as the deprivation of political rights. They complained of the impossibility of getting their children educated except in Dutch schools and through the medium of the Dutch language, of the dearness of food caused by high tariffs, of the hindrance to their industry caused by the dynamite monopoly, and of the inefficiency of the administration, which made no attempt to deal with such matters as the inadequate water supply and defective sanitation, now becoming serious evils in the great mining towns. Thus the Uitlanders wanted political power, not only for its own sake, but in order to bring about much needed reforms, and as long as they confined themselves to constitutional methods they had the sympathy not only of the English, but of the Dutch element in Cape Colony, of the Orange Free State, and of a Boer minority in favour of reform in the Transvaal itself.

At length, finding that there was little chance of getting reform

by constitutional means they prepared to use force. It was generally known that a rising was impending, but it was not known, except to a very few, that in the organisation of the revolt the Chartered Company was involved. The good feeling between the Boers and Rhodes, managing director of the Company and since 1890 Premier of Cape Colony, had cooled of recent years, for the Boers feared and disliked the growing power of the Company and the occupation of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, which meant that their country was almost entirely enclosed by English territory.

*The Jameson Raid.*—The plan arranged was that a force of the South African Mounted Police under Jameson should invade the Transvaal on December 29th, 1895, seize Johannesburg, where they would be supported by a rising of the Uitlanders, and then march on Pretoria and overthrow the Government. The Raid was a fiasco from the start. Jameson entered the Transvaal, only to find that the Uitlanders' rising, on which the success of the Raid depended, had been postponed, and, surrounded by the Boer army, his little force had no choice but to surrender. The Raid was repudiated both by the Imperial and the Colonial authorities, and the leaders were handed over to the British Government and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for the offence of levying war on a friendly state. The effect of the Raid was disastrous, for it did more than anything else to make war inevitable, by entirely withdrawing Dutch sympathy from the Uitlanders and embittering race feeling all over South Africa. The position of the Uitlanders was now more hopeless than before, and Milner, who had been sent out to South Africa in 1897 as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner, thought that the Imperial Government would eventually have to come to their assistance. Yet this policy he realised would rouse difficulties in Cape Colony as well, for as a result of the Raid the balance of power in the Cape Parliament had passed to the Dutch party, and Schreiner, who was President of the Bond, had taken the place of Rhodes as Premier. Consequently, though war was imminent, the Parliament hesitated to take measures to secure Cape Colony from invasion, and Milner was warned that when it broke out he would find the Colony more Dutch than English.

**The Second Boer War.**—In this war, unlike the war of 1881, both the Dutch States took part, for, though the Orange Free State had no personal cause of quarrel with the English, it had made a defensive alliance with the South African Republic in 1896 and joined in the war from motives of racial sympathy. As in the last war the English began by under-estimating the strength of

their enemies and met with a resistance for which they were not prepared.

In the first phase of the war, which began in October, 1899, the Boers took the offensive. The Transvaal troops crossed the Drakensberg Mountains, and, entering Natal, shut up the whole of the defensive force of the colony in Ladysmith, but the stubborn defence of Ladysmith prevented any further advance into the country. Similarly an advance of the Orange Free State troops placed all Bechuanaland between Kimberley and the Orange River in the hands of the Boers and small British forces were shut up in Kimberley and Mafeking. In the early part of December there was a series of disasters, and in addition there was revolt in Cape Colony itself; on the western borders of the Boer States the farmers almost to a man were ready to join the enemy, and it was said that there were not ten loyal British subjects in the whole of Bechuanaland. These disasters made it necessary for the English to act on the defensive only until reinforcements arrived from England.

In the second phase of the war, beginning in the spring of 1900, the English were able to take the offensive, and invaded the Boer States; Lord Roberts crossed the Free State border, occupied Bloemfontein, and annexed the Free State. Kimberley, Mafeking and Ladysmith were relieved, and the Boers were driven out of Natal. Then followed the invasion of the Transvaal, the occupation of Pretoria, the flight of Kruger, who died in Holland a few months later, and in September the annexation of the Transvaal.

The war now entered on its third phase. The Boer Governments were overthrown and the States annexed, but the stubborn resistance of the Boer armies in the field had still to be dealt with, and two years of guerilla warfare were necessary before it was finally crushed out. In May and June, 1900, British authority had been re-established in the revolted districts of Cape Colony, but by the autumn many of the farmers had taken up arms again and were co-operating with the Boer armies. The guerilla warfare dragged on and the English could make little progress. Every farmhouse was an intelligence depot and a base of supplies for the enemy; guerilla bands harassed the English communications, and in the last three months of the year 1900 the railway lines, on which the British troops depended for their supplies, were cut no fewer than eighty-three times. The English held the towns and were nominally the masters of the country, but they could make no use of it except to march through it, and everywhere except in the towns the Boers still had the upper hand.

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It was only by the adoption of a more vigorous and severe policy, entailing great suffering and loss on the civil population, that the English were at last able to get the upper hand. The systematic destruction of the farms and crops and the removal of the civil population to concentration camps made it much more difficult for the Boer troops to get supplies, while the erection of block-houses at intervals of a mile or less along the railways and main roads protected the British communications and hampered those of the Boers, and also served as barriers against which bands of the enemy could be driven and forced to surrender. By these means the Boer resistance was at last broken down and in the summer of 1902 the Peace of Vereeniging was made. The two Boer States passed under English rule and were at first governed as Crown Colonies, but it was understood that constitutional liberties should be given as soon as possible. Responsible government was granted to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony the following year.

*Reconstruction after the War.* The work of reconstruction after the war was necessarily slow and difficult, for a vast extent of land, the greater part of British Bechuanaland as well as the two Boer States, had been devastated, and many of the people had drifted into the towns to get work and food, but found that the high level of prices made it difficult to get a living. "All the farmhouses had been laid waste, many of the smaller towns had been destroyed, and hardly a homestead remained intact. The system of 'drives' which had been organised by Lord Kitchener, had denuded the country of all live stock and supplies. In short, the Transvaal had been stripped of everything which was necessary to enable the country population to return to their homes and resume their occupations. Added to this the stocks of supplies and merchandise in the hands of the merchants and others in the large centres and smaller towns along the railway lines were so limited as to be of very little service in feeding or in any way equipping the large numbers of people whom the declaration of peace threw on the hands of the Government." (Report of the Repatriation Department, 1906, quoted by Worsfold.)

Not only the farming but the mining industries had to be started again, and in the mining districts the labour question soon became urgent. Before the war skilled work in the Transvaal had been done by white men and unskilled work by negroes, but the latter had now become independent as a result of the high wages and the increased demand for labour during the war, and it was found advisable temporarily to get labour for the mines elsewhere. Public

opinion in South Africa was opposed to any further importation of coolie labour from India and the experiment was made of importing Chinamen. Objections to this system were soon raised, both on the humanitarian ground of the treatment of the Chinese labourers and also on the ground of the ultimate effect of the introduction of such a large Chinese element on the Colony; in 1906 the continuance of the system was prohibited by the Transvaal Legislature and the work of repatriation was carried out in the next two years. Since that time the work has been done by African negroes, but, as they dislike hard and continuous labour and the confinement of the compounds, they demand high wages and will only contract to work for short periods of a few months, after which, with the money they have earned, they return to their own villages and purchase oxen and wives.

**Federation.**—The question of Federation was raised as early as the middle of the nineteenth century and was strongly advocated by Sir George Grey on the ground that “by a federal union alone could the South African colonies be made so strong and united in policy that they could support themselves against the native tribes.” But the Home Government was not favourable to the movement, and when the question was taken up again a few years later the undercurrent of racial hostility between the English and Dutch prevented any success, and there was a good deal of jealousy in the Colony, which had recently been granted responsible government, of any intervention on the part of the Home Government. The annexation of the Transvaal was intended to be a step in the direction of Federation, but again there was no strong local demand for it, the proposed reservation of native affairs for the control of the Imperial authorities roused suspicion, and the political troubles of the following years caused the matter to be shelved altogether for the time. After the war the growing strength of Dutch racial feeling checked for a time the development of a more general Afrikaner sentiment. The only important step taken was the formation of a Customs Union by Cape Colony and the Orange Free State in 1889; this was joined by Natal in 1898, and after the second Boer War by the two Dutch colonies, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, South Rhodesia and Swaziland.

*Formation and Constitution of the Union.*—When the grant of responsible government to the Dutch Colonies made it possible to bring forward the question of confederation again the need for it was so evident that there was little likelihood of any further postponement. In view of the increase of the native population and the growing importance of the land question a consistent

native policy was desirable; it was important that railways and tariffs should be under a central control, and the federation of other parts of the Empire was not without its effect, for only by the adoption of a similar policy could South Africa be on an equality with Canada and Australia. A resolution in favour of Federation was brought in by Smuts and passed at an Inter-Colonial Conference held at Pretoria. A national Convention, which met at Durban in 1908 and at Cape Town the following year, produced a draft Act of Union which was promulgated and adopted by the Legislatures of Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and came into force on May 1st, 1910. The Constitution was drawn up on the Canadian rather than on the Australian model, but goes farther than the Canadian in the powers given to the central authority. The South African Government, in fact, is a union rather than a federation, for the provinces exercise only such powers as are delegated to them and they are completely under the authority of the Union Government, which can not only over-ride the decisions of the Provincial Councils, but can restrict their powers and even terminate their existence if it thinks fit. The Union Executive consists of the Governor General and Council. The Governor General is appointed by the Crown and holds his office at royal pleasure; the Executive Council is appointed by him, but he must include in it the Ministers who are at the head of the Government departments, and Ministers cannot hold office for more than three months unless they are members of Parliament. Control of native affairs rests with the Governor General in Council. Pretoria is the seat of Government, and Cape Town the seat of the Legislature. The Union Legislature consists of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Assembly. The Senate is composed of forty members, of whom eight are elected from each of the four provinces of the Union and eight nominated by the Governor General in Council; of these eight four are chosen because they have special knowledge of the needs of the coloured population. Senators must have a property qualification, they must be over thirty years of age and must have resided in South Africa for at least five years. The House of Assembly is elected for a maximum term of five years and the number of members returned from the provinces is in proportion to their population. The voting qualifications vary in the different provinces, the franchise laws being those in force before the Union. The vote is restricted to the white population only in the Dutch provinces, but members of either House must be British subjects of European descent and must have lived for five years in one of the provinces of the Union.

To get harmony between the two Houses a joint session is held if the Senate has twice rejected a Bill sent up to it by the lower house. The Governor General can reserve the Royal Assent to Bills, and the King has the power to disallow any Bill within a year after it has received the assent of the Governor General. A Supreme Court of Justice was formed with provincial and local divisions. The King in Council may grant special leave to appeal from the Appellant Division of the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but power is reserved to the Union Parliament to limit by law the matters in respect of which special leave may be asked.

An Act of 1922 provided for the issue of a union coinage with denominations similar to those of Great Britain, and a branch of the royal mint was established at Pretoria.

*The Provincial Government.*—At the head of the Provincial Government is the Chief Executive Officer, known as the Administrator, appointed by the Governor General



in Council, for a term of five years, preference being always given to a resident of the province. The Legislative body is the Provincial Council, from which natives are not legally excluded. It can issue ordinances but they are not regarded as valid until they have received the assent of the Governor General in Council, and it elects an Executive Committee for the province. The work which has been delegated to the Provincial Governments includes local government, education, the organisation and maintenance of charitable institutions, control of agriculture within certain limits, and direct taxation for local purposes.

*Defence.*—By the Defence Act of 1912 every male British subject between his seventeenth and sixtieth year is liable for service in time of war in any part of South Africa, either within or outside the Union. Peace training is provided for, and fifty per cent. of the citizens undergo military training for four years, though this

proportion could be increased at any time if sufficient money were voted for the purpose. In 1913 the permanent defence force known as the South African Mounted Riflemen was established.

The Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve consists of volunteers liable to general service in the navy in emergency, and forms part of the Royal Naval Reserve constituted under the Imperial Naval Forces Act of 1903. When the War broke out in 1914 a resolution was carried in the Union Parliament "to take all measures necessary to defend the interests of the Union, and to co-operate with His Majesty's Imperial Government to maintain the security and integrity of the Empire." There was a division of opinion about the advisability of the campaign for the conquest of German South-West Africa and many even of the loyal Dutch were not in favour of it. It was not until after the suppression of the revolt in the Dutch States, which broke out in October 1914, that it was possible to undertake the campaign and the conquest was not completed until July 1915. After this South Africa made an offer to the Imperial Government of heavy artillery and a contingent for service in Europe, and help was given in the conquest of German East and Central Africa. Coloured fighting and labour units were also formed.

*Economic Policy.*—South Africa has accepted the system of protection and imposes an *ad valorem* duty of about fifteen per cent. on most imports, with a three per cent. rebate on British goods. There is free trade within the Union. The railways are for the most part State-owned, and since 1900 those railways formerly owned by the Colonial governments were taken under the control of the Union.

The resources of South Africa are not yet fully developed. With a total population of about six millions it still imports food stuffs to the extent of £6,500,000 a year, difficulties of transport and unprogressive methods have prevented any rapid advance of agriculture, though of recent years progress has been satisfactory. The gold mines are still the chief source of wealth, their output amounting to thirty-six per cent. of the total produce of the world. Manufactures are not important as yet, especially as the raw materials for industry have had for the most part to be imported, and it is still difficult to get sufficient labour.

**The Natives.**—Native and labour questions still present serious problems in South Africa. The black population not only far outnumbers the white but increases more rapidly, for the Kaffirs are a most prolific race and the natural increase of population is not now, as in former days, kept down by famine and war.

More than half the native population lives on reserves, either in

the so-called Protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—which are directly under the control of the Government and are administered by the High Commissioner, or on reserves within the Union when they come under provincial control; thus Zululand is attached to Natal and Transkei to the Cape Province. The growth of population in recent years has made it necessary to increase the land set apart as native reserves, and a Commission was set up in 1913 to deal with the matter and to decide what amount was to be given up for this purpose in each province. On the reserves the natives live under tribal conditions and under native law. In former days tribal land was always held communally, but it is considered now that individual ownership gives better results and the Commission suggested the gradual introduction of this form of tenure wherever the natives were sufficiently advanced to appreciate its advantages. The alienation of any part of the reserves is forbidden.

In dealing with the Kaffirs the main problem has been how best to bring them under civilising influences and instil in them habits of industry, which alone can prevent them from becoming a burden on the community. In earlier days they had not been accustomed to steady work of any sort, for war and the chase were thought to be the only occupations befitting the dignity of a warrior, and all manual labour was left to the women. They now own cattle and cultivate small plots of land which produce just enough for their maintenance and for the payment of the hut or poll tax imposed by the Government. In times of scarcity, or in order to get money to buy cattle and wives, the young men often work for short periods in the mines or as farm labourers. The only Europeans living on the reserves are officials, at the head of whom is the Resident, and some missionaries and traders. The importation of spirits and arms is strictly prohibited.

Of the natives living in the European districts by far the larger number provide the labour required by the English and Dutch farmers and pay rent for the land they occupy either in money or in labour. There are a large number of native squatters especially on the large areas of unoccupied land held by the Land Companies, and they are generally allowed to have as much land as they can cultivate on condition of giving a proportion of the produce to the European landowner. The Land Act of 1913 tried to abolish irregular forms of squatting. A comparatively small number of natives live in the towns and work as manual labourers. The town population includes Asiatics and half castes and the races are very mixed especially in the Cape Province.

The advance of civilisation among the natives, which is inseparably connected with the spread of education and religious teaching, has been due mainly to the work of the missionaries who receive financial aid and general support from the Government. There are State-aided schools and other educational institutions in native districts; natives are beginning to appreciate the advantages of education and a native College to enable natives to take degrees and qualify for professions, was opened in 1916. With the spread of Christianity and the advance in the standard of living, polygamy is steadily decreasing and the influence of the witch doctors has almost disappeared. The Act of 1917 set up as a permanent authority for the management of native affairs within the Union a small Council of from three to five members which must always include the Minister for native affairs, and from this Council appeal lies to the Governor General whose decision is final.

*Native Policy.*—The policy adopted in South Africa in dealing with the natives is segregation as far as land and government are concerned and amalgamation in industrial life. It was for some time an open question whether natives should be allowed to acquire land outside the reserves, but the Commission of 1905 felt that, coming under European rule by peaceful annexation, they had inherent rights in the land and should not be treated merely as tenants-at-will; in spite of this it is difficult or impossible for them to purchase land in the Dutch provinces. The Land Act of 1913 aimed at separating as far as possible the land held by Europeans from that held by natives, and defined the areas where it was open to purchase by white or coloured races respectively. Ten years earlier the Inter-Colonial Native Affairs Commission had recommended that natives should be granted the franchise, but that separate electoral divisions should be created for non-European constituencies and that native representation should not be in proportion to the numbers of the black population but should be merely adequate to express native opinion and voice native grievances. The creation of a General Native Council in Transkei under the Glen Grey Act of 1894 has been a very successful experiment in local self-government and has had a good effect in rousing interest in local politics. "We have found," said General Smuts in 1917, "that the ideas which apply to our white civilisation largely do not apply to the natives, and that to give a political existence on an equal basis to white and black alike does not lead to the best results. The practice is being built up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions and of making the natives run on different but parallel lines to the whites. It may be that on these lines we

may be able yet to solve a problem which might otherwise prove to be entirely insoluble."

**The Provinces, the Protectorates and Rhodesia.**—The lands under British control in South Africa at the present time include the four provinces of the Union, the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, and Rhodesia. The Governor General of the Union is also High Commissioner for South Africa.

*The Cape of Good Hope.*—The province of the Cape of Good Hope includes British Bechuanaland, and the Transkei Territories up to the frontiers of Natal, with Tongaland, Griqualand East and Pondoland. In this province the proportion of Europeans to natives is larger than in any other part of South Africa, and for this reason the franchise is open to natives, though the great majority of them are excluded by the property qualification and the education test. The coloured population is extremely mixed, and includes the Cape Boys, in whom Hottentot, Malay, Negro and Dutch elements are mingled, the domesticated Kaffirs who do most of the unskilled work, the Kaffirs living on the reserves in the northern districts, and the Indians and other Asiatic elements. The great drawbacks of the province from an industrial point of view are the want of good harbours and the want of water both for transport and for irrigation purposes. There are some diamond and copper mines, but in the main it is an agricultural and pastoral land, and the towns are few and of no great size. The railways have done a great deal to facilitate a wider distribution of the population by opening up communication with isolated areas and giving access to markets.

*Natal.*—In Natal there is a great variety of climate and consequently of productions in a comparatively small area. On the low-lying lands near the coast some tropical crops—tea, sugar and coffee—can be cultivated, and these industries are increasing. On the high lands corn is grown and pastoral industries are carried on, and some coal and iron are found in the country. The commercial prosperity of Natal depends upon the trade that passes through its territories to and from the lands that lie beyond the mountain barrier, and the trade of the country has benefited greatly by the development of railways. The white population, mainly English, are for the most part planters, merchants or officials, and they tend to concentrate in the two towns of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the greater part of the trade between Zululand and the Dutch States with Natal passing through Durban.

The race question has always been a great problem in Natal. The result of the early policy of the English in making large native reserves has been that the native population is disproportionately

large. This was the main reason why the grant of responsible government was so long delayed. Political responsibility involved responsibility for defence as well, and it was thought that the withdrawal of English troops might expose the colony to a danger with which it would not be strong enough to cope; hence it was not until 1893 that responsible government was introduced and then only on the promise of the Home Government to give military support for a little while longer. Most of the Kafirs are still living on the reserves under tribal law; those who have lived for seven years under European law can obtain the franchise, but it is only granted to individuals as a favour and cannot be claimed as a right; in 1910 only six Kafirs voted, though at least 20,000 were educated, and there is a growing tendency among them to resent their exclusion from political power. The race question is also complicated in Natal by the large Asiatic element. Indian coolies were first brought in about 1860 as indentured servants to work on the sugar plantations, and since then they have formed a constantly increasing element; most of the retail trade is in their hands and a great deal of light labour is done by them because they are content with such low rates of pay. The rapid increase in their numbers led to the rise of agitation against Asiatic immigration in the last years of the nineteenth century, and in 1913 indignation was roused among the Indians all over South Africa by the demand that Indian coolies who wished to stay in the country after the expiration of their contracts should pay a poll tax of £3.

*The Transvaal.*—In the census taken in 1921 the white races, mainly English and Dutch, formed about 26 per cent. of the total population, the Dutch predominating everywhere except in the towns and the mining districts where the English element is strongest. Mining is the chief industry, for the Transvaal is the principal gold-producing country in the world, and other minerals, coal and diamonds, are found in considerable quantities. Farming comes next in importance. Stock raising is more general than arable farming, and fruit-farming is profitable. The amount of land under cultivation is small in proportion to the size of the province, partly because the population is scanty, partly because, though the high veldt is generally suitable for cultivation, over large areas of the low veldt, where there is little rainfall, arable farming is not profitable. The chief crops raised are wheat and maize, but not enough is grown to supply the local demand. There are few other industries except the manufacture of dynamite, which is required for mining operations.

Asiatic immigration has of recent years been a source of trouble.

The Chinese coolies brought over to work in the mines were repatriated, but as in Natal, alarm was roused by the large number of British Indians, and in 1907 a Bill was passed restricting the immigration of Asiatics and providing for the registration of all those in the country. This measure caused a great deal of indignation in India, and by the end of 1909 it was estimated that about 8,000 Indians had left the country and about 2,500 had been imprisoned for failing to comply with the provisions of the Registration Bill. The question of alien immigration has now been handed over to the Union Parliament, but unrestricted immigration would probably meet with determined resistance in the Transvaal.

*The Orange Free State.*—The population of the Orange Free State is still very small, and agriculture is the only important industry, though there is some diamond and coal mining. The rearing of sheep and other live stock is carried on on the dry western plains, arable farming in the well watered districts to the east. The chief crop grown is mealies, the food of the natives, but potatoes and tobacco are also produced and fruit farming is increasing.

The Union has accepted the Mandate for German South-West Africa, and the Government is carried on by an Administrator with an Advisory Council.

*The Protectorates.*—The Protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland—are administered by Resident Commissioners under the authority of the High Commissioner for South Africa; they are not within the Union, but can be transferred to it if it is thought to be desirable.

Basutoland has been under English control since Moshesh asked for protection against the Boers in 1868. The whole of the country is treated as a native reserve, and Europeans are not allowed to live there except as officials, missionaries or traders; they may not hold land, and a licence is required even for opening a store. Natives from other parts of South Africa are not allowed to enter the country without permission and resident natives may not leave without a passport.

Bechuanaland had been under English control since 1885. In that year a Protectorate was proclaimed over the northern part, and the part south of the Molopo river was constituted a British Colony. In 1889 the Protectorate was included in the sphere of the British South Africa Company though it was never administered by the Company. Bechuanaland, except in the mining districts, is still left mainly to the natives and there are large native reserves, but except on the reserves the land is open to European settlement.

Swaziland, formerly administered by the Government of the

Transvaal, was transferred to the Imperial authority in 1906. The people are ruled by their native chiefs and by native laws, but appeal lies to the Resident Commissioner.

*Rhodesia.*—The enormous area of Rhodesia, extending from the Transvaal to the Belgian Congo, includes the two provinces of Southern Rhodesia, south of the Zambesi, and Northern Rhodesia, formed in 1911 by the amalgamation of North East and North-West Rhodesia. For many years Rhodesia was administered by the British South Africa Company under the Charter granted in 1889 and later amended by Orders in Council, and authority was exercised by administrators appointed by the Company, subject to the approval of the Crown. But it was impossible for a trading Company to exercise political authority over such a vast area indefinitely, and it was confidently expected that a change would be made when the Charter came up for revision in 1914. Already there was dissatisfaction with the rule of the Company. The white settlers of Southern Rhodesia, then about 25,000 in number, had enjoyed some rights of self-government since 1899. They had had confidence in Cecil Rhodes, but after his death they had become alarmed at the claim put forward by the Company to the ownership of all unalienated land, and in the event of the surrender of the Charter they did not want the Company's debts to be regarded as a public debt and to become a charge on the Colony. In 1914 they approached the English Government and a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, issued in 1918, declared the ownership of the land to be vested in the Crown, and held that the responsibility for the Company's debts could not be transferred to the Colony; it was decided later to award the Company £4,400,000 as the sum due for losses on administration.

When, after the close of the Great War, the Charter was surrendered, the Company renounced all its rights and interests in the land of Southern Rhodesia, except in the areas where it was in actual occupation at the time of the transfer, and the Crown recognised its ownership of mineral rights throughout both Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

It was uncertain at first whether Southern Rhodesia would elect to join the Union of South Africa or to become a separate Colony under the British Crown. The question was referred to the settlers, who decided on the latter alternative, and in 1923, Southern Rhodesia was annexed to the Crown as a Colony with responsible government. In Northern Rhodesia, where the white population is still very small, the Company continued to carry on the administration until April 1st, 1924, when it became a British Protectorate.

Though so much of Rhodesia lies within the Tropics, a good deal of the land is suitable for European settlement. Mining is the most important industry, but the mineral resources are not yet fully developed. It also has great possibilities as an agricultural and stock-raising country; the cultivation of cotton, maize and tobacco is carried on and timber and rubber are becoming important industries.

## CHAPTER VII

### EGYPT

**The Country and the People.** Egypt has been called, in an often quoted phrase of Lord Milner's, the land of contrast. Geographically the connecting link between Africa and Asia, and connected politically with Europe for many centuries, it is a land of mixed races, religions and languages. One of the first countries to be overwhelmed by the advancing wave of Mahommedan fanaticism in the seventh century, it became later on in the Middle Ages the



centre of the Mahommedan power, and the Caliphs of Egypt were the spiritual heads of the Mahommedan world. The political conquest by the Turks in the early part of the sixteenth century brought in an alien race as rulers, who monopolised wealth and influence in the country and governed in their own interests regardless of the welfare of the people.

In Egypt distinctions of religion and race cut across one another, by far the greater part of the population is Mahommedan, the Christian element, though important, being comparatively small. The three Mahommedan races are (1) the Turco-Egyptians, (2) the Egyptians; and (3) the Bedouin Arabs. The Turco-Egyptians are the descendants of the Turkish officials; in the early nineteenth century they were the chief landowners and occupied most of the high official positions under the Government; nearly all the political power and the wealth of the country were in their hands. The Egyptians include (a) the Ulama, the priestly and learned class; (b) the small landed proprietors, the *omdehs* and *sheikhs* of villages,

who were generally also the local magistrates; and (c) the Fellahin, the agricultural peasantry, who form the great majority of the population. The Bedouin Arabs in the early nineteenth century were still nomadic, but towards the end of the century they showed a tendency to settle in villages bordering on the desert. The Christians, who number less than 8 per cent. of the population, are Copts, Syrians and Armenians. Of these the Copts form the largest section and are of the same race as the Fellahin, but refusing in early days to adopt Mahommedanism, they were driven off the soil and had to follow other callings for a livelihood. The general level of education is higher among them than among the Mahommedans; consequently the posts of clerks, surveyors, minor Government officials, etc., are often filled by them, and many of them are traders and shopkeepers.

**Mehemet Ali.**—The political importance of Egypt as a link between Europe and the East was realised by Napoleon, whose aim in the expedition of 1798, frustrated by the Battle of the Nile, was to threaten the security of the English position in India. After the withdrawal of the French, order was gradually restored by Mehemet Ali, an Albanian, who was appointed ruler of Egypt by the Sultan, and made an attempt to introduce progress on Western lines. To effect this he knew he must get the advice and help of Europeans, and it was to France that he turned rather than to England; consequently it is to France that Egypt owes her early education in Western European culture, and her civilisation still bears traces of French influence. An ambitious ruler, Mehemet Ali partially conquered the Sudan and succeeded in making his position in Egypt hereditary and practically independent, though tribute was still paid to the Sultan as overlord. He gained increased political power by his wars, but they impoverished the country and were the cause of misrule and oppression. So many lives had been wasted that the population was insufficient to carry on the work of the country; yet the same amount of land revenue was exacted as before, and could only be extorted from the peasantry by actual cruelty.

**Ismail Pasha.**—It was Said Pasha, the third ruler after Mehemet Ali, who first allowed European adventurers to prey upon the country, and under his successor, Ismail (1863-1879), who continued this policy, the wholesale attempt to introduce European civilisation, while at the same time maintaining Oriental methods of government, brought the country to actual bankruptcy. Ismail accumulated in the hands of himself and of other members of his family about a million acres of the best land of the country, and public works,

involving expenditure on an enormous scale, were undertaken quite out of proportion to its financial resources. Railways, telegraphs, the post office, military schools, factories, lighthouses were all introduced or extended, and most of the benefit that might have accrued to the country was lost through bad administrative methods. It was necessary, if changes of this sort were to be brought about, to have recourse to European agents, but many of the Europeans who now poured into Egypt were adventurers, who only wanted to enrich themselves at the expense of the country, and even those—the irrigation officers, for instance—who were skilled experts and worked honestly and intelligently, could effect little, because they were in the position of advisers only, and, having no authority, were powerless to cope with native incapacity and prejudice. The financial condition of the Government was unsatisfactory, for the national debt was rapidly increasing. From £4,000,000 in 1863 it had risen to £100,000,000 in 1879, with the result that it was becoming impossible even to pay the interest and no more money could be borrowed in Europe. Moreover there was very little return for this expenditure, for most of the money borrowed had been recklessly wasted; the resources of the country had been ruined, not developed, and the general impoverishment was so great that it was impossible to collect sufficient revenue for the ordinary needs of the administration. Officials and troops were not paid, though the peasantry were being driven to desperation by Government exactions, and the taxes were collected months in advance. Lady Gordon Duff's "Letters from Egypt" give some idea of the condition of the people under the rule of Ismail in the years 1866 and 1867. In July 1866 she wrote "No one in Egypt is paid now; all pensions and salaries are three months in arrear; the soldiers and workmen unpaid—forced loans—in short, universal ruin and distress. . . . I cannot describe to you the misery here now (February, 1867); indeed, it is wearisome even to think of; every day some new tax; now every beast—camel, cow, sheep, donkey, horse, is made to pay. The fellahs can no longer eat bread; they are living on barley meal, mixed with water and raw green stuff, vetches, etc. . . . The taxation makes life almost impossible; . . . a tax on every crop, on every animal first, and again when it is sold in the market, on every man, on charcoal, on butter, on salt."

**The Dual Control.**—One of the most important events of Ismail's reign was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The construction of the Canal was the work of De Lesseps; it was financed by a French Company acting in co-operation with the Egyptian Government, which had sunk £16,000,000 in the enterprise. In 1874,

when the Khedive was at the end of his resources, he tried to raise money by selling his shares in the Canal. Before these could be thrown on the market they were bought for political reasons by Disraeli for the English Government, for it was important, as the Canal was now the highway to India, that the English Government should have some voice in its management. The result of this step was the establishment in the near future of what was known as the "Dual Control" and the beginning of European intervention in the internal affairs of Egypt. At first this was merely for the purpose of securing the payment of the interest on the debt, for it was known that the financial condition of the country was so bad as to threaten the security of the Government, and if Egypt was in a state of political anarchy there was no guarantee that the Canal would be kept open or the interest paid. The Khedive was quite unable to cope with the financial situation, and consented to the appointment of European Commissioners of the Debt to act in the interests of the bond-holders, who were mainly English and French. As a result the "Caisse de la Dette" was established for the purpose of seeing that the interest on the debt was duly paid, and two Controllers General, Goschen and Joubert, were appointed by the Khedive to supervise revenue and expenditure.

*Financial Difficulties and the Abdication of Ismail.*—The financial situation, however, was steadily getting worse. In 1876 the payment of Treasury bills was suspended, there was no money to carry on the ordinary work of the Government, the interest on the debt could only be paid by the collection of taxes in advance, and in 1878 even this resource failed. The Commissioners pointed out the gravity of the situation and suggested that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to look into the administration of the country and the fiscal system especially, with a view to effecting reforms. The great difficulty met with was that Ismail himself was the chief offender, and reform was consequently impossible as long as the existing form of Government continued. The Khedive was the greatest landowner and shipowner, the only sugar manufacturer, and no distinction was made between his private property and that of the State; there was no check on his authority, his will was law, and the lives and property of his subjects were at his disposal. Curtailment of his power was a necessary preliminary to any scheme of reform, and as he was not in a position to resist he consented in November, 1878, to the appointment of a responsible International Ministry, under the leadership of Nubar Pasha. This experiment, however, proved a failure, mainly because it did not receive the active support of the Khedive, who had only accepted

the Ministry reluctantly. He did not openly oppose it, but it was evident that there was no chance of improvement so long as he remained at the head of the Government, and as the country was now actually bankrupt, he was forced to abdicate and leave Egypt, his son Tewfik being appointed Khedive in his stead in 1879.

The outlook at the beginning of the new reign was gloomy in the extreme; every class was discontented, trade was depressed, the army could not be relied on, and the Treasury was bankrupt. Financial reform was undertaken first. Two European controllers were appointed—an Englishman and a Frenchman, under whose influence the pernicious system of collecting taxes in advance was stopped and many petty, vexatious taxes were abolished. To ensure the payment of interest on the debt the Law of Liquidation was passed in 1880. By this the Caisse de la Dette was maintained and the revenue was divided into two halves—one to be paid to the Caisse and reserved for the interest on the debt, the other to be devoted to the ordinary purposes of government and the payment of the tribute to the Sultan. This system safeguarded the interests of the bond-holders, but it was unfair to the country, for the revenue assigned to administrative purposes was insufficient. Hence the Law of Liquidation proved for a time to be a great obstacle to progress and national welfare, but the financial condition of the country steadily improved.

*The Revolt of Arabi Pasha.*—The quiet progress of the reform movement was checked by the outbreak of the mutiny of Arabi Pasha. Among the reforms suggested was the reform of the army, but the payment of officers, as of all Government officials, was in arrears, and the mistake was made, firstly, of attempting to place a large number of officers on half pay without giving them the arrears due to them, and, secondly, of summoning two thousand officers for this purpose from different parts of the country to Cairo where they could act in concert. For some time also the Egyptian officers had been irritated by the favour shown to Turks, and in January, 1881, several colonels, led by Arabi Bey, an Egyptian of fellah origin, sent in a petition to the Government, stating that Egyptian officers had been unfairly treated in the matter of promotions and had been dismissed without any legal enquiry. The Egyptian Government, who acted in this matter without consulting its European advisers, showed a disastrous lack of decision and force, and only exasperated the army still further, without making any real attempt either to conciliate it or to reduce it to submission. The Khedive, afraid to take energetic measures, gave way on every point; and in January, 1882, admitted Arabi himself into the Ministry as Under-Secretary

for War. Arabi now acted almost as a Dictator, and received secret support and the title of Pasha from the Sultan, to whom he had represented that Egypt was falling into the hands of Europeans and Christians.

The powers felt that it was necessary to intervene and in January, 1882, a joint note was drawn up by England and France, assuring the Khedive of European support in any measures taken to restore order. In spite of this note the Khedive hesitated to take action, but fear of foreign intervention hastened a crisis. In June, 1882, riots broke out in Alexandria, in which about fifty Europeans were killed; they were not premeditated, but were merely a result of the general excitement and the race hatred which had been fostered by Arabi's policy. An Anglo-French squadron had been sent to Alexandria, where Arabi was raising fortifications. The English ordered this work to cease, and when their demand was refused bombarded the town. Arabi and the Egyptian army withdrew, but for some days Alexandria was in the hands of a hostile mob, and serious riots broke out, attended with some loss of life and enormous destruction of property. Order was at length restored when the English landed and occupied the town.

Arabi was defeated at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and fled to Cairo, where he surrendered. He was handed over to the Khedive for trial, and was sent as a prisoner to Ceylon.

In these military operations the French had taken no part. Gambetta, who had been mainly responsible for the joint note, was in favour of intervention, but a change of ministry took place and his successor adopted a less active policy. After this the French withdrew altogether from intervention in Egypt and the Dual Control came to an end.

*The Mission of Lord Dufferin.*—The English Government was now left to deal with the Egyptian situation and it was at first quite uncertain what course it would take. The views of the Government were still substantially the same as those put forward by Palmerston many years before, when he said, "We do not want to have Egypt. What we wish about Egypt is that it should continue to be attached to the Turkish Empire, which is a security against its belonging to any European power. We want to trade with Egypt, and to travel through Egypt but we do not want the burden of governing Egypt." Gladstone's Government had certainly no desire to take on any further responsibility with regard to Egypt and wanted to withdraw "as soon as the state of the country and the organisation of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it." The Government did

not realise at the time that the two objects they set before them—evacuation and reform—were incompatible, for reform could only be brought about by direct English influence and evacuation would mean a return to political anarchy.

Directly after the defeat of Arabi Lord Dufferin had been sent out to inform the English Government about the state of affairs in Egypt, and to propose measures to be taken to reconstruct the administration. His task was a difficult one, for it was almost impossible to draw up a definite scheme without knowing how long the occupation was going to last. He saw that it was necessary to impose safeguards against arbitrary misrule, that reforms in every branch of the administration were urgently required, and that, if this were to be secured, not only would British troops have to remain in occupation for an indefinite time but British officials would have to continue in the country in a position of practical authority as the only alternative to a total collapse of the administrative machinery. To the difficulties incidental to governing a disorganised country such as Egypt, there was soon added the additional complication of the war in the Sudan.

**The Sudan.**—*Rise of the Mahdi.*—The conquest of the Sudan had first been attempted by Mehemet Ali, who had conquered Kordofan and founded Khartoum; he had also leased from the Sultan the Red Sea ports of Suakim and Massowa, and so had under his control all the trade routes of the Eastern Sudan and was able to monopolise the greater part of the trade. The country suffered severely under Egyptian rule, for the administration was in the hands of irresponsible Turkish and Albanian officials who cared nothing about the people; industries were destroyed, the people were plundered and the country was overrun by Arab slave dealers. The Khedive could exercise little real authority over this district, which covered about 1300 square miles. The condition of things was steadily getting worse there, and in 1881 Mohammed Ahmed proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi, who according to Mahomedan tradition was some day to appear and convert the world. The prevailing discontent gave him his opportunity for successful revolt; he rapidly gained adherents, and within two years had turned the population of the Sudan into a horde of fanatical warriors, known as Dervishes, who took him as their prophet. When, in 1883, he issued proclamations calling on them to rise against the Turks and drive them out of the country, revolt broke out and spread rapidly, and soon the greater part of the Sudan acknowledged his authority.

*Defeat of the Egyptian troops.*—It was doubtful what steps would be taken in Egypt to deal with the rising. Dufferin was in favour

of withdrawing altogether from the outlying provinces of the Sudan, but the English Government declined to give any advice and disclaimed all responsibility, considering Sudanese affairs a matter of Egyptian internal politics with which the English Government was not concerned. The Egyptian Government, left to itself, had no intention of withdrawing from the Sudan, and embarked on the task of crushing the revolt, though the means at its disposal—both military and financial—were quite inadequate. The Treasury was exhausted, the army had been disbanded after Arabi's revolt, and, though the work of building up a new force under English officers was in progress, the troops were not yet sufficiently trained and disciplined to be of any real use in war.

Yet it was with this force that Hicks Pasha, an English officer in the service of the Khedive, was sent to drive the Mahdi out of Kordofan. Hicks himself knew that he was undertaking an impossible task. He advanced into a country which was quite unknown to him; the native guides, who were emissaries of the Mahdi, led the army into a waterless desert region and then deserted it, and after wandering about aimlessly for three days the whole force was totally annihilated by the Mahdi's army. This catastrophe was soon followed by another disaster in the Eastern Sudan, where the half-trained and undisciplined troops of Baker Pasha, most of whom had a superstitious dread of the Mahdi, threw down their weapons and allowed themselves to be slaughtered without striking a blow.

*Mission of Gordon.*—In the south the Mahdi was steadily getting stronger and was threatening Khartoum and Berber, which still held out for the Khedive, whilst the garrisons further to the south were cut off from communication with Egypt. The Egyptian army had proved that it was unequal to the work of conquering the Sudan and withdrawal was the only course open to the Egyptian Government, though they only acknowledged the necessity for it with great reluctance. It was decided to entrust the work of evacuation to General Gordon, who already had considerable knowledge of the country, as he had been Governor General of the Sudan under Ismail and had tried to stamp out slavery there. Yet the choice of Gordon was hardly wise for he was erratic and uncertain. He seemed to be constitutionally incapable of keeping to one line of policy and could never be relied upon to obey orders. Gordon was received with enthusiasm at Khartoum, but he soon realised that the state of things was much worse than he had anticipated and that, though the road was still open to withdraw from Khartoum, the evacuation of the garrisons in the south was already

an impossibility. Partial evacuation he would not consent to because it would mean leaving these garrisons to their fate and "How," he asked, "could I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled?" He now changed his policy and, instead of evacuation, decided that it was necessary to "smash the Mahdi." He sent telegram after telegram to Cairo, but the English Government had no intention of sending troops out for that purpose, though, as time went on, it seemed likely that they might have to be sent to relieve Khartoum and secure the safety of the English officers there, for the Dervishes were gradually closing round the town, and the retreat of the garrison would soon be cut off. Still the full extent of the danger was not recognised in England, and it was not until August 1884 that it was decided to send out a relief expedition. This decision once taken there was no unnecessary delay, but the difficulties in connection with supplies and transport were great, and the advance up the Nile was unavoidably slow, for it was no easy task to move an army in small boats up a river broken by cataracts. The first detachment arrived at Khartoum on January 20th, only to find that Gordon had been killed and the town taken by the Mahdi two days before.

After the fall of Khartoum it was decided that the Sudan must be given up; the southern boundary on the Nile was fixed at Wady Halfa, and Suakim was the only post retained in the east.

*Reconquest of the Sudan.*—It was not until 1896 that an offensive policy was adopted again, and it was decided to send an expedition from Egypt under Kitchener to drive the Khalifa, the successor of the Mahdi, out of the Nile Valley and recapture Khartoum. Advance, though steady, was slow, for a railway had to be constructed as the army advanced, but the delay made it possible to establish friendly relations with some of the tribes who were growing restive under Dervish rule. In 1898 the Dervishes, defeated at Atbara, fell back on Omdurman where a battle was fought that destroyed the Khalifa's power and involved the fall of Khartoum.

*Administration of the Sudan.*—The flags of England and Egypt were raised side by side at Khartoum and the Sudan was taken under the joint control of the two countries. It was ruled by a Governor General, appointed by the Khedive on the advice of the English, and since 1910 he has been assisted by a Council. When the English took it over the country had been completely ruined by the long period of disturbance; there were no political institutions, society was in a state of chaos, population had been seriously reduced by war, slave raids, and oppression, and all signs of material prosperity and civilisation had been swept away. In the work of

reconstruction the Government kept control in its own hands and hitherto little scope has been allowed to private enterprise. As a result it has had to undertake business of the most varied kind. "It was land owner, house-builder, purveyor of food and clothing, store keeper, railway manager, importer, retail trader, agriculturalist and tourist agency. If it wanted steamers to ply on the rivers it had to build and maintain them; if it desired to foster trade in the country it was obliged to supply the means of transport, if not actually to buy and sell the goods itself, and these things it could do with a free hand." (Low, "Egypt in Transition.")

Under this benevolent despotism the Sudan made extraordinary progress in the early years of the present century. The population increased, the revenue rose, and pastoral and agricultural industries developed, the country offering great possibilities for the production of cotton. Hitherto the development of its natural resources has been retarded by the lack of a sufficient supply of labour, good communications and an adequate water supply, but already railway construction has done a good deal to facilitate trade. To meet the demand for a more abundant water supply the Blue Nile Dam and the White Nile Barrage were planned, but the execution of the work was postponed by the War.

**The Government of Egypt under the Veiled Protectorate.**—The government of Egypt from 1883 to 1914 was described as a Veiled Protectorate. The suzerainty of the Sultan was still acknowledged and tribute, amounting to £1,750,000, was annually paid to him, but in practice his control was limited to the appointment of a Turkish High Commissioner at Cairo. The administration of internal affairs was left to the Khedive and his Ministers, but all real authority lay with the English officials. At the head of these was Lord Cromer (Sir Evelyn Baring), who was for many years Consul General and actual ruler of the country.

In the early years of the occupation, the government was reorganised and reforms were undertaken in every branch of the administration. The Organic Law of 1883 was the first legal restriction placed on the power of the Khedive, and it provided for some measure of constitutional government, though the people took little direct share in it. In Dufferin's opinion it would be impossible to introduce representative institutions quickly, but he hoped that the legislative bodies "might be fostered and educated into fairly useful institutions, proving a convenient channel through which the European element in his Government might obtain an insight into the inner mind and less obvious wants of the native population."

*The English Officials.* The position of the English in the Government was anomalous. The English officials were nominally appointed by the Khedive and were responsible to him; they were paid by him and legally they were his servants. Their actual functions were frequently not clearly defined, and they often held subordinate posts in a Government department under an Egyptian head, but real authority lay with them, and advice given by them had to be taken. "It should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and governors of provinces," said Granville in a letter to Baring, "that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those ministers and governors who do not follow that course, should cease to hold their offices." This system, devised by Lord Dufferin, was not carried out without difficulty, for it required the exercise of constant tact and discretion, combined with firmness, on the part of the English officials, for they could not always count on the co-operation of the Egyptian Ministers. Of these the best known in Europe was the Armenian, Nubar Pasha, who, though favourable to the English occupation and a friend to reform, strongly resented English interference in the administration, and made a determined attempt to get rid of Lord Cromer, with the result that he was himself obliged to resign. Fortunately in Tewfik Pasha, who was by nature well fitted to play the part of a constitutional ruler, the English Government found steady support. "Born and wholly bred as he had been in Egypt, he was in sympathy with the native mind and thoroughly understood the Egyptian character. He had moreover, in a considerable measure, a quality in which his Ministers were mostly lacking. He had a very present and abiding sense of humour which carried with it the power of looking at matters personal to himself from the point of view of a disinterested spectator. . . . There was in Tewfik Pasha a reserve of reasonableness and sound judgment, and an honourable belief in the good faith of advisers whom he trusted, which are no mean substitute for experience directly acquired by long handling of public affairs." (Colvin, "Making of Modern Egypt.")

*The Army.*—One of the most urgent needs was the reconstruction of the army, which had been disbanded after the revolt of Arabi Pasha. The reputation of the Egyptians as soldiers at this time was not high, but it was soon seen that their military defects had been due to mal-administration—to the oppressive recruiting system, uncertainty of the length of service, irregular pay and bad leadership—and they rapidly disappeared under a better system. Military

service was still compulsory, but the number of men required was not large and they were chosen by ballot. It was unfortunate that the new army was put to the test of war in the Sudanese campaign before it was fit for service in the field, but a great change was effected in a comparatively short time, and though in the Battle of El-Teb in 1884 the troops "threw down their arms and ran, allowing themselves to be killed without the slightest resistance," in 1891, in fighting against a superior force of Dervishes, they "stood their ground and did not yield an inch throughout the line." Sudanese troops were also enrolled and trained under English officers, but service in their case was voluntary. An English army of occupation remained in Egypt, and though a small force with no definite status in the country, its moral effect as "the outward and visible sign of the predominance of British influence" (Milner) was out of all proportion to its actual strength.

*The Capitulations.*—Among the greatest difficulties that confronted the administration in Egypt were the special privileges enjoyed by Europeans. These were based on the Capitulations, which dated from the sixteenth century; they had been in their origin concessions granted by treaty to foreigners by the Sultan to enable them to live and trade in safety in his dominions, and were binding on Egypt as a part of the Turkish Empire. As a result the Government had no control over the European element in the population. Foreigners were almost entirely exempt from taxation; no laws could be passed affecting them without the consent of all the Powers represented by them; they were exempt from native jurisdiction, and no European could be arrested, unless he were caught in the act of committing a crime, except in the presence of his Consul. The comparative immunity from justice enjoyed by Europeans was for a time a great difficulty, for the Government could not deal with offences committed by them, and the Consuls in some cases showed themselves more ready to shield their compatriots than to see that justice was done. An additional difficulty was that a foreigner could come down on the Government to make good any damage or loss he had sustained in the country, even if it was due to his own fault, and in 1867 there were outstanding claims for compensation against the Government to the value of £40,000,000.

*Reforms in Justice and Administration.*—Reforms in justice were initiated by Nubar Pasha and did something to lessen these difficulties. In 1867 the Mixed Tribunals had been formed to try civil cases between Europeans of different nationalities and between Europeans and natives, consular jurisdiction being still retained for criminal cases. The law used was mainly French, with such additions

from Mahommedan law as were felt to be desirable, and judges were both native and European. Nubar Pasha also undertook the reform of the native system of justice; the mudirs (rulers of provinces) were deprived of their magisterial powers and new native Courts were formed to exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction.

*Irrigation.*—Perhaps the work that most closely touched the welfare of Egypt was the improvement in irrigation, which was urgently needed, for, under the administration and financial anarchy of the reign of Ismail, the irrigation system had been neglected and even necessary repairs had not been executed. To obtain a more abundant supply of water the repair of the Nile Barrage was undertaken. The Barrage was a great weir across the Nile at the apex of the Delta about fourteen miles north of Cairo; it had been begun by French engineers in the reign of Mehemet Ali but had never yet been used, and a report of 1883 had declared it to be almost valueless; it was now repaired and completed, and in 1890 was in working order. In 1893 the plan was first suggested of constructing a great Nile reservoir by damming the Nile at the first cataract at Assuan; this was completed in 1902, with the result that the available supply of water in the Nile in June was doubled. These methods of storing water and the extension of the perennial canal system, first introduced by Mehemet Ali to encourage the cultivation of cotton and sugar, have not only made it possible to extend the area of cultivation but also to procure double crops over a great part of Middle as well as Lower Egypt, and winter crops of wheat, barley, beans, etc., can be followed by summer crops of sugar and cotton.

**Relations with the French and the Sultan.** After the French had withdrawn from their co-operation with the English in Egypt, though they had taken no definite steps to oppose it they had regarded the continued occupation of Egypt with no very friendly eyes; yet the Fashoda incident in 1899 was the only occasion when open dispute seemed imminent. About the time when Khartoum was reconquered the French Government formed a plan to seize the Upper Nile Valley and unite the French possessions in West Africa with those at the entrance to the Red Sea. Marchand was sent with a small force from the French Congo with orders to occupy Fashoda, but was checked by the advance of an English force under Kitchener and had to retire, and by the Anglo-French Convention of 1899 the French were excluded from the Valley of the Nile. Relations between the English and French were put on a sure footing by the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, by which the French formally

recognised the English position in Egypt and the English Government declared that they had no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. At the same time the English recognised the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, which provided for the neutralisation of the Canal and declared that it should "always be free and open in time of war without distinction of flag."

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a dispute with the Sultan had arisen on the subject of the Sinai Peninsula. Until 1892 this district, as well as certain ports on the Arabian side of the Gulf of Akaba, had been administered by the Khedive, but the Firman issued on the accession of Abbas II declared that the Egyptian frontier ran from Suez to El Arish, which gave the peninsula to Turkey and brought the Turkish frontier close up to the Suez Canal. The English Government intervened and the Sultan agreed to give up his claims and to recognise as the frontier a line drawn from El Arish to the top of the Gulf of Akaba.

**Abbas II.**—The sudden and unexpected death of Tewfik Pasha in 1892 raised difficulties for the Government, for his successor, Abbas II, who was young and inexperienced, soon showed that he was not disposed to adopt his father's tolerant acceptance of the political situation. He tried to undermine the influence of the English, showed marked discourtesy to English officials, and attempted to stir up disaffection in the army. Lord Cromer adopted a firm attitude and, supported by the Home Government, insisted on his appointing a minister on whom the English could rely, and he soon realised that opposition was useless and became apparently reconciled to his European advisers. The spirit of unrest was still abroad and the feeling of hostility to English control was voiced a few years later by the Nationalist Party, who wanted Egypt to be independent of European influence. This party drew its strength mainly from the young men of the middle classes, who had been educated, or partially educated, on Western lines, and had imbibed Western ideas of political freedom.

Political agitation disturbed the country for some years and in 1907, when the trouble was at its height, Lord Cromer resigned. Since 1883 he had been the real ruler of the country and had gradually concentrated under his personal control all the different branches of the administration. His rule was autocratic, but the country was at a stage of political development when it needed autocratic leadership and only by this means would it have been possible for English influence to have asserted itself and gained control in face of the difficulties that marked the early years of the Veiled Protectorate. Sir Eldon Gorst, who succeeded him and who

had had long experience of Egypt, was a man of more liberal and democratic tendencies and declared openly that it was the aim of the British occupation to teach the Egyptians to govern themselves. His attitude seemed at first to give increased force to the demands of the Nationalists, but he was successful in establishing good relations with the Khedive and thus withdrawing him from their influence; religious feuds were sapping the strength of the party, and after the assassination of Boutros Pasha in 1910 the moderate section seceded and there was little further trouble.

**Lord Kitchener.**—In 1911 Sir Eldon Gorst was forced by ill-health to retire and Lord Kitchener was appointed to take his place. Internal difficulties were now less acute, but anxiety was caused by the outbreak of the Turco-Italian war, for Egyptian sympathies were with the Turks. Though it was generally recognised that the political authority of the Sultan was nominal, as Khalifa he was the religious head of the Mahommedan community and religious excitement was roused by any contest between a Mahommedan and a Christian power. It was only by tactful management that strict neutrality was maintained both in this war and in the Balkan wars of the following years.

A policy of progress and reform was inaugurated which had been planned before Cromer left Egypt and which had been commenced by Gorst. One of the most important reforms aimed at giving the people a greater share in the work of government. In 1909 the Provincial Councils had been reorganised and given increased powers, and in 1913 a change was made in the Central Councils which had been established by the Organic Law of 1883. For the two bodies—the Legislative Council and the General Assembly—a Legislative Assembly was substituted, which was chosen on a broader basis and had wider powers.

The growth of material prosperity was encouraged by a wide extension of road making and the construction of the Assuan Dam, which was completed in 1913, and which provides a third of the agricultural area of Egypt with perennial irrigation. Steps were taken to improve the condition of the peasantry, who were often hopelessly involved in debt. The rate of interest was now reduced by law to 9 per cent., and village savings banks were instituted, the village tax collector being authorised to accept deposits of any sum above the value of a piastre ( $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ ). The small holder was protected by the Five Feddan Law which prohibits the seizure for debt of small holdings of less than five feddans (a little over five acres), or distraint of the oxen and implements required for working the land.

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In spite of the material progress that had been brought about, political unrest still continued. Sir Sidney Low, writing in "The Asiatic Review" in 1913, said: "In Egypt the superficial quiet is that of suppressed discontent—of a sullen, hopeless mistrust towards the Government of the Occupation. . . . The essential fact is that the Government of the Occupation has not yet succeeded in endearing, or even recommending, itself to the Egyptian people, but is on the contrary an object of suspicion. . . . We are not popular in Egypt. Feared we may be by some; respected, I doubt not, by many others; but really liked, I am sure, by very few."

**The Protectorate.**—When the Great War broke out the Egyptian Government, in spite of its position as a province of the Turkish Empire, adopted the view that it was in a state of war with Germany and Austria, and enemy subjects were interned, but England declared that as long as Turkey remained neutral no change would be made in the political status of the country. When Turkey joined in the war the final separation was brought about, the slight link that bound her to the Ottoman Empire was severed, and Egypt was declared to be a British Protectorate. Abbas, who had been proved to be disloyal, was deposed, and Hussein Kamil took his place with the title of Sultan. The Turks began hostilities in the spring of 1915 by an attack on the Suez Canal, which was driven off, and though preparations were made for an attack on a much greater scale the following year, the troops in Egypt had been strongly reinforced and the danger was averted. There was some trouble at the end of the year 1915 with the Senussi, who advanced from the Libyan desert to the Nile Valley, and the Sultan of Darfur revolted, but with these exceptions the Sudan remained loyal. The acute unrest that followed the war was due to various causes, some political, some economic. The requisitions demanded in the later years of the war pressed very heavily on the country. In the early days of the war the Fellahin had benefited by the high prices obtainable for their produce, but when animals required for agricultural work were requisitioned for transport, and when labour was recruited for the campaigns in Syria and Palestine, by a system that was voluntary only in name, discontent was roused. As time went on they felt more and more heavily the strain of the war and the people were led to believe, by political agitators, that the Protectorate was the cause of all their troubles. Meanwhile the demands of the Nationalist party for self-government became steadily more insistent, and in 1918 an Anglo-Egyptian Commission was appointed to report on the question of constitutional reform. The report, when issued, showed that the significance of the

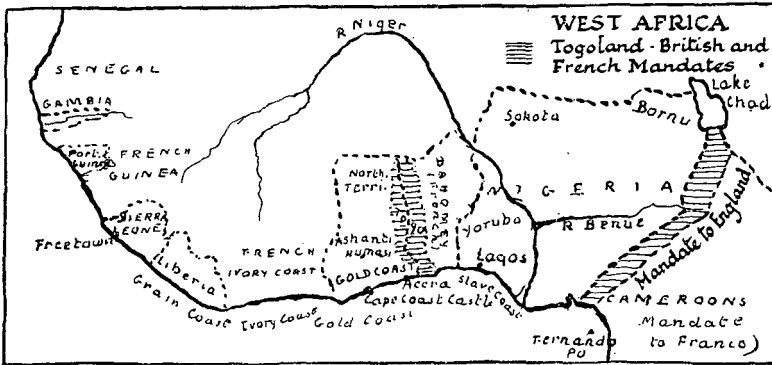
Nationalist movement had not been grasped; the changes suggested were comparatively slight and were regarded in Egypt as a refusal of the national aspirations, and the Egyptian ministers resigned. Milner, who was sent out to Egypt in 1920, soon realised that it was impossible to carry on the government under existing conditions and advised the abolition of the Protectorate. "The moment," he said, "is favourable for placing the relations of Great Britain and Egypt on the satisfactory and enduring basis of a treaty, which will at one and the same time establish the independence of Egypt and secure the essential interests of Great Britain." In accordance with this advice Egypt was in 1922 declared an independent Sovereign State and a new constitution was drawn up and promulgated the following year. Certain questions—the security of communications and defence, the protection of foreign interests and the political status of the Sudan—are still under discussion and pending their settlement the English remain in military occupation. Whether English advisers will be retained in Egypt will be a matter for the Egyptian Government to decide.

## CHAPTER VIII

### TROPICAL AFRICA

#### PART I.—WEST AFRICA

**The Sixteenth Century—the Portuguese.**—In the early days of colonisation the West African or the Guinea Coast was, like the West Indies, one of the regions where all nations met. It was within the sphere granted to the Portuguese by the Papal Bull, and was fairly well known to them before the sea route to the East had been discovered, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries little regard was paid to the Papal Bull by the nations who wanted to settle or trade, and the French as well as the Protestant English



and Dutch were attracted to the coast by the value of the products. The different parts of the Coast bore the names of the chief articles of trade that could be obtained there. At the Grain Coast—the modern State of Liberia—the product in greatest demand was a condiment known variously as Guinea-grains, grains of Paradise, or Malaguetta pepper, used in the sixteenth century to flavour strong drinks and to adulterate beer, and greatly valued until it was found that pepper of better quality could be obtained from India. The Ivory Coast was the district known later as French Guinea; the Gold Coast, the part that still bears that name; and the Slave Coast, the littoral of Togoland and Dahomey. Though there were no

English settlements on the Coast before the seventeenth century English ships visited it for purpose of trade, going for the most part to the Grain Coast or to the mouth of the Gambia.

**The Seventeenth Century—the English and the Dutch.**—By the seventeenth century the value of the produce to be obtained by trade with the West African Coast was realised in Europe and the coast was studded with the forts and factories of the five nations—the Portuguese, French, English, Dutch and Danes. Of these the Dutch at first seemed likely to get the upper hand. Everywhere they were breaking down the Portuguese monopoly, and, as their resources were concentrated in the hands of one strong Company, were substituting for it a monopoly of their own. English interests on the Coast were represented by a succession of trading companies. Notwithstanding the value of the trade most of these were not financially successful, for they were hampered by the unhealthiness of the climate, by the competition of the companies of other nations, who received more active support from their Governments, and still more by the competition of interlopers of their own nationality, who were constantly encroaching on their monopoly.

Settlements were made on the Gambia and on the Gold Coast where several forts were built. After the Restoration more attention was paid to the trade of the West Coast and the rivalry between the English and Dutch led to an outbreak of open war, in which the English came off badly and lost all their forts with the exception of Cape Coast Castle. To strengthen the hands of the English traders after these disasters another charter was issued granting a monopoly to the Royal Africa Company, but it was not very successful and after the Revolution the trade was thrown open by Parliament.

**The Eighteenth Century—the Slave Trade.**—The eighteenth century was marked by an enormous development of the Slave Trade. The attention of the English had been first drawn to the trade by the Assiento Treaty of 1713, but the main impulse was given by the growing demand for negro labour on the plantations of the American Colonies and the West Indies. The attempt to make it a monopoly of a trading company failed, for it was so profitable and could so easily be carried on that it was impossible to keep out interlopers, and the company, burdened with dues to the Crown, could not compete with the private trader. One effect of this extension of the slave trade was that trade in other products declined. Consequently when it was abolished by law in 1807 there seemed to be little reason why the English should continue to stay on the coast, except that for some time it was necessary to keep warships there

to enforce the Act and check the persistent attempts at slave smuggling.

**The Nineteenth Century—Government Control and International Rivalry.**—In the nineteenth century the history of West Africa entered on a new phase. After the abolition of the Slave Trade the Government took over direct control of the British possessions, but as it wanted to incur as little expense and responsibility as possible its policy was for some time hesitating and uncertain. As elsewhere it was the competition with other nations that led to a change of policy in the later years of the century, and when the importance of extending British influence was realised the Government allowed the preliminary work of opening up new land to trade and occupation to be done by Chartered Companies.

Another feature of this period was that European nations no longer confined themselves to Coast stations, but began to open up the Hinterland and to trade directly with the interior. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the land on which the factories had been built belonged to the natives and was generally held on a yearly tenancy, tolls being paid to the native rulers; now the Europeans began to acquire land and exercise territorial rights and political power in the districts where they carried on trade.

#### **The Gold Coast in the Nineteenth Century.**

*The Government and the Forts.*—In 1821 the Government took possession of the forts, the West Africa Company which had maintained them hitherto was dissolved, and the Gold Coast was made a dependency of Sierra Leone. An attempt was made to meet the cost of administration by the imposition of heavy customs duties, but the only result was to divert the trade to the Dutch and the Danes, and as it was felt that the West Coast possessions involved the Government in trouble and expense with little corresponding benefit, it was decided to reduce the number of government stations, and finally to evacuate them all. The settlements were not to be given up entirely, but could no longer rely on Government support. The merchants protested against this decision, and as a compromise, the forts—with the exception of Cape Coast Castle and Accra, which were still to be administered from Sierra Leone—were handed over to a committee of London merchants trading with the Gold Coast, the Government paying an annual subsidy of £4,000 to maintain the garrisons and forts.

An able administrator was found in Maclean, who had already had military experience on the Gold Coast, and it was he who really created the Gold Coast Protectorate, in spite of the restriction,

which prohibited the extension of English authority. He gradually gained influence over the natives, maintained a ten years' peace with the Ashantis and his authority was recognised as supreme over all the land between the coast and Ashanti, whilst as a result of the era of peace the condition of the coast tribes was improving and trade in palm oil, gold, and other products was increasing. As a result, the Government in 1843 resumed direct control of the forts, for it was felt that the exercise of political power ought to be independent of trade interests now that the sphere of influence had been so widely extended. Maclean, though no longer in supreme control, continued to direct relations with the natives until his death, which took place a few years later.

*Extension of English Authority.*--During the next few years English authority was gradually extended, roads were made and a local military corps was raised for purposes of defence and police. In 1850 the Danish forts on the coast were bought, and in 1867 the English and Dutch effected some exchange of territory with a view to consolidating their possessions, but as the result was to bring the Dutch into conflict with the aggressive Ashanti power, they consented in 1873 to hand over all their forts to England in return for the surrender of the English claims on Sumatra, which dated from the Napoleonic Wars. The only serious difficulty in the nineteenth century was with the Ashantis, who had first become known to the Europeans in the eighteenth century when there was a great movement of the tribe southward. Before the end of the century they had built and fortified their present capital, Kumasi, had formed a strong Government, and were extending their authority over other tribes. By the beginning of the nineteenth century their subjection of the Fanti tribes near the coast brought them into collision with the English. There was a succession of Ashanti wars throughout the nineteenth century and it was not until 1866 that the Ashanti power was completely broken and that the trade routes leading into the interior were thrown open to the English. In 1900 Ashanti was annexed and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Gold Coast; the following year the region to the North of Ashanti, now known as the Northern Territories, was taken under British protection.

*The Gold Coast at the end of the Nineteenth Century.*--From 1866 to 1874 the Gold Coast was again under the administration of Sierra Leone; since that time it has formed a separate colony, and until 1886 Lagos, from which it was separated by a strip of unoccupied land, was incorporated with it. Any time during this period it would have been possible for the English to have extended their

authority over this strip, which was a sort of No Man's Land, but the question was not raised and in the meantime the Germans occupied Togoland in 1886 and the French were gaining authority over Dahomey. The English recognised in 1890 the validity of the German claims to Togoland and the continuity of the English settlements on the coast was effectually prevented. The Government of the Gold Coast is now that of a Crown Colony and Ashanti and the Northern Territories are under Chief Commissioners who are responsible to the Governor of the Colony. Since 1874 the administrative capital has been Accra.

The country is well wooded, fertile and fairly well populated. Rivers are fairly numerous but are of little use for navigation, for the mouths are blocked with bars of sand and the upper courses impeded by rocks and rapids. The coast lies low and is very unhealthy. Further inland in the Ashanti country are valuable forests, whilst the Northern Territories beyond are grassy and almost treeless. Gold is still one of the chief products and it is widely distributed, but until recently gold mining has been kept back, especially in the interior, by the want of good roads and means of transport. The forests are valuable and produce palm oil, rubber, timber, coconuts and kola nuts; coffee and tobacco are cultivated, but not to any great extent. The two great obstacles to the development of the resources of the colony have been the lack of efficient labour and means of transport. The system of slavery, which was in force for centuries, has taken such hold on the people, that it is difficult to get free labour, for many sorts of work, especially agriculture, is still considered a degradation for a free man. Until recent years head carriage was the only means of transport and was so expensive as to be almost prohibitive for trading purposes. Mary Kingsley in her "Travels in West Africa," written in 1899, estimated the cost of carriage of goods to the value of £3,000 for trading purposes from the coast to Kumasi at £1,300, reckoning that it would be necessary to employ thirteen hundred men for sixteen days at a cost of 1s. 3d. each per day, and this would leave no margin for damage or loss. Macdonald, writing in 1898, when head carriage was still the only means of transport from the interior, estimated the cost at £25 a ton, and said that no improvement could be looked for until better roads were made, when the introduction of wheeled traffic would soon follow. Railways have now been built connecting the coast with Kumasi, and there has also been a great improvement in the roads.

**The Gambia.**—The Colony of the Gambia is simply a strip of land along the lower course and mouth of the Gambia River, which,

unlike most of the rivers of the West Coast, is navigable for a long distance from its mouth. One of the first parts of the coast to be visited by the English, the Garabia was frequented in early days in preference to the parts of the coast further to the east, in order to avoid coming into conflict with the Portuguese. Fort James, built soon after the Restoration, was an important centre for the slave trade in the eighteenth century. In the early years of the nineteenth century Bathurst, the present capital, was founded on St. Mary's Island, and McCarthy's Island, about a hundred and fifty miles up the river from Bathurst, was purchased. Up to this point the river is navigable for large ships, and the station is used as a depôt for produce and as an advanced post for the protection of trade. The Gambia formed one of the West African settlements under the administration of Sierra Leone between the years 1821 and 1843, and again from 1866 to 1888, when it became a separate colony. It is governed by an Administrator assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils, and is ruled partly as a colony and partly as a Protectorate. The industries are mainly agricultural: some rice and corn are grown for local consumption, and ground nuts, indiarubber, beeswax and hides are cultivated for export. The trade is carried on chiefly by English ships.

### **Sierra Leone.**

*The Foundation of the Colony.*—Sierra Leone has the advantage of a safe and convenient harbour. From early times a depôt for trade with the interior, it was after 1660 an English slave factory and in the eighteenth century a great rendezvous for pirates. Its historical importance as an English colony dates from the anti-slavery agitation of the latter part of the eighteenth century, when a philanthropic society was formed mainly for the purpose of repatriating freed and destitute negroes. At the time of Mansfield's judgment, which declared that slavery could not exist on English soil, it was estimated that there were no fewer than fourteen thousand negro slaves in England, and as a result of that judgment many of these negroes were turned adrift in London and were in a state of destitution. A little later a society was organised for the relief of the black poor and a Company formed to establish a settlement in Sierra Leone. The first attempt was a failure, but the enterprise was not given up, and in 1791 a settlement, known as Freetown, was established. This was eventually successful, though there were great initial difficulties to be overcome, partly from defective preparation and organisation, partly from the character of the settlers and the hostility of the European traders in the

neighbourhood. Little foresight or care seems to have been shown in the work of organisation. Huts were not built, and, as there was no adequate shelter for the people when the wet season came in, a high rate of sickness and mortality was the result. Stores had been sent out from England, but word was sent home that the organisers "seem to have been cheated in every department—in ships, stores and cargo." Great quantities of goods rotted as the result of defective storage and there was no adequate supervision over distribution, with the result that quantities were wasted, while some of the people were dying of starvation. The land had not been surveyed and the people were demoralised by the period of enforced idleness which this entailed.

In any case the difficulties of welding together the heterogeneous elements which went to form the Colony would have been almost insuperable. A considerable number of negroes, many of them of undesirable character, were sent out from England and elsewhere. From Nova Scotia came a contingent of loyalist negroes, who had fought for England in the War of Independence, and a little later, in 1800, the Maroons who had been sent there after the revolt in Jamaica. After the abolition of the slave trade the population was recruited from the freed negroes from the slave ships, known as the "Willyfoss negroes" who, by 1825, numbered about eighteen thousand, and other elements were supplied by pensioners from the Black West India regiment and negroes from Barbados, deported after a black revolt. Freetown became in fact "the receptacle for all sorts and conditions of black men" (Lucas) and the white element, drawn mainly from the ranks of the undesirables, was an additional source of trouble. The colony met with some hostility locally, both from the natives who objected to the survey of land, and from European slave traders, some of whom had factories on different parts of the coast and who were quite out of sympathy with the colony and its aims. Yet in spite of drawbacks and difficulties, the Company, when it surrendered its powers to the Government in 1808, claimed to have brought to West Africa the rudiments at least of education, civilisation and industry, and to have demonstrated "that negroes may be governed by the same mild laws which are found consistent with the maintenance of national liberty even in this kingdom." They claimed also that the experiment had in "some measure retrieved the honour of the English name by showing that white men can come to Africa for other purposes besides self-interest."

*International Rivalry.*—Sierra Leone came under the direct control of the Government as a result of the abolition of the slave trade

and the necessity for strong police regulations in order to enforce the law. A squadron of cruisers had to be kept in readiness off the coast and slave vessels captured north of the Equator were brought there. From 1821 to 1843 and again from 1866 to 1888 Sierra Leone was taken as the centre of the West African settlements, partly because of its central position and natural advantages, partly because of its association with the cause of freedom and progress. Towards the end of the century the encroachment of the French from the west and north threatened to deprive the colony of its hinterland and consequently to check the expansion of its trade. Some definition of boundaries and spheres of influence was necessary, and by the Anglo-French Convention of 1891 both banks of the upper waters of the Niger were recognised as being within the French sphere, thus barring the English from the Niger and the interior plateau, though still leaving open to them a large tract of hinterland, extending for about a hundred and eighty miles north of the narrow strip of the coast that forms the colony. Over this district a Protectorate was proclaimed in 1896, which was placed under the control of the Governor of the Colony. The exclusive right of the natives to the land is recognised, and the internal government of the country is still conducted by native chiefs under English control.

### NIGERIA

*Exploration of the Niger.*—The Niger Delta, under the name of the Oil Rivers, had been known since the sixteenth century to European nations who traded with the natives for palm oil and other products, and some settlements had been formed on the coast by the Portuguese. About the Niger itself there was very little definite knowledge. Its existence had been known from the time of Ptolemy, but it had been believed to be a branch of the Nile flowing into the Atlantic, and until the end of the eighteenth century little more accurate information about it had been gained. In 1796 Mungo Park, starting from the Gambia, explored the upper course of the river and established the fact that it flowed southward. It was not until 1830 that the whole course of the Niger was explored and the Niger Delta finally identified with the Oil Rivers. Nearly a quarter of a century elapsed before any attempt was made to turn these discoveries to any practical advantage. In 1854 McGregor Laird got permission from the Government to contract for and equip a suitable vessel to place on the river for the purpose of carrying on exploration and encouraging trade and missionary enterprise. He met with some success, and trading stations were established at certain points, but the English Government was

apathetic and when the natives gave trouble did little to support British merchants. A Parliamentary Committee, appointed in 1865 to investigate the difficulties on the West African coast, gave it as their opinion: "That all further extension of territory or assumption by the government of new treaties offering any protection to native tribes, would be inexpedient and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except probably Sierra Leone." Nevertheless a considerable amount of trade was still carried on, for palm oil, the chief product of the Coast, was being increasingly utilised in Europe for the manufacture of soap, but the traders were hampered by the absence of any organisation among themselves and of any political authority to support them beyond the vague consular jurisdiction at Fernando Po.

*Trade and International Rivalry.*—The next attempt to secure English influence was the result of private enterprise. In 1877 Mr. Goldie Taubman, known later as Sir George Taubman Goldie, an officer in the Royal Engineers, succeeded in uniting all the various trade interests on the river in one company. This change gave a great impetus to trade, and it came at an opportune moment, for very soon afterwards English predominance on the Niger, which had hitherto been unquestioned, was threatened by French and German competition. French influence had extended rapidly since 1876 and the whole of the Western Sudan seemed likely to become a French dependency. A conflict of interests seemed likely to arise on the Niger, but in 1884 the French Government, then in difficulties in Tonkin, acquiesced in an arrangement by which the French Companies in that region were bought out by the English, thus leaving the trade of the lower Niger entirely in English hands. German competition was making itself felt about the same time both on the East and West. In the West the King of Togoland accepted German protection, whilst in the East the German Protectorate over the Cameroons, proclaimed the same year, threatened the English trade on the Niger. At the Berlin Conference, however, Goldie, who represented English interests, declared that the whole of the trade of this region was in British hands and was successful in securing for the English control of the Middle and Lower course of the Niger; the free navigation of the river was provided for, but Great Britain was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the necessary regulations. On the upper course of the Niger the French remained the dominant power.

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*The Royal Niger Company.*--As a result of this recognition of English influence and responsibility, a Protectorate was proclaimed in 1885 over the land from the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers to the sea, under the name of the Oil Rivers Protectorate, and a charter was granted to the company formed by Goldie, which was known henceforth as the Royal Niger Company. Some increase of power was necessary if any further progress was to be made, for a company which was a trading company only had no authority to make political treaties with native chiefs, and hitherto it had waged an unequal trade conflict with rivals who had received active support from their own governments. The effect of the charter was to give the Royal Niger Company powers of administration and government; it could maintain order, protect chiefs with whom treaties had been made, and, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, acquire territory and levy customs duties to defray the cost of administration. It was given jurisdiction over foreigners and British subjects and was to discourage, and eventually to abolish slavery. It remained a trading company, uniting trade activities with political work, but it had no trade monopoly and all traders had free access to its markets. The Company now had to organise the machinery required for administration; an agent-general with a staff of officials was appointed, courts of justice were formed and a force of native constabulary raised, as well as a native police force for civil duties. In dealing with the natives the main difficulty was the absence of any central native authority and the large numbers of small slave trading groups and petty chieftains; it was reported in July, 1888, that the agent-general had made treaties with no less than two hundred and thirty-five riverside States and tribes, giving the Company territorial rights over a large area.

As the English pushed their way into the interior they began to realise the difficulties presented by the great variety of the tribes that they had to deal with. In the lowest scale of civilisation came Pagan communities with no social or political organisation beyond that of the village and holding little or no intercourse with the outside world. The tribes on the Benue, though still Pagan, were more civilised. They were organised for political purposes under recognised chiefs and practised agriculture and handicrafts, more especially wood-carving; in some cases they owed allegiance to Mahommedan states and paid tribute in produce or cowrie shells. North of the Benue there was a very marked change, for Mahommedan influence prevailed in the western Sudan, and bordering on the desert were comparatively highly organised Mahommedan

states, of which the two most important were Sokoto and Bornu, occupying the plateau between the Tchad and the Niger. The formation of these States was the result probably of a religious crusade and the Mahommedans, who were men of an alien race coming from the north and east, had succeeded in establishing their rule over the native tribes, introducing a higher civilisation among them and converting them partially to Mahommedanism.

As the character of the country and the peoples became known it was realised that the trade of the Hinterland would eventually, with the disappearance of slave raiding, become more valuable than that of the coast, and that it would be advisable to waste no time in securing control over it. With the idea of anticipating German action the Company sent an agent to Sokoto and obtained a treaty from the Sultan, giving it jurisdiction over his territories on the banks of the Benue and the middle Niger, with some political influence, and trade privileges in the rest of his dominion.

The Government thought it advisable to strengthen their military organisation by raising an Imperial force for local purposes on the Niger to support the troops of the Company. The Benin expedition of 1897 proved to the native chiefs that the Company had military force behind it, and by 1902 Sokoto was the only important State that still refused to acknowledge English authority. Even here resistance came from the ruling race, the Fula chieftains, rather than from the people, and after a new Emir had been appointed and installed by the English High Commissioner there was little further trouble. The native race of Sokoto, the Hausas, are among the most energetic and enterprising of the West African races; a great deal of the trade of the country is in their hands and it is mainly from among them that the British native regiments have been raised.

*Nigeria under the Crown.*—In 1887 the Oil Rivers Protectorate had been extended to include the territories acquired by the Company, but in 1893 it was decided that the territories of the Company and the Protectorate, which was henceforth to be known as the Niger Coast Protectorate, were to be separately administered. In 1900 the Company, having successfully accomplished the task of opening up trade with the Central Sudan, surrendered its charter and handed its territories over to the Crown. The political responsibilities involved by the great extension of territory were in fact too great to be left to a trading Company, and Salisbury had declared absorption to be desirable on grounds of national policy. It was, he said, “incumbent on Her Majesty’s Government to maintain an immediate control over the frontier and fiscal policy of British Nigeria, such as cannot be exercised as long as that policy

is dictated and exercised by a Company which combines commercial profit with administrative responsibility." The southern part of the Company's territory was now added to the Protectorate, and Northern Nigeria was given separate administration under a High Commissioner. In 1914 Southern and Northern Nigeria were united under a Governor General who was to be assisted by Executive and Advisory Councils and was to have authority over both the Colony and the Protectorate. The Protectorate is now divided into the Northern and Southern Provinces, each under a Lieutenant Governor. In 1922 a Legislative Council was created consisting of some nominated and some elected members.

In the interior the native rulers, if loyal, were left to carry on the administration, for the Fula chieftains, though they had often ruled oppressively, had shown real governing capacity, and Lugard, the first High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria, thought it better to utilise them while checking their power of doing harm. The principle that the land was the property of the tribe and could not be alienated even by the chiefs was accepted by the Government, and the natives were consequently secured in the possession of their lands. The acquisition of land by Europeans was declared to be illegal without the permission of the High Commissioner; thus land speculation by Europeans has been prevented and there is no inducement for them to settle in the country except as traders, officials or missionaries. Slave trading was stopped when English control was established, without compensation to the slave dealers, and though the benefits to the people were undeniable some temporary social difficulties were caused, as slavery was the usual punishment for crime and the recognised method of recovering debts. Domestic slavery was not declared to be an offence, but all children born after April 1st, 1901, were to be free, and in 1907 the legal status of slavery was abolished, with the result that a slave could now sue and be sued in the law courts, and could at any time claim his freedom if he wished to do so.

*Trade and Industry.*—The great difficulties in the way of developing industry and trade were for a long time the defective means of communication and transport. There were well defined caravan routes, but they were unsatisfactory and unsafe except in the Mahommedan states, for some of the Pagan tribes regularly obtained their supplies of salt by robbing caravans, by way of reprisals for the slave raiding of the Mahommedans. Lugard in 1900 urged the need for a railway to supersede the caravan routes as far as Kano, where the river begins to be navigable, but it was not begun until 1908. Northern Nigeria offers a good market for English manu-

factures. The population there is mainly agricultural and the British occupation has given an impetus to farming, but other industries are carried on as well, especially tanning. Palm oil is the only important product of commercial value in Southern Nigeria. The trade is considerable and the greater part of it is absorbed by Great Britain.

*Lagos.*—Lagos had become an important centre of the slave trade after 1815, when the slave dealers had been driven from their old haunts. In 1851, in order to check the slave trade, the English found it necessary to interfere with the internal affairs of the country, but a change of sovereign and the appointment of a consular agent were not sufficient to effect this and in 1861 Lagos was ceded in full sovereignty by the native king, who was granted a pension for life. In 1866 it was placed under Sierra Leone though with a separate Lieutenant Governor; in 1874 it was incorporated with the Gold Coast; in 1886 it became a separate Crown Colony, and since 1906 it has been united with Nigeria. The town of Lagos is now the seat of Government for the colony.

#### PART II.—CENTRAL AFRICA

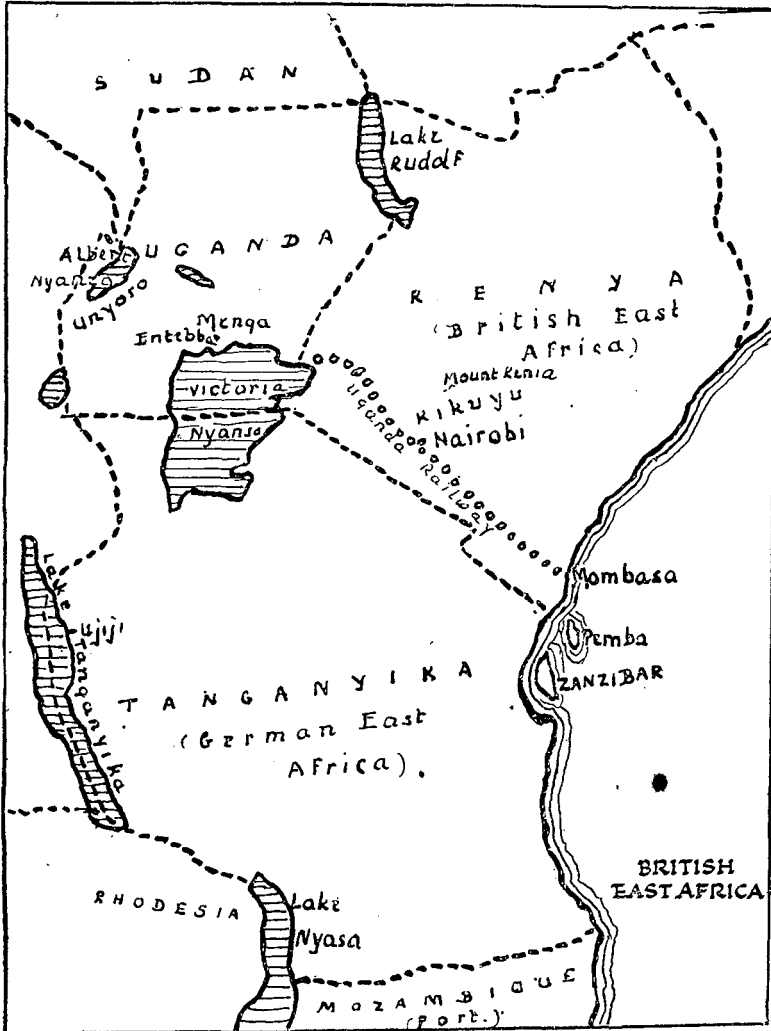
*Exploration, Trade and Missionary Activity.*—The principal features of Central Africa were first made known by the discoveries of Livingstone, who explored the course of the Zambesi and Shiré Rivers and the shores of Lake Nyasa, and on his last journey in 1866 reached the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. His discoveries gave a great impetus to missionary activity, though mission work could at that time be carried on only under great difficulties, for communication with the coast was slow and uncertain and the country was exposed to the disturbing influence of slave raids. It was the work of the missions that gave rise to the trading company, known as the African Lakes Trading Corporation, whose aims were both commercial and philanthropic. It met with difficulty both from the Arabs and from the Portuguese, who wanted to get a strip of land running across the centre in order to connect their territories on the eastern and western coasts. A Portuguese expedition sent into the Shiré district was stopped by a declaration of the British Government that it would regard any Portuguese interference in these territories as an invasion of the rights of the British Crown. By the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1891 the boundaries of the British and Portuguese spheres of influence were more clearly defined, and free navigation of the Shiré and Zambesi Rivers was secured for the ships of all nations.

The Protectorate of Nyasaland is now ruled by a Commissioner and Consul-General, assisted by small Executive and Legislative Councils. Much of the country is a high plateau and, as it is well watered and the rainfall is abundant, it is fertile and well suited for agriculture. Tobacco, cotton, tea, maize, rubber, rice, can all be produced, and cotton is encouraged by the Government. It is also rich in mineral wealth and some gold and ivory are produced. The main drawbacks to industrial development are the distance from the coast and the difficulties of transport. There are now steamers on the Lake, roads are improving, and railway connections are being opened. After the slave trade was crushed out it was possible for the work of education and civilisation to be carried on effectually, and under the influence of Christian and Mahomedan missionary activity paganism is rapidly disappearing.

### PART III.—EAST AFRICA

**Growth of English Influence at Zanzibar.**—Until recent times the East Coast of Africa has had no continuous political history. In the Middle Ages various small States grew up, but there was no paramount power, and though Arab influence was always strong, it was commercial rather than political. In the early years of the nineteenth century Zanzibar with the adjacent mainland was under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Muscat to whom tribute was paid until 1868. In 1863 the English and French agreed by treaty to respect the independence of Muscat and Zanzibar, but the close trade relations between Zanzibar and India made it impossible for the English to maintain a policy of strict non-intervention, and an English agent was appointed as consular representative at Zanzibar. For over twenty years, from 1866 to 1887, this position was held by Sir John Kirk, to whom the rapid growth of English influence at the court was due. The Sultan, Bargash, whose policy he directed in practice though he had no actual authority over him, visited England in 1877, and would have been willing to make large trade concessions to an English company, but the offer was declined because no support was to be looked for from the Foreign Office. The Government at this time was not anxious to incur any more political responsibility in Africa, and it did not seem that there was much to be gained by taking over the burden and expense of administering large tracts of land in the interior, for the slave trade was almost the only industry except on the coast, and the heavy cost of transport from Victoria Nyanza to the sea, averaging at that time

about £300 a ton, made trade between the interior and the sea in any article less valuable than ivory an impossibility.



**International Rivalry.**—It was the growing activity of the Germans in this part of Africa that brought about a change of policy. German merchants, who were well supported by their Government, were

acquiring land by treaty with the local chiefs in the Hinterland of Zanzibar, and the English, who had always recognised the rights of these chiefs to ownership of the land, though without prejudice to the suzerainty of the Sultan of Zanzibar, could not refuse to acknowledge the validity of these grants. It was soon necessary to define the English and German spheres of influence and boundaries were marked out by the Anglo-German agreement of 1886, granting to the Germans control over the southern and to the English control over the northern part of the Sultan's mainland dominions, which extended inland as far as Lakes Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika. This arrangement was only made in the face of strong opposition on the part of the Sultan, who had no objection to English protection, but objected to the cession of so much land to another European power, and Kirk's influence had to be strained to the utmost to persuade him to give it his sanction.

**The Protectorate of Zanzibar.** Hitherto Zanzibar had been considered independent, but in 1890, when the different parts of the Sultan's mainland dominions were formally ceded to England, Germany and Italy, in return for money compensation, an English Protectorate was proclaimed over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which were all that remained to the Sultan, and was recognised by the French in return for the acknowledgment of their claim to Madagascar, and by the Germans in return for the cession of Heligoland. The Sultan is still nominally ruler but authority is exercised by a British Resident. In 1913 the control of the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial office. As a result of the long standing trade connection between the East African coast and India there is a strong Indian element at Zanzibar. At the time when the English took over control all banking and mercantile business was in the hands of Indians and Indian traders controlled the customs and made advances to caravans starting for the interior and to landowners. Both the clove and the coconut are cultivated for purposes of export, and the clove industry is of considerable importance, the islands yielding the bulk of the world's clove supply.

**Formation of the British East Africa Company.** The British control on the mainland was exercised for some years by a Chartered Company. In 1887 some concessions of land on the coast had been made to a trade association, and the following year this Company took the title of the British East Africa Company and received a royal charter, authorising it to hold and govern the land already in its possession, to make treaties with native chiefs, and to acquire more land subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. By

virtue of this charter it was able to open up the interior to trade, and extended its control over the region now known as Uganda.

**Uganda.**—The territory that now forms the English Protectorate of Uganda is of much greater extent than the native kingdom of Uganda or Baganda lying to the north-west of Lake Victoria Nyanza, from which the Protectorate takes its name. Unknown to Europeans until after the middle of the nineteenth century, it then began to be opened up by missionaries and explorers, and Captain Speke, the discoverer of Victoria Nyanza, was the first to enter the country in 1863. Speke was surprised to find himself among a people comparatively civilised, who were fully clothed, whose houses were beautifully and artistically built, and who had elaborate social customs and ceremonies. He described the country as “a picture of quiescent beauty with a boundless sea in the background,” but noticed at the same time that the people were at the mercy of a capricious and cruel despot and that no man’s life and property were secure. In 1875, Stanley, sent out at the head of an Anglo-American expedition to discover the sources of the White Nile, visited Uganda and found that a change had been worked at the court by Mahommedan influence, and that the king, Mteshi, who had become a convert, wore Arab clothes, had a guard of Sudanese soldiers and was ruling with much greater humanity. He received Stanley in a friendly spirit and under his influence inclined towards Christianity.

*Religious and Political Strife.*—As a result of this visit a missionary settlement was made in the country and was rapidly gaining a hold on the people when the arrival of a Catholic mission led to trouble. With the religious feuds that now broke out between the two Christian sects, political rivalry was mixed up, for the Catholic mission of the White Fathers, which represented French and German interests, was opposed to English influence, and the Zanzibar Arabs seized the opportunity to carry on Mahommedan propaganda with increasing activity. Between the years 1888 and 1898 the country was “the theatre of incessant and terrible religious wars, in which Roman Catholic Christians fought against Anglicans, Mahommedans fought against both, and Pagans committed frightful atrocities in allying themselves to one or other party.” (Johnston.) Mteshi, who was a man of intelligence and ability, and who had hoped the new religion would promote peace and order in his country, was bitterly disappointed and reverted to Paganism himself, though in accordance with a promise given to Stanley he did not expel the missionaries. After his death, in 1884, however, they could not look for support from his successor, Mwanga, a weak, cruel and vicious despot, who

wanted to stamp out Christianity and was suspicious of the growth of European influence. Before long he was driven from the throne by political feuds and the missionaries were expelled by the Arabs. Just when the anarchy was at its height an English expedition, sent out by the East Africa Company to explore the shores of Victoria Nyanza, arrived and consented to restore Mwanga to the throne on condition that all expenses were paid and English control accepted.

The British East Africa Company now judged it advisable to take steps to secure the maintenance of English influence in Uganda, and sent Captain Lugard with a small force into the country to uphold British interests. The task of Lugard was not easy; he had to try to reduce to order the various turbulent and mutually antagonistic elements in the country, and his first step was to constrain Mwanga to sign a treaty, giving him permission to interfere in internal affairs. He enlisted more troops from the Sudan and with their help suppressed disturbances, and in the hope of stopping religious feuds assigned districts to the different religious sects within which their propaganda work was to be restricted.

*The Transfer of Uganda to the Crown.*—These native troubles had seriously taxed the financial resources of the British East Africa Company, and as no support was given by the Imperial Government, the Company was considering the advisability of withdrawing, at any rate for a time, from the occupation of Uganda. This step, however, would have involved the withdrawal of the Missions and would have left the native party, with whom they had been in alliance, at the mercy of their opponents. An appeal was made to the English Government and Lugard himself returned to England bearing a letter to the Queen and signed by Mwanga and other great chiefs. As a result, though there was still some opposition to any increase of Imperial responsibility, Lord Rosebery, who had always been in favour of retention, decided to send out a special commission of enquiry, and the Company agreed to postpone withdrawal until March, 1893, when the Government Commissioner, Sir Gerald Portal, Consul General of Zanzibar, was due to arrive. In his report on the condition of the country, issued a few months later, Portal advocated the revocation of the Company's charter, the retention of Uganda as a Protectorate under the Crown to form a bulwark against Mahomedan domination in Africa and the construction of a railway from the coast as far as Kikuyu. In 1894 Uganda was proclaimed a British Protectorate.

The government of the country was re-organised by Sir Harry Johnston, who was sent out as Special Commissioner in 1899.

Uganda is not suitable for white settlement and the administration is left as far as possible in the hands of native kings and chiefs, who rule under British control. The chief obstacle to trade and progress was at first the difficulty of communication with the coast. The only possible base of supplies was Mombasa, eight hundred miles off, and this meant a journey of two hundred miles across the Lake in canoes, followed by six hundred miles overland on foot, head carriage being the only form of transport. Improved means of communication were a necessity if Uganda was to be retained and its resources developed. The need was met by the opening of the Uganda railway connecting Mombasa and Lake Victoria Nyanza in 1903, and by placing steamers on the Lake; since then there has been further railway extension, supplemented by a Government motor van service. In 1920 a loan of £1,000,000 from the Imperial Treasury—the payment to be spread over four years—was granted for development purposes.

**Kenya.**—In 1894 the British East Africa Company surrendered its charter to the Crown. It had done work of the first importance in bringing under British control the head waters of the Nile, in opening up East Africa to trade and settlement, and in helping on the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, but the political work it had undertaken was beyond the capacity of a trading company and the troubles in Uganda had been a great strain on its financial resources. Consequently in 1894 it surrendered its charter, the Government agreeing to take over all the rights and property of the Company for a sum of £250,000. The following year a Protectorate was proclaimed. The Government was from the first very like that of a Crown Colony; the administration was exercised by a Governor and Deputy Governor, assisted later by Executive and Legislative Councils.

During the war the Protectorate was the base of operations for the conquest of German East Africa, and, with the increase of the white population after the war, a change of government was necessary. Already in 1919 the Councils had been enlarged and in 1920 the Protectorate was annexed to the Crown and became a Crown Colony under the name of Kenya. In drawing up the new constitution the main difficulty of the Government in East Africa has been to deal fairly with the conflicting claims and interests of the various races, and more especially to deal with the irreconcilable demands of the Indians and the white settlers. The preponderance of the Indians over the white population, and the close geographical connection between East Africa and India, had given the impression to many Indians that East Africa in the future

was to be an Indian Colony, and as a preliminary step they wanted to be placed on a political equality with the Europeans, which would eventually have given them predominant influence in the Colony. The new constitution, however, established a communal franchise, which left the balance of power in the hands of the Europeans. On the Legislative Council there is still an official majority, but the Europeans elect eleven members and the Indians five; two representatives are allowed to the Arabs, and a missionary is appointed to give advice on matters affecting the native population.

The settlement of the land question was another difficulty. Although situated in the Tropics there are large tracts in East Africa which are suitable for European settlement. The land lying near the coast is low, but beyond the coast it gradually rises and a great deal of the high central plateau, especially the Kikuyu country, is healthy, and the reduction of the native population by slave raiding has made European settlement possible. The Indians wanted the land to be thrown open to settlement without racial discrimination. The Europeans on the other hand wanted the highlands to be reserved for white settlement, and this has been provided for, but segregation in townships, which was advocated by the white settlers, has been abandoned. There is no racial discrimination in immigration, but immigration may be restricted, if necessary, in the economic interests of the natives.

The industries of the country are at present mainly agricultural; rice, cotton, tobacco, the cocoanut palm, and the sugar cane are cultivated in the low-lying areas, coffee, maize, wheat in the highlands; sheep and cattle have been successfully introduced. The mineral resources are not yet fully explored. Hides, rubber and ostrich feathers are the chief exports.

It is difficult at present to get an adequate supply of labour as the natives will work on their own land, but are not very ready to work for white farmers; the possibility of bringing pressure to bear on them to induce them to work on the farms is considered prejudicial to native interests and is not countenanced by the Government.

The Indian rupee was, until recently, the standard coin, but as the result of the currency difficulties which arose after the War, the East Africa Currency Board substituted the shilling as the standard in 1922.

The British Government in 1921 accepted the mandate for German East Africa, now known as Tanganyika.

**The Slave Trade and Slavery.**—The slave trade carried on by the Mahammedans had been for centuries one of the chief industries

of Tropical Africa, and the Arab state of Oman, with its capital, Muscat, had in the eighteenth century been one of the chief centres. Livingstone had aroused the conscience of the English on the subject of the slave trade and its abolition had been one of the avowed objects of the English in East Africa.

Slave trading was especially difficult to deal with. It was frequently mixed up with legitimate trade, the master of an Arab trading ship often taking a few slaves on board with other merchandise to complete his cargo, and in that case there was seldom any external evidence to show that it was going on. Yet in spite of these difficulties, the slave trade has been gradually but effectively stamped out; the supply of slaves was cut off by making treaties with the native chiefs of the interior from whom the Mahommedan traders had obtained their supplies, and at the International Conferences of Berlin in 1884, and Brussels in 1890 all the Powers agreed to combine to suppress the trade. This was not only a policy of humanity, it was a necessary preliminary to the introduction of progress and civilisation, for slave raiding kept the country in a constant state of war, hampered trade, prevented *the development of industry and seriously reduced the population.*

Domestic slavery was on a different footing; it was bound up with the social life of the community and did not necessarily involve cruelty, for, though slavery was allowed by the Mahommedan law, a master could be punished for ill-treatment of a slave and a slave was always allowed to purchase his freedom. Consequently, domestic slavery was tolerated, though discouraged, and as fresh supplies could not be obtained it was bound to disappear in course of time. In 1907 the legal status of slavery was abolished and any slave who wished to do so could claim his freedom.

## CHAPTER IX

### INDIA

#### PART I.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

**India at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century.**—India, when the Europeans first went there, was a country where there was little social or political unity and where many different races, religions and languages met. The Hindus, Aryan in race and Brahman in religion, who are generally spoken of as the natives, though they are not the aboriginal race, have been described as “a conglomeration of tribes who had little in common beyond certain general social and religious principles.” In mediæval times successive waves of Mahommedan invasion swept over the country from the north.

In the early part of the seventeenth century when the English first came to India, the Moghuls, a race akin to the Turks and Tartars, were at the height of their power, and had made themselves supreme over all the North. Akbar, a contemporary of Elizabeth, had built up a strong, well organised State that would compare favourably with any European government of that period. He had consolidated his power in North India, invaded the Deccan and extended his authority as far south as the Godavery river. After his death, though more territory was gained the Moghul power began to decline.

**Founding of the East India Company.**—Direct trade between India and the west of Europe had not been possible until the discovery of the route round the Cape of Good Hope in 1497-8, and as this route had been discovered by the Portuguese it was naturally first utilised by them. The main object of the western nations at this time was to get to the East Indies, or the Spice Islands, for from the trade in spices, for which there was always a large demand in Europe, a high rate of profit was expected. The attention of the English had been drawn to the trade since the time when Drake had brought home accounts of the wealth of the East Indies. A few isolated voyages were undertaken towards the end of the sixteenth century, but it was soon discovered that the trade was too risky and too important to be left to individual enterprise, and in 1600 the East India Company was formed. The Company was a private association of London merchants, who were incorpor-

ated by Royal Charter and granted a monopoly of the trade with the East for fifteen years. Very soon they became a Joint Stock Company, *i.e.* a Company in which all voyages and trade enterprises were undertaken jointly and the profits put into a common fund.

**The Early Settlements.**—*Surat.*—In the early years of the seventeenth century the English came into conflict with both the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Portuguese, who had stations on the West Coast, with Goa as their headquarters, tried, though ineffectually, to prevent English settlement, and in 1613 an imperial decree granted permission to the Company to establish a factory at Surat. Surat was favourably situated for trade. Thousands of pilgrims passed through it every year on their way to Mecca and it was a great emporium of Moghul commerce for it was a mart for merchants trading with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and with the great Moghul cities of Northern India.

An attempt to establish settlements on the East India Islands led to a struggle with the Dutch, who had a firm footing there and were determined to insist on their monopoly. After the murder of some English merchants at Amboyna in 1623 the Company withdrew and henceforth devoted its attention almost exclusively to the mainland.

*Madras.*—The Company soon began to establish factories on the Eastern coast where they were able to open up a lucrative trade. Their first settlement was at Masulipatam, but Masulipatam was in Mahomedan territory, and they were anxious to get a station on the land of the Hindu rajahs further to the south, where they would be subjected to less interference and would be able to raise fortifications. Madras was the place chosen, and in 1639 a strip of land along the coast, six miles long by one mile broad, was rented from the ruler. On a small island off the coast a fort and factory were built, known as Fort St. George. As time went on a fortified Government House replaced the primitive factory and was the centre for trade and administration, and a little European settlement grew up outside the fortifications; the whole was surrounded by a wall and within this enclosure only Englishmen, or Europeans under English protection, were allowed to live. In what was known as the Black Town, outside the wall, lived the Hindu population, consisting chiefly of weavers and artisans who were in the employment of the East India Company, and, as they were living on the Company's territory, were politically subject to their employers. Native laws and customs were, however, respected, and the heads of the castes were generally consulted on matters concerning the natives. Justice

was dispensed, " according to equity and good conscience," by two English merchants, who held their court in the Black Town twice a week, and could deal summarily with most offences, though no native could be executed without the consent of the Governor and Council. In 1690 the position of the English on the east coast was strengthened by the establishment of the factory of Fort St. David, about a hundred miles to the south of Madras.

*Bombay.*—Bombay, ceded to England by Portugal on the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, was granted by the King to the East India Company in 1668. Bombay had a good harbour and was well situated for trade, and it soon became the most important settlement on the west coast, for Surat, nearly two hundred miles further to the north, was suffering from the growing political disorganisation of Central India and was exposed to Maratha raids.

*Calcutta.*—In 1633 the Company received its first licence to trade in Bengal, and by the middle of the century it had a factory at Hooghly and was carrying on a flourishing trade, for the excellent river communication enabled it to obtain the products and manufactures of Northern India—saltpetre, silk, opium, and fine muslin. A little later the English were allowed to purchase a strip of land on the Hooghly river, three miles long by one mile wide, where in 1690 Fort William was built, and the settlement was known by its native name of Calcutta, or Kali-Ghat—the landing place of the goddess Kali.

*The Factories.*—In the factories built at the English settlements in India not only the trade but the social and political life of the little European communities was concentrated. The factory was a large building, enclosing a square courtyard. On the ground floor were the warehouses and offices, and above them the living rooms of the clerks and merchants. Here all the Company's servants were, in the early days, boarded and lodged, and here all the Company's business was transacted. Indian goods—cotton, silks, muslins, etc.—were bought through the agency of native merchants or " banyans," who were in the employ of the Company, and English goods—chiefly broadcloth and cutlery—were sold by public auction in the factory. A certain amount of state and formality was kept up in the factory. The head of the establishment was the President, who, with a Council of four or five senior merchants, managed the affairs of the factory and transacted the business of the Company. The President and Council were subject only to the directors of the Company in London, and were invested with judicial and administrative authority. They could administer

justice, not only to Europeans, but to all natives under their control, and over natives they generally had power of life and death, but if a European was charged with any capital offence, with the exception of piracy, he had to be sent to England for trial.

*Changes in the Company.*—Almost from the first the Company had found a difficulty in enforcing its monopoly, for the trade was so profitable that private individuals were constantly trying to share in it. These interlopers, as they were called, often proved a serious difficulty, for not only did they withdraw trade and profits that should have gone to the Company, but they carried on their trade regardless of treaties made by the Company with native princes, and as the natives could not be expected to distinguish between the Company's merchants and private traders, the Company was held responsible for any breaches of agreement. In 1698 a rival corporation was formed, known as the General Company, and after the two Companies had nearly ruined each other by their competition, they were merged in 1708 in the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, which was incorporated by Parliamentary instead of by Royal Charter.

**Political Changes in India.**—In the eighteenth century the Moghul Empire, which had passed the zenith of its power over a hundred years before, was rapidly breaking up. In the seventeenth century the boundaries of Moghul authority had been extended, but after the death of Aurungzib in 1707 disorganisation and decay went on rapidly. The viceroys of many of the provinces—the Nizam of Haiderabad, the Nawab of the Karnatik, and the Nawabs of Oudh and Bengal—were becoming independent, and a still more formidable danger was the growing power of the Marathas. The Maratha power had originated in a revolt of the turbulent Hindu population of West Central India against their Mahomedan rulers, and as a confederation of robber bands they soon terrorised Central India. Formed into a military power by a great chief, Sivaji, in the middle of the seventeenth century, they established a state in the Western Deccan with Poona as its centre and raided the surrounding districts, demanding "chout" or blackmail, as an alternative to plundering the land, and appropriating the revenues of the Great Moghul himself, who was quite unable to cope with them. In 1738 the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, swept down from the north, and plundered Delhi. He withdrew after what was in reality little more than a great plundering raid, but the weakness of the central authority was clearly proved and the Moghul power had received a blow from which it never recovered.

The internal condition of India as the central power declined was

getting steadily worse. The neglect of irrigation, the insecurity of the roads, the prevalence of freebooters and robbers, always the great curse of India, were prejudicial to both agriculture and trade, and the country was getting impoverished. There was no peace in the land and the semi-independent rulers and princes waged incessant wars against one another with the aid of mercenary troops, which were swarming in India, and whose numbers were constantly being recruited from Central Asia.

The European settlements suffered severely from the growth of political disorganisation and had to adapt themselves to meet the new state of things. As long as the central authority had been willing and able to protect them, the Company had been satisfied with licences to trade and grants of land for building factories, but as it got weaker, the privileges and immunities which had been granted by the Great Moghul were often disregarded, with the result that the merchants were exposed to the irregular extortion of subordinate officials, and in order to get security for their trade found it necessary to fortify posts strong enough to make them independent of local authorities and neighbouring petty rulers.

**Growth of French Power in India.**—It was clear that the Moghul Empire would not long be able to maintain even a shadow of authority in India and it seemed probable that political supremacy would fall next to a European power—either to England or France—for power could be gained only by the sword and the Europeans had the advantage of possessing bodies of troops trained on Western lines. The French East India Company had been formed by Colbert in 1664, and French trade settlements had been established on the coast of India, of which Pondicherry, situated between Madras and Fort St. David, was the most important. Chandernagore was a smaller settlement not far from Calcutta, and Mauritius was useful as an outpost and a naval base. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the French, like the English, had directed their attention solely to trade, and had kept firmly to a policy of non-intervention in Indian politics, but when Dupleix was sent out as Governor of Pondicherry in 1748 a new phase began, and the French aimed in India as in America at building up a great French empire. The methods by which Dupleix hoped to attain these ends were to build up a network of alliances among the native rulers, to take part in native quarrels and get native rulers appointed who would be under French control, and to train forces of native soldiers, officered by Europeans, and station these forces at the courts of friendly princes. By these means he hoped eventually to make French influence paramount throughout the peninsula.

He saw that the English would be the chief bar to the success of his schemes and, when England and France were again openly hostile to each other in consequence of the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, he adopted an aggressive line of policy, seized Madras and carried off the British population as prisoners of war. In 1748, at the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, Madras was given back again in exchange for Louisburg, though, as the English complained, robbed of its wealth and with its fortifications undermined. Dupleix next interfered in cases of disputed succession in Haiderabad and the Karnatik, with the result that the two most powerful native princes in the south were ruling under French influence with French troops stationed at their capitals. Trichinopoly was the only important place that still held out against them and they seemed likely to become the paramount political power in South India.

**Clive and the Destruction of French Power in South India.**—This action of the French forced the English to discard their policy of non-intervention. Hitherto they had made no attempt to gain political power in India, and, though native troops had been trained, it was only for the defence of the factories, but the success of the French policy would have threatened the security of their trade, and they prepared to oppose the French by adopting similar tactics. They decided first to give support to Mohammed Ali, the rival claimant to the throne of the Karnatik. Clive, a clerk in the East India Company, who had already distinguished himself in the war with the French, was placed in command of the Company's troops. He seized Arcot, the capital of the Karnatik, holding it during a long siege in the face of great difficulties, raised the siege of Trichinopoly, and succeeded in placing Mohammed Ali on the throne.

French influence was still strong at Haiderabad, but native opinion was already turning in favour of the English, and when a British force entered his dominions and met with little resistance from the French, the Nizam readily consented in 1759 to make a treaty by which he transferred his alliance to the English, and dismissed his French troops. In 1760 the Battle of Wandewash completed the ruin of the French schemes. Pondicherry was captured and, though it was restored to the French by the Treaty of Paris, the political and military power of the French in India was destroyed. Dupleix was recalled to France and died a few months later in poverty and disgrace.

*Causes of the Defeat of the French.*—From the first the English had a better chance of success than the French. • The English East

India Company had a larger and more successful trade record; it was already an old established institution when the French Company was founded, its trade had been more steadily prosperous and its settlements were more numerous. The financial position of the



French Company was unsatisfactory, and thus it was badly equipped from the start for the political struggle—in fact it was partly because there seemed to be so little chance of getting success by trade that Dupleix formed his schemes for gaining political influence. After his defeat at Arcot he could not continue the struggle

because the Treasury was empty and his troops were clamouring for pay and on the point of mutiny. It was financial difficulty as well that accelerated the total failure of the French in South India during the Seven Years' War. Dupleix, though in some ways a great leader, acted too much on his own authority, without giving the Home Government any clear idea of his policy, but in any case there would have been little hope of his getting consistent support from the French Government, for the French resources were strained to the utmost to carry on the war in Europe. Moreover the French did not realise the importance of having control of the sea, to enable them to get reinforcements from home and secure their posts on the coast against naval attack. Hence came about the reversal of the political balance in South India, and Dupleix, who had been at the height of his power in 1751 and whose alliance had been sought by native princes, after a few military reverses saw the failure of his policy and retired ruined and discredited.

**The Struggle in Bengal.**—After his success in the south Clive returned to England and was received with honour. In 1755 he went back to India as Governor of Fort St. David and only a few days after he landed news arrived of disasters at Calcutta. In 1756 the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had died, and had been succeeded by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, a weak and vicious youth, who was by nature timid and suspicious. He was jealous of the growing influence of the English, and hearing that they were strengthening the fortifications of Calcutta, sent orders forbidding the work to proceed. The Governor replied that the English were not hostile to the Nawab and were merely taking measures to provide against a possible attack by the French, but this did not satisfy him, and a Mahommedan army, supported by the French, was soon marching on Calcutta. The fortifications of Calcutta were weak and the garrison was small, but under a capable leader it would have been possible to hold out until help arrived. The leadership, however, was inefficient, and after two days' fighting the Governor and his Council with the women and children took refuge on an English ship lying in the harbour and went off, leaving the garrison to its fate. A few days later the fort was taken and its capture was followed by the incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

*The Battle of Plassey.*—A few weeks later, in January, 1757, an army under Clive, supported by a naval force under Watson, recaptured Calcutta and Hooghly, and the capture of Chandernagore from the French soon followed. The supremacy of the English in Bengal was assured by the Battle of Plassey, a victory won with the loss of only nineteen men, for the Moghul armies, though greatly

outnumbering the English, were little more than a "rabble of hired soldiers without coherence or loyalty." Surajah Dowlah fled and was murdered soon after the battle, and Mir Jafir was installed as Nawab of Bengal. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were now, like the southern provinces, under the control of the English, but it must be remembered (1) that the power was held not by the Crown but by the East India Company; and (2) that the Company had not as yet got territorial possession, and consequently the government was still left in the hands of the natives, though ultimate authority lay with the English.

*Misrule of the Company.—The Battle of Buxar.*—In 1760 Clive returned to England, and soon after he left troubles arose in Bengal, caused mainly by the maladministration of the servants of the Company. Mir Jafir's revenues, burdened as they were by payments to the English, were insufficient to enable him to carry on the work of administration, and when he fell into arrears with the payments the Council of Calcutta deposed him in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Kasim; Mir Kasim was an able ruler and loyally discharged his obligations to the Company, but he was driven to desperation by the extortionate demands made upon him, and by the encroachments of the English on the trade rights of his subjects. The English, by a firman of the Great Moghul, had been allowed since 1717 to carry on their import and export trade free of duty, and the Company's servants had always supplemented their inadequate salaries by carrying on private trade. After the Battle of Plassey they claimed, though without any legal justification, the right to share in the internal trade of the country and to carry on the trade free from transit dues. As these dues were heavy, the native traders, who had still to pay them, found themselves threatened with ruin. Mir Kasim remonstrated, but without any result; he was at length goaded into open hostility and joined the Nawab of Oudh and the Great Moghul, who were also in arms against the English. This coalition was finally overthrown at the Battle of Buxar in 1764, and Clive, who now returned to India as Governor of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces, made a political settlement with the defeated princes. The Nawab of Oudh agreed to pay a war indemnity, and to make a defensive alliance with the Company. The Great Moghul, now under English control, was given Kora and Allahabad and an annual revenue of £300,000 to enable him to maintain his dignity, and in return he granted to the Company the Diwani of Bengal, by virtue of which the English had the right to collect and administer the revenues, which were to be used to defray the expenses of government. This

meant that the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were conferred upon the English, subject only to the payment of tribute to the Great Moghul and of certain revenues to the Nawab. The Northern Circars, which were already in the possession of the English, were also formally ceded. As the result of this settlement the English became the paramount power in Northern India.

*Reforms of Clive.*—Clive's next task was to enforce much needed reforms in the Company's service. He found an appalling state of affairs at Calcutta. The Governor was without authority and was in the hands of a corrupt Council who were bent only on following their personal interests; corruption seemed to be universal and there was no order or respect for authority in the service. Offices and posts were recklessly sold, and even the throne of Bengal was put up for auction, the profits being divided among the leading merchants. The army was mutinous and threatened to overawe the civil authority, and many of the soldiers, Europeans as well as Sepoys, had deserted and joined some native force. The question of private trade also urgently needed attention and the Directors had given Clive definite orders to suppress it, for the dividends were falling off and the public trade of the Company was suffering as the result of the diversion of so much of the energy of the merchants to the amassing of private fortunes. Moreover, the effects in Bengal of the interference of the English in internal trade had been disastrous. The Company's servants forced the natives to buy and sell at their own prices, and native authority was set at defiance. The terror roused by the English was so great that villages and towns were deserted, for the people fled rather than submit to their exactions, and the economic life of Bengal was thoroughly dislocated.

Clive tried to bring about reforms but with only partial success. The acceptance of presents from the natives was forbidden, and freedom from toll on the inland trade abolished, but it was impossible to stop private trading as long as the salaries paid by the Company were so low. The administration of Bengal was still left in the hands of the natives. The Company had ultimate authority and had control of finance, but they took no share whatever in the local administration and transacted their revenue business through the agency of native officials, though English supervisors were appointed in 1769.

*The Return of Clive.*—Clive returned to England in 1767, and, in spite of his attempts at reform, corruption rose again after he left, privileges were abused and the natives oppressed, until—as Warren Hastings said—“the name of an Englishman is both his protection and a sanction for offences which he would not dare to commit at

home." When in 1770 Bengal was devastated by a famine which swept away a third of the population and half of the cultivators, the Company's servants increased the scarcity by monopolising what corn there was and selling it only at famine prices. It was the famine that was the immediate cause of the Parliamentary enquiry, for it was now impossible to collect either land revenue or trade dues. The Company was nearly bankrupt and had to apply to Government for a loan, with the result that a general investigation into its affairs and the conduct of Clive was ordered. The charges brought against Clive dealt mainly with his acceptance of presents from native princes, but it was argued in his defence that they had not been taken as bribes and that they were not prohibited before 1765. Parliament finally accepted a resolution stating that he had received definite sums from native princes, but refrained from casting any reflection on his personal integrity, and added that "Robert, Lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." Notwithstanding his acquittal, the treatment he had received preyed upon his mind and he committed suicide not long afterwards.

**The Regulating Act.**—The enquiry into the affairs of the Company resulted in the passing of the Regulating Act of Lord North in 1773. It was evident that the recent abuses in the government of Bengal had resulted from the possession of political power by a merchant Company which cared for nothing but trade and would not accept political responsibility, and whose officials in India were under no effective control. It was now laid down by Parliament that all land acquired by the Company by conquest or treaty belonged to the State, but the terms of the Act were rather vague and the authority of the Crown was not definitely asserted. The Governor of Calcutta was to be Governor General, and exercise authority over the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and was to be assisted by a Council of four. A supreme Court of Justice dispensing English law was established, mainly with a view to the protection of the natives. The weak points in the Act were firstly that it did not define sufficiently clearly the powers of the Council and the Supreme Court, and secondly, that it did not give enough power to the Governor General who could be outvoted by his Council if three of them were opposed to his policy.

**Warren Hastings.**—The first Governor General appointed under the Regulating Act was Warren Hastings, who had already had long experience in India, and in 1772 had been appointed Governor of Calcutta with control over the recently acquired provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Whereas Clive by his military genius had laid

the foundations of the English dominion in India, Hastings was pre-eminently a statesman. He took over the government of a territory equal in extent to about a tenth of the whole country and thoroughly re-organised the administration, but made no attempt to acquire any more territory and kept peace, as far as possible, with the native rulers.

*Difficulties with the Council.*—The Regulating Act, though placing Hastings in a position of authority, put great practical difficulties in his path. Of the members of the Council who were chosen by Parliament, only one was already in the service of the Company; three were sent out from England and not only had very little knowledge of Indian affairs but were opposed to Hastings and schemed to get him recalled. They encouraged complaints from the natives and incited a Brahman, Nuncomar, to accuse him of bribery. Probably it was only the execution of Nuncomar on an old charge of forgery that enabled Hastings to maintain his position, but it was some years before the opposition in the Council was overcome.

*Administration.*—Soon after Hastings entered office the Directors determined to put an end to the system of double government, and the administration was placed in the hands of English officials. The Exchequer and Treasury were removed from the native capital, Moorshedabad, to Calcutta, where they were under the direct control of the English Government. The whole question of the land revenue was thoroughly investigated. In India the right of the ruler to a share in the produce of the land was the main source of revenue; the proportion was not fixed and it was taken in kind, not in money, the Moghuls in good years sometimes taking as much as 50 per cent. The Zemindars collected the revenue from the rayats (peasants) and exercised some judicial and ministerial functions. The English had allowed them to continue this work on condition that they brought in a certain amount to the Government, but this amount had been fixed too high and when they failed to fulfil their obligations their offices had been put up for auction. In 1772 Hastings went himself on a tour of inspection and tried to get a fair assessment, but the task was too difficult and no satisfactory arrangement was made.

The administration of justice had hitherto been left entirely to natives. Now civil and criminal courts were set up in every district, the English collector presiding at the civil and attending the criminal court, and Courts of Appeal—the Sudder Courts—were established at Calcutta. In all their judicial work Englishmen were assisted by native assessors, who could explain points of Hindu or Mahomedan law, and Hastings also had a code of laws drawn up for the

guidance of the Courts. The Supreme Court of Justice established under the Regulating Act had not proved satisfactory, and natives were no longer to be subject to its jurisdiction.

*Native Wars.*—The policy of the English at this time was to keep at peace with the natives as far as possible, but as one of the political powers of India, they were liable to be attacked and could not always avoid coming into conflict with the native States. The chief powers to be reckoned with at this time were the Marathas, the Nizam of Haiderabad and the ruler of Mysore, and to the possibility of their hostility was added the danger of French intrigue.

The Marathas were now the only native power that could be considered a match for the English in strength. As their territory increased the Maratha chieftains were establishing some independent principalities in the centre and north of India, though the authority of the Peishwa, the head of the Confederation, was still acknowledged. One of these chieftains, Sindhia, had in 1771 replaced the Great Moghul, who had since 1765 been living at Allahabad as a pensioner of the English, on the throne at Delhi where he was now living under Maratha control. In 1778 Hastings was involved in a Maratha war as a result of the policy of Bombay. There was a disputed succession for the office of Peishwa, and the Presidency of Bombay, in defiance of the Regulating Act which forbade an aggressive war without the consent of the Governor General, supported the claim of a Pretender on condition of receiving in return the Island of Salsette and the peninsula of Bassin. The result was disastrous. The Bombay troops were defeated, and any reverse to the English arms was especially dangerous at this time as the French, who had just made an alliance with the Americans, were intriguing with the native princes against the English. Hastings, who, although he condemned the policy of intervention, saw that it was necessary to restore the English prestige, now sent out an expedition from Bombay, and a desultory war followed.

About the same time danger was threatening the Madras Presidency from Mysore. Mysore was under the rule of Haider Ali, a Mahommedan captain of mercenaries, who had entered the service of the Hindu Rajah of Mysore and had subsequently driven him out and usurped his throne. He soon became the terror of Southern India, raiding the lands on his borders, and constantly extending his territory at the expense of his neighbours; moreover he was generally in close alliance with the French. The Nizam, who since 1759 had generally been on good terms with the English, was now wavering, and in 1779 it was reported that a great con-

federation of the Marathas, the Nizam, Haider Ali and the French were preparing to attack the English lands simultaneously. Fortunately for the English the Coalition did not long hold together. The Nizam, when it came to the point, was not actively hostile and the Marathas were bought off, but Mysore, strengthened by a strong force of French infantry, was still able to keep up the struggle. Peace and order in the south were only gradually restored. The following year the Treaty of Versailles removed the danger from the French, and in 1784 an inglorious peace was made with Tipu, the son and successor of Haider Ali, on the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests and prisoners, and he withdrew to Mysore, but with every intention of renewing the contest as soon as an opportunity offered.

*Recall of Hastings.*—One of the most difficult problems that Hastings had to deal with was that of finance. The revenues of Bengal were quite unequal to the strain of the recent war, which had fallen almost entirely on the Bengal exchequer, for the Karnatik had been ravaged, Madras was almost bankrupt, and the administration of the Northern Circars was unsatisfactory. Moreover, there was the constant drain of money to England to be reckoned with, for the Directors failed to grasp the fact that India was not a wealthy country and that the ordinary revenues of the Government were only sufficient to defray the expenses of administration. It was the difficulty of getting money that led Hastings to commit those arbitrary actions that formed the chief charges against him at his trial. Rumours of unfair treatment of natives came to England and Burke's influence in the Rockingham Ministry led to his recall and impeachment, the Commons declaring that he had "in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the nation" and had thereby "brought great calamities on India and enormous expenses on the Company." He left India in 1785 and after a long trial was acquitted.

**Pitt's India Bill.**—Two years before Hastings was recalled Pitt's India Bill had made another great change in the government of India, again in the direction of giving more power to Parliament and the Crown. By this Act a Board of Control was to be formed to deal with political matters in India and was to be responsible to Parliament. It was to consist of six Privy Councillors, to be nominated at first by Parliament and afterwards by the Crown, and presided over by a Cabinet Minister. Trade matters were still left to the Company and a secret committee of three directors was to be the channel by which orders were sent to India from the Government. The Governor General was to be appointed by the

Crown, but could be recalled by the Company. He was to be assisted by a Council of Three, but he was now in a position of authority over his Council and had more effective control over the Governors of Madras and Bombay in matters connected with diplomacy, relations with the native states and finance. The policy of the Government in the future was to be a policy of non-intervention in native affairs and any further extension of territory was forbidden.

#### PART II.—INDIA UNDER THE BOARD OF CONTROL

**Cornwallis (1786-1793).**—The rulers of India under the Act of 1784 were no longer servants of the Company but as a rule men of high rank, who it was thought would be above trade influences. The first Governor General under the Act was Lord Cornwallis, who had already rendered distinguished service in America.

Important administrative changes were made during his term of office. One of the most important of these was the separation of administrative and judicial duties, with a view to effecting improvements in the administration of justice. Abuses in the Company's service were checked. Salaries were increased and many perquisites and other questionable means of making money, which had hitherto been condoned, were now cut off; monopolies and sinecure posts were abolished and the abuse of patronage was checked.

*The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.*—An attempt was made in what was known as the Permanent Settlement of Bengal to get more stable conditions in the land system, for as yet no satisfactory rate of assessment had been devised. The whole question of the position of the Zemindars was re-opened with a view to deciding whether they were "merely government agents to collect revenue or hereditary owners of land subject only to the tax due to the Government." The principle now adopted was that "the land belonged to the Zemindars and the rent to the King;" and in accordance with this view the Zemindars were regarded as land owners on payment of a fixed land tax which was never to be raised. The interests of the rayats were very insufficiently protected; only those were secured against a rise in their rents who could prove a hereditary right to their land; these formed a very small proportion and it was not until 1859 that any steps were taken to help the peasantry.

*The Mysore War.*—In spite of the policy definitely laid down in England it was impossible to keep clear of native wars. Mysore

soon regained prosperity under English rule:—"The Rajah's Government is in the most prosperous state; the country is become a garden, where it is inhabited, and the inhabitants are returning fast to those parts which the last savage forced them to quit. . . . Mysore is become a large handsome native town full of inhabitants, and the whole country is settled and in perfect tranquillity."

*The Nizam's Dominions, Oudh and the Karnatik.*—In 1800 relations with the Nizam were drawn closer by another treaty by which he agreed to have no political relations with other States without the consent of the English Government, and in return was secured in the sovereignty of his dominions. Another province which presented difficult political problems was Oudh. Since 1765 the Nawab had been a dependent ally of the English, for Clive had early recognised the importance of Oudh as a buffer state separating Bengal from the lands of the Marathas and protecting it against the danger of attack from Marathas, Sikhs or Afghans, but the internal condition of the country was now so unsatisfactory that it was rather a danger than a support. The Government was corrupt and inefficient, and the native army was described as a "useless rabble" whose loyalty could only be depended on as long as it could be overawed by the British force stationed at the capital. In order to put an end to this state of things Wellesley ordered the Nawab to disband his disorderly army and to allot territory for the support of a larger force under British control. Resistance to this demand was impossible, and the Nawab made a treaty in 1801, ceding to the English the frontier districts of the Doab and Rohilkand—nearly half his dominions—to defray the expense of maintaining a large force of subsidiary troops. The internal administration of Oudh was left to the Nawab on his promising to bring about reforms in the Government.

In some of the less important States Wellesley thought it advisable in the interests of order and for the welfare of the people to substitute direct English control for native rule. The administration of the Karnatik, for instance, was very unsatisfactory; the revenue was inadequate even in time of peace and the Nawab was on the verge of bankruptcy and had been suspected of intriguing with Tipu. Since the time of Clive the Karnatik had been under the protection of the English, who had had the duty of defending it without having any practical control over the Government. The safety of Madras depended upon the security of the State and the loyalty of the ruler, and consequently on the death of the reigning Nawab in 1801 Wellesley annexed his dominions and the civil

and military administration was vested in English hands. Similar changes took place in Tanjore and at Surat.

*The Maratha Wars.*—The only native power to be feared after the conquest of Mysore was the Maratha Confederation, though its disruption was already beginning. The nominal head of the Marathas, the Peishwa, was now confined to Poonah, and the chieftains—of whom the most powerful were Scindia, the Bhonsla Rajah of Berar and Holkar, were not only practically independent, but might at any time turn their arms against their suzerain. In 1802 the Peishwa, in imminent danger from Holkar, took refuge with the English, and signed the Treaty of Bassain by which he agreed to come under English protection, and ceded certain districts to the Company for the maintenance of a subsidiary force. The treaty was of first rate importance because it gave the English suzerainty over the great rival power in India, but the immediate effect was a Maratha War, for the chieftains had no intention of submitting to English authority, and formed a confederation to resist it. The war, however, would have taken place eventually in any case and the treaty only enabled it to be carried on with a better chance of success. Moreover, Wellesley saw that French influence was still to be feared, for French troops were in the pay of Sindhia and were defending his frontiers, and he knew there could be no permanent peace until that influence was driven out.

The Peishwa was soon brought back to his capital by English arms and war broke out against the combined forces of Sindhia and Berar. In the three battles of Assaye, Argaum and Laswari, the chieftains were defeated and the English entered Delhi and released the Great Moghul from Maratha influence. It was not until after the other chieftains had been overthrown that Holkar who had hitherto stood aloof, took up arms, and in the campaign against him the English for the first time met with disaster.

*Recall of Wellesley.*—The reverse was only temporary, but it was the immediate cause of the recall of Wellesley. The Directors had disapproved of his forward policy, more especially of the Maratha Wars, which they considered unnecessary and expensive, and this gave some tangible ground on which to attack him.

Although his services were not fully appreciated at the time, Wellesley's term of office marks an epoch in the History of India. His administrative reforms in themselves had been of no slight importance. He had asserted the supremacy of the Governor General over the Governors of Bombay and Madras, had brought better discipline into the army, and had planned far-reaching

reforms in the civil service. He made it clear that Indian officials could no longer be considered merely as the servants of a trading Company, that they had important political duties to perform and ought to have more thorough training for their work, for under the existing system newly appointed magistrates were in many cases young and inexperienced men sent out direct from England with very little knowledge of the country or of the people among whom they would be working. Wellesley wanted to found a College at Calcutta for the training of the junior servants of the Company and more especially for the study of the Indian languages, but the Company thought the scheme too expensive and it was not sanctioned. A little later Haileybury College was founded in England for the same purpose.

The result of his political work was to make the English the paramount power in India. He had abolished the mercenary armies of the native princes, substituting for them battalions of English trained troops. He had driven out French influence. The whole of South India was now under direct English control or under English suzerainty; in the north the lands of the Maratha chiefs were enclosed within definite boundaries; the Peishwa acknowledged English authority and the Great Moghul was an English pensioner, though still retaining the imperial title. Wellesley had seen that it was of little use to rely on treaties and alliances with native princes and had made it his political aim "to enforce peace throughout India, and to provide for the permanent security of the British possessions by imposing upon every native State the authoritative superiority of the British Government. . . . In short, whereas up to his time the British Government had usually dealt with all States of India upon a footing of at least nominal political equality, Lord Wellesley revived and proclaimed the imperial principle of political supremacy." (Lyll.)

**Policy of Non-intervention.**—The recall of Wellesley was marked by the reversal of his policy. Both Parliament and the Directors at this time thought it possible to keep the British and native parts of India separate and distinct and to have a sort of balance of power between them. They regarded the extension of English influence as an unwarrantable interference with native rights, which would be in itself a cause of war, and did not see that it was only by this means that wars and disorders could be checked, and that the political anarchy that was often rampant in the native States meant not only the plunder and oppression of the people, but insecurity for the English provinces. Consequently a policy of peace and non-intervention was adopted; peace was made with

Holkar, and all the land to the west of the Jumna was given up; this meant the exposure of the Rajput chieftains and many of the English allies to the attacks of the Marathas and Afghans, and Central India reverted to a condition of anarchy.

**Hastings, Lord Moira (1813-1823).**—With Hastings the period of inactivity and non-intervention came to an end. Hastings had come out a firm believer in the policy of peace, but a short residence in India convinced him that it was inconsistent with the maintenance of order and good government, and that the natives regarded it as a sign of weakness. His main achievements were the pacification of Central India by the destruction of the Pindaries, the final conquest of the Marathas and the subjection of the Goorkhas.

*The Pindaries.*—The Pindaries were freebooters who had for a long time been the terror of Central India. Their origin is to be found "in the scouts and foragers who had always formed the loose fringe, so to speak, of every Indian army, receiving no pay, subsisting by pillage, but submitting generally to the orders of the commander of the whole force." (Lyall.) As the native powers got weaker the bands of freebooters grew stronger and were often recruited from the disbanded armies of the native princes who had come under English protection. Secretly encouraged by the rulers of the native States, more especially by the Maratha chieftains, they had recently been causing serious trouble in Central India and had plundered and harassed the native population. In 1816 they invaded the Northern Circars, and in a raid lasting only eleven days, plundered 339 villages, and carried off booty to the value of £500,000, killing and torturing many of the people; it was then realised that intervention was necessary, and the Pindari bands were broken up and destroyed by military force.

*Conquest of the Marathas.*—The Marathas were a more serious difficulty. The Maratha chieftains had been gaining strength and confidence during the period of inaction, and the Peishwa, in conjunction with the other chiefs, was plotting to regain his authority. Thus the Maratha confederacy rose again; but this time it was not so dangerous as there was no leader of great ability, and the Maratha power was soon completely broken up. The office of Peishwa was now abolished; the Peishwa became a pensioner of the Company, and his lands were a little later brought under the administration of Bombay. The other Maratha chieftains were brought under English control, and the Rajah of Satara, a descendant of Sivaji, was recognised as the head of the Maratha nation. The subjection of the Marathas was of the utmost importance for the welfare of India, for they had always been a disturbing element,

and it was not until they were suppressed that it was possible to get order and prosperity in Central India.

*The Goorkhas.*—The Goorkhas were Rajput tribes from Kashmir who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, had conquered the province of Nepal on the southern slope of the Himalayas and had established a military despotism there. Of recent years they had periodically raided the lands of Oudh, which since 1801 had been under English protection, and as they refused to give any redress war broke out. They were formidable enemies for they were a hardy race of mountaineers, and relied on the strength of their mountain fortresses which they believed to be impregnable. The invasion of Nepal was one of the most difficult enterprises the English had yet undertaken. The troops had to force their way through a belt of marsh and jungle land, and then not only to climb but to drag artillery over almost impassable mountain ranges before they were able even to approach the fortresses they had come to storm. After some reverses they were successful and by the peace made the Goorkhas ceded Western Nepal and agreed to receive a British Resident, but no subsidiary force was to be maintained in their lands.

Hastings' policy did not, any more than the policy of Wellesley, meet with the approval of the Directors, but as a result of the work of these two statesmen English supremacy had been so firmly established that there was no serious trouble in India itself, with the exception of the Sikh wars, until the Indian Mutiny. Wars were fought, but they were mainly wars beyond the frontiers, for, at the time when the English power was being consolidated in India, fairly strong powers were growing up just beyond their borders—in Burma, Afghanistan and the Punjab—and it was with these races that they now came into contact.

#### **Amherst, 1823–1828.**

*First Burmese War.*—The King of Ava had recently conquered the independent State of Assam, which had hitherto been a buffer state between Burma and Bengal. This meant that there was now on the North-East frontier of Bengal a province of the warlike Burmese kingdom instead of a weak Hindu State, and that Burma had control of the upper parts of the Brahmapootra river and of the mountain passes leading into the plains of Bengal. The Burmese, who had never yet encountered European troops, thought themselves invincible, and, as an invasion of Bengal was imminent and already outlying districts under English protection had been attacked, Amherst declared war in 1824.

The King of Burma was not in himself a formidable opponent, but the nature of the country to be traversed presented difficulties. An attempt to advance into Burma from Chittagong failed, for the route lay through a district of swamps, forests, unfordable rivers and mountains, and only the wreck of an army returned to Bengal, without having encountered the enemy at all. The main army crossed the Bay of Bengal, advanced up the Irrawady and captured Rangoon. By the treaty Assam became an English Protectorate, and Aracan and Tenasserim were ceded to the English, thus giving them control over the coast facing India across the Bay of Bengal. They also gained some commercial facilities and a British Resident was to be received at the Court of Ava.

**Social and Administrative Reforms under Hastings (1813-1823) and Bentinck (1828-1834).**—In the early part of the nineteenth century the work of internal reform had not been neglected; both under Wellesley and Hastings advance had been made, but it was under Bentinck that reforming activity was at its height and that the welfare of the people was made the first consideration of the Government. Changes were made also in the Company itself and in the administration.

During this period the trade privileges of the East India Company were swept away. In 1813, when its charter was renewed, it lost its monopoly of trade with India, and, as the great expansion of trade which followed strengthened the demand that the whole of the trade should be thrown open, it lost in 1833 the trade monopoly with China and the Far East as well.

The work of Education was progressing, and the status of the native was steadily raised by the policy of such rulers as Hastings and Bentinck. Some educational schemes had been started in the very early days of English settlement. In 1781 a Mahomedan College had been founded by Warren Hastings at Calcutta and in 1792 a Sanscrit College had been founded by Cornwallis at Benares, both of them mainly for the purpose of training law officers to help the English judges and assist in the administration of the country. Hastings took an active interest in the cause of education and during his term of office vernacular schools were established and a Hindu College was founded at Calcutta. He did his utmost to combat the idea, which was very prevalent at that time in England and among Indian officials, that the natives, if educated, would be less amenable to authority, and held that the large amount of crime in India was due in great measure to the ignorance of the masses of the people. He also encouraged the publication of newspapers in the native languages. Bentinck carried on this

policy, and it was during his term of office that the great controversy arose as to whether natives should receive an English or an Oriental education. It was in great measure due to the influence of Macaulay, recently appointed law member of the Council, that the decision was given in favour of English. English now became the official language of India; it was to be in future the language of the law courts, and a knowledge of English was essential as a qualification for admission to the public service. It was declared that it should be the policy of the Government to promote the study of European literature and science among the natives, that oriental studies required no encouragement from the State and that consequently the funds appropriated to educational purposes could be best employed in English education alone. This decision met with a good deal of opposition. The Orientalists, among whom James Mill was prominent, prophesied that the English culture acquired by the natives would be superficial and would be valued as the avenue to public employment rather than as a means of acquiring sound knowledge.

Hand in hand with the advance in education came the gradual admission of natives into the ranks of the public service. Hitherto few posts had been open to them except those of the police service, which had been so badly paid that they had failed to attract men of a sufficiently good type. Bentinck was in favour of having native functionaries under European superintendence in the lower posts of all departments of the administration; it was in pursuance of this policy that native judges were appointed and given primary jurisdiction in civil suits, and the clause of the Act of 1833 opening a great many more posts to natives without distinction of caste or creed was inserted at his direct request.

With the advance of education came also the suppression of disorder and of such native customs as were opposed to English ideas of humanity and morality, a difficult task because these customs were so often bound up with the religious and social prejudices of the people. Wellesley had stopped the practice of throwing children into the Ganges and Hastings had tried to stop human sacrifices among the barbarous tribes in the North. More far-reaching reforms were attempted by Bentinck, though he tried as far as possible to avoid rousing alarm or ill-feeling and promised that all people should "be secure in the observance of their religious rites as long as that system could be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity." The abolition of Sati and the suppression of the Thugs are two of the reforms for which he is best known. The English had always objected to the

practice of Sati or widow burning, but it had the sanction of antiquity and the approval of the bulk of the people, though some Hindu reformers had protested against it. Some attempts had already been made to check it, but the regulations were generally evaded and Bentinck found it necessary to take more decided action. The European officials were rather afraid of rousing disturbance, but he was supported by the native judges and the police authorities, and in 1829 it was prohibited as "revolting to the feelings of human nature"; any participation in the rite was in future punishable as culpable homicide. The Thugs were secret and hereditary organisations of highway robbers. Their plan was to frequent the main roads in the guise of harmless travellers or traders, to mark out their victims, with whom they would frequently associate for days on friendly terms, and finally to seize and strangle them when the opportunity arose. Already some attempts had been made to break up these bands and the native States showed themselves ready to co-operate, but the officials in some of the smaller States made common cause with the Thugs and shared in their profits, and the superstitious dread in which they were held by the Hindu population made it difficult to get them sentenced in a native Court. The organisation was stamped out by vigorous measures taken by Bentinck.

The far-reaching reforms of Bentinck in India reflected the development of public opinion in England on the question of the treatment of the natives of India. He is sometimes called the first ruler in India who made the welfare of the people his chief aim, but it was the political conquests of Wellesley and Hastings and the internal peace and security which they had won for India that made this policy possible. The respect and veneration in which he was held by the natives is shown by the inscription on his statue at Calcutta, erected to the memory of the ruler "who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge."

**Lord Auckland, 1836-1842. The First Afghan War.**—The War with Afghanistan was caused by the fear of Russian advance in Central Asia and of the growth of Russian influence in Afghanistan and Persia. Encouraged by Russia, Persia took advantage of disturbances in Afghanistan to besiege Herat, though without success, and to enter into negotiations with the Amir, Dost

Mahomed. Already the English had tried to secure the friendship of Dost Mahomed and had sent Sir Alexander Burnes on a special mission to him to demand that all Russian envoys should be sent away and that an English Resident should be received at the court of Kabul. The Amir was not unfriendly to the English, but he was afraid that the presence of a Resident would threaten his independence; on his refusal to agree to the terms it was decided to depose him and place an exiled prince, Shah Sujah, on the throne in his place. An expedition sent out from India took Kandahar and Kabul with little difficulty and placed Shah Sujah on the throne; Dost Mahomed surrendered and was sent as a prisoner to India. The English now made the mistake of thinking that this superficial conquest implied the subjection of the country, and sent most of the troops back to India before their work was in reality half done, while the comparatively small force that remained settled down in fancied security to pass the winter in Afghanistan and help to restore order in the country. But the people had never liked the restoration of Shah Sujah, and a few months later an insurrection broke out headed by Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed. Before long it was clear that the English troops would be unable to maintain their position, much less attempt to quell the rising, and they were forced to treat with Akbar Khan for permission to withdraw to India. The retreat through the difficult mountainous country in the middle of winter was disastrous, and the whole army was massacred in the Khaiber Pass, only one man surviving to reach Jellalabad (Jan. 1842). Another expedition was sent out to avenge the massacre and Kabul was again occupied, but the English had to give up the demands for which the war had been fought, and allowed Dost Mahomed to return to the throne as an independent ruler free from English influence.

**Hardinge (1844-1848). The Sikhs.**—Interest still continued to be centred on the North-Eastern frontiers, and the war with the Sikhs was the main event in the administration of Lord Hardinge (1845-1848). The Sikhs were a religious sect that dated back to the fifteenth century; the founder, Nana Guru, a Hindu of royal race, who was both priest and king, was worshipped by his followers as an incarnation of the Deity. The Sikh religion was a revolt against the tyranny of the priesthood and against the grosser elements of Brahmanism; it taught a belief in one God and was hostile to distinctions of caste, teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God. Amritsar was taken as the sacred city of the Sikhs and the faith rapidly gained ground, especially among low

caste Hindus. With the break up of the Moghul Empire the Sikhs became a territorial power, and in the nineteenth century became a strong military nation under a great leader, Runjeet Singh, who ruled from 1800 to 1839. As a friendly power the Sikhs were useful in that they formed a barrier against the Afghans, and Runjeet Singh was on the whole well disposed towards the English, but he jealously excluded all English influence and steadily refused to open his lands to English trade. However, he made no attempt to raid English territory and was content to extend his dominions at the expense of the Afghans and the northern tribes, from whom he conquered Kashmir and Peshawur.

*The First Sikh War.*—After his death the Punjab became a prey to civil anarchy. The Queen Mother was ruling as regent for her infant son, but all real power lay with the army, which was rapidly making itself master of the State. A warlike policy was encouraged by the Regent, as the only means of averting a military revolution at home, and in December, 1845, the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej and plundered the villages of Hindostan. Hardinge answered the invasion by a proclamation annexing all Sikh territories south of the Sutlej, and the Sikhs were eventually driven back, though only after a severe struggle. Peace was now made and the Punjab became a protected State. The Government was placed in the hands of a native Regency, and an English Resident, Sir Henry Lawrence, was placed at the Court.

#### **Dalhousie (1848-1856).**

*The Second Sikh War.*—Soon after this settlement was made Hardinge was succeeded by Dalhousie (1848-1856), one of the greatest of English administrators. When he assumed authority peace seemed to be firmly established on all sides; Hardinge himself told him on his arrival "that it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for several years to come" and this opinion was shared by most English officials. "India," it was said, "is in the full enjoyment of a peace which, humanly speaking, there seems nothing to disturb." Only three months later, however, the second Sikh war broke out, for the attempt to exercise control in the Punjab, while leaving the administration in native hands, had proved a failure, and the Sikhs were ready at the first opportunity to make war again. After another severe struggle they were overthrown at the decisive battle of Gujrat, and the Punjab was once more under English control.

*Annexation of the Punjab.*—It was now clear that the annexation of the Punjab was necessary to guarantee security for the future.

Dalhousie declared that peace was impossible there as long as the people were allowed "to retain the means and the opportunity of making war," and he determined not to leave it even the shadow of independence. The policy of annexation was approved both by the Directors of the Company and by Parliament, and thus a district, half as large again as England and Wales, was added to the British dominions. The administration of the new province was placed in the hands of a Board of three—Henry and John Lawrence and one other officer, but the principles on which it should be ruled were laid down by the Governor General, who was determined that the Punjab should be a source of strength instead of a menace to the English power. The Sikh army was disbanded and soon settled down peaceably to civil life, the population was disarmed except on the frontiers, and internal peace was kept by military police. The country was divided into small districts and each district was placed under an official who united judicial, fiscal and magisterial powers and who was in close touch with the people. Legal procedure was based as far as possible on native custom. "We studied," John Lawrence said in a speech at Lahore some years later, "to make ourselves acquainted with the usages, feelings and wants of every class and race and to improve the condition of all." Material improvements were also carried on on a large scale; a great impulse was given to trade and agriculture by road making and irrigation, and a railway was built to connect Peshawur with Delhi. Dalhousie, it has been said, "found the Sikh territories disunited by a confusion of civil and criminal laws, by a confusion of taxation and finance, by a confusion of coinage, by a confusion of languages, and by the absence of roads and means of communication. He bound together these disunited territories into the British Province of the Punjab by uniform systems of civil and criminal justice, by a common system of taxation and finance, by a single coinage, by a recognised language for public business in each of the natural divisions of the country, and by the strong cohesive force of roads and highways."

*Second Burmese War.*—In the time of Dalhousie there was further trouble with Burma. As a result of the last war, which had given the English a strip of land on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, English merchants had settled at Rangoon and an English Resident was stationed at the Court of Ava. Friendly relations with the Court had not been long maintained; in 1840 the Resident had been withdrawn and unfair treatment of the merchants led to another outbreak of war which resulted in the annexation of Lower Burma.

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*The Native States.*—In dealing with the native States Dalhousie was in favour of annexation wherever an opportunity offered in the case of the lesser States. This meant the substitution of direct English rule for the rule of petty princes, who, while they looked to the Government for support and protection, were left uncontrolled in the management of their internal affairs, with the result that many of the smaller States were falling into a condition of anarchy. For some time the English had questioned the advisability of recognising the Hindu custom of adoption, by which a ruler on the failure of direct male heirs adopted a successor, generally from a younger branch of the royal family. As early as 1834 it was declared that permission to adopt should be the exception rather than the rule, and this policy was now for the first time deliberately enforced in several of the petty States. Oudh was also taken under direct English control as the result of long continued misrule and oppression by the native Government; in 1856 it was annexed by Proclamation on the ground that "the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions."

*Reform and Progress.*—The annexation of so much territory both within India and on the borders raised new problems for the Indian Government to deal with. To meet the new conditions a Lieutenant Governor was appointed for Bengal and the Governor General was no longer directly responsible for the government of the province. The seat of the Government for the greater part of the year was henceforth not Calcutta, but Simla, a hill station in the Punjab, and the headquarters of the Bengal artillery was removed from Calcutta to Meerut, a thousand miles inland. The newly acquired districts were to be governed by a judicious mixture of purely local usages and customs with the laws enforced elsewhere in British India; thus the change brought about by annexation was almost imperceptible as far as law and custom were concerned, and this helped to reconcile the people to the new system.

Another development, due in great measure to the new political conditions, was the great advance made in the means of communication. Until this time travelling in India had been both slow and dangerous. In the seventeenth century there had been caravan routes from Calcutta to Delhi, and thence to Afghanistan and Persia, but these had been closed in the eighteenth century by the prevalence of brigandage, and though waterways were used in Northern India they were slow and tedious. In the Deccan

matters were worse, and there was no traffic between Bombay and the land of the Marathas until 1851, when a cart road was opened. There was only a single route through the Nizam's Dominions, and in Southern India there were neither roads nor waterways, and the only possible means of travelling was in palanquins carried by coolies. An entirely new system of internal communication was now developed. Already railways had been planned, and their construction was entrusted to public companies under a system of State guarantees, for it was Dalhousie's policy to open India up to private enterprise and encourage the investment of English capital in the country. "One of the greatest drawbacks," he said, "to the advance of this country in national prosperity has been the total dependence upon the Government in which the community has placed itself, and its apparent helplessness to do anything for itself."

Trade benefited enormously from the improved means of communication and transport, from the opening of the ports and the enfranchisement of the coasting industry, and from the greater facilities given by the improvement of harbours and the construction of lighthouses. The telegraph system was begun in the face of great difficulties, a great Public Works Department was created, irrigation works were started on a large scale, and a uniform halfpenny post all over India was established. The result of Dalhousie's work has been roughly summed up as "the unification of territory and the unification of races." "We are making," said Arnold in 1865, "a people in India where hitherto there have been a hundred tribes but no people."

**Canning. The Mutiny.**—When Canning succeeded Dalhousie in 1856 there was little apparent cause for alarm, and it seemed as if he might reasonably expect to find a peaceful India rendered secure and prosperous by the policy and the political and economic reforms of his predecessor. Yet Dalhousie had never been deceived by the outward appearance of quiet and order, and, almost in his last speech before leaving India, he had given a warning against over-confidence and had said that no long continuance of peace was to be looked for.

*Causes of the Mutiny.*—Though there was no suspicion as yet of open revolt there was serious discontent in many parts of India, especially in the districts recently annexed, in Oudh and the North-West Provinces, though the Punjab was quiet. Oudh in particular, where British administration had been very recently introduced, was "full of explosive material" and discontent was rife. Under the former system there had been long standing corruption in the

Government; with its repression a large and influential class of people found that the sources of their wealth were cut off, and local magnates who, with their bands of retainers, had been allowed to plunder at will and had reduced many parts to a desert, resented an authority which insisted on the maintenance of the peace.

All over British India recent developments seemed to strike at the whole structure of native society, faith, customs, traditions. Macaulay in his essay on the introduction of English education in India, confidently asserted that, with the spread of popular education and Western ideas, Hindu superstitions were bound to disappear. The activity of the missionaries, who openly attacked the faith of both Hindus and Mahommedans and who met with encouragement from many of the officials, gave rise to the suspicion that it was the aim of the Government to force Christianity on the people and to stamp out native religions and customs. Recent legislative changes had increased this fear. The native penalty for apostasy—loss of inheritance—had been swept away by a decree of the English Government, which declared that a Hindu who had been converted to Christianity could share in the property and privileges of the family estate. British enactments allowing the re-marriage of widows and attempting to check polygamy, the spread of English education, all threatened the social and religious ascendancy of the Brahmans, who, realising that their influence would be gradually broken down, encouraged the rumours that native religions and customs were endangered by the new system.

When the mutiny broke out the European forces in India had been reduced to a dangerous extent, and there was at that time only one European regiment stationed between Calcutta and Allahabad, whereas there had been six twenty years before. Troops had been withdrawn from the more central parts of India to serve on the frontiers; in spite of the protests of the Governor General two regiments had been withdrawn from India for service in the Crimea, and just as Canning came out more troops still had to be withdrawn for a war with Persia. A great part of the artillery was in native hands, most of the strong places were garrisoned by natives, and they felt that the military power of the country was under their control. "Was it to be expected," said John Lawrence, "that the native soldiery, who had charge of our fortresses, arsenals, magazines, and treasuries without adequate European control, should fail to gather extravagant ideas of their own importance?"

At the same time, that the sepoys were beginning to feel that

they were indispensable to the English Government, influences were at work that were rousing discontent and tending to the relaxation of discipline. Among the regimental officers of recent years knowledge of the native languages was less general, the tie between officers and men was less close, and the natives felt more keenly than before their exclusion from all but the lowest posts in the army and the want of scope for men of ability. Yet no serious trouble was expected, for among the European officers there was a strong feeling of confidence in the fidelity of the sepoy troops. In ordinary times this confidence was justifiable, and for discipline and loyalty the sepoys would stand comparison with any European army. On active service and on the parade ground distinctions of race, religion and caste were to a certain extent forgotten; Hindus and Mahommedans fought side by side, and at the word of command would fire on men of their own race and religion, but they were very easily roused by injustice or slight, and their racial prejudices could not be safely disregarded. Recently discontent had been caused because the troops considered they had been unjustly deprived of "batta" or extra pay for service in the field or on foreign territory. In the wars in the Punjab and in Sind, for instance, it had been refused on the ground that these provinces were British territory; those who had borne the brunt of the fighting naturally felt themselves aggrieved and the disaffection was so great in consequence that several regiments were disbanded—a very heavy punishment, as it meant that the men were deprived of their pensions. The Bengal army, which was larger than the armies of Madras and Bombay combined, and which garrisoned the territory from Trans Indus to Burmah, had special grievances of its own. The Bengal sepoys were drawn mainly from Oudh and mainly from the Rajput and Brahman castes; service in the army was in many cases hereditary, and the regiments being formed often from men of the same district, caste and family, there was very strong *esprit de corps* among them, whilst, as high caste men, they were very tenacious of their caste prejudices and any fear that these were threatened would be sure to rouse disaffection. An order to send some regiments to Burmah by water in the second Burmese War had been met with resistance, for the Brahman could not cross the "Black Waters" without loss of caste, and it was moreover a violation of their privilege that they should not be forced to serve outside India itself. The order had been rescinded, but new regulations were issued a little later abolishing the privilege altogether, and, though there was no open sign of disaffection at the time, the conviction that the

English were deliberately aiming at the destruction of caste was gaining strength.

There was a general idea, too, that the English power was decaying, for exaggerated reports had been circulated of the difficulties of the English in the Crimea, and the prophecy, that on the anniversary of the Battle of Plassey the English would be driven out, in the excited state of popular feeling, found ready belief.

The immediate cause of the mutiny was the attempt to introduce the Enfield rifle and the suspicion that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs, for as the cow was sacred to the Hindus and the pig was regarded by the Mahomedans as an unclean animal, neither Hindu nor Mahomedan could touch them without pollution. The explanations given by the officers to allay the suspicion had no effect and a panic rapidly spread among the troops, as the incident was regarded as another step towards the destruction of native customs.

*Outbreak of the Mutiny.*—At several places there had been rioting and incendiarism, but the disturbance that was to mark the outbreak of the mutiny broke out at Meerut, thirty miles to the north-west of Delhi, where the sepoy, irritated at the punishment of ninety of their comrades who had refused to accept the new cartridges, broke out into revolt, released the prisoners, murdered some of the officers and then rushed on to Delhi. Meerut was one of the very few places in North India where there was a strong force of European troops, and had there been an able officer in command the mutiny might have been checked at the outset, but no decisive step was taken and matters were allowed to take their course. Although there was an arsenal at Delhi it had been provided by treaty that no European troops should be garrisoned there, and all that could be done was to blow up the arsenal to prevent it falling into the hands of the rebels. The few Europeans within the city who did not succeed in escaping were massacred.

The loss of Delhi was a great disaster, for not only did it command the line of communication between Calcutta and Peshawur, but it provided the rebels with a national centre, as it was the ancient capital and the place of residence of the Great Moghul who, though a pensioner under the control of the English, still bore his empty title, and was now taken as the nominal leader. The mutiny had now become a national rebellion. All over the valley of the Ganges the sepoy were soon in revolt; in every station where they were garrisoned there was fighting, and the Europeans were either massacred or entrenched themselves as strongly as possible, and waited for reinforcements. Within a

few weeks of the capture of Delhi, Oudh and the North-West Provinces were practically lost and there were risings in Rajputana, though Ajmere with its arsenal and treasury was secured. There was no revolt in South India and peace was maintained in the Punjab by the vigorous measures of Lawrence, who had been warned by a telegram from Delhi that trouble had broken out, and had taken the precaution of disarming regiments that showed signs of disaffection. The mass of the people in the Punjab had little sympathy with the Hindu mutineers and it was soon possible to raise a force to help in the siege of Delhi. It was absolutely necessary for the Government to get reinforcements quickly, and troops were soon pouring into Northern India from Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Burmah and Persia, and Elgin's force that was on the way to China was diverted and brought into India.

*Suppression of the Mutiny.*—After the first shock the Europeans soon began to recover ground. On May 12th the outbreak had taken place at Meerut, on June 27th the garrison surrendered at Cawnpore, on July 17th Cawnpore, and on September 19th Delhi were recaptured, and on November 17th Lucknow was relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. Thus the English were already gaining the upper hand by the end of the summer, and when the reinforcements arrived from England in the autumn the danger was practically over.

The suppression of the revolt was marked at first, in the words of Canning, by "a spirit of rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness," and it was mainly by his personal influence and vigorous action that this was checked. As a result of the summary powers of trial and execution which it had been necessary at the beginning of the Mutiny to give to certain officers, many sepoys who, when their regiments had mutinied, had gone quietly to their villages and had taken no part in the revolt, were executed without any evidence of guilt being brought against them. To stop this, orders were issued to punish only those who had arms in their possession or against whom some specific charge had been proved. The following extract shows the principles on which the Government intended to act:—"Whilst we are prepared as the first duty of all to strike down resistance without mercy, wherever it shows itself, we acknowledge that, resistance over, deliberate justice and calm, patient reason are to resume their sway; that we are not going, either in anger or from indolence, to punish wholesale, whether by wholesale hangings or burnings, or by the less violent, but not one bit less offensive course of refusing trust, countenance, favour and honour to any man because he is of a class or a creed."

**Abolition of the East India Company.**—A little later the Royal Proclamation was issued which announced to India that the Crown had resolved to take over the power hitherto held in trust for it by the East India Company, and appointed Lord Canning first Viceroy and Governor General. It promised to the princes the maintenance of treaties and engagements already made with them and the recognition of the principle of adoption, which was a guarantee that the policy of annexation was to be abandoned. To the people of India it gave a promise of justice and equal rights. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligation of duty which binds us to all our other subjects. . . . We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law. And it is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge." Pardon was granted to all except those convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. The East India Company was abolished, and in place of the Board of Directors and the Board of Control was established the Secretary of State for India and the India Office.

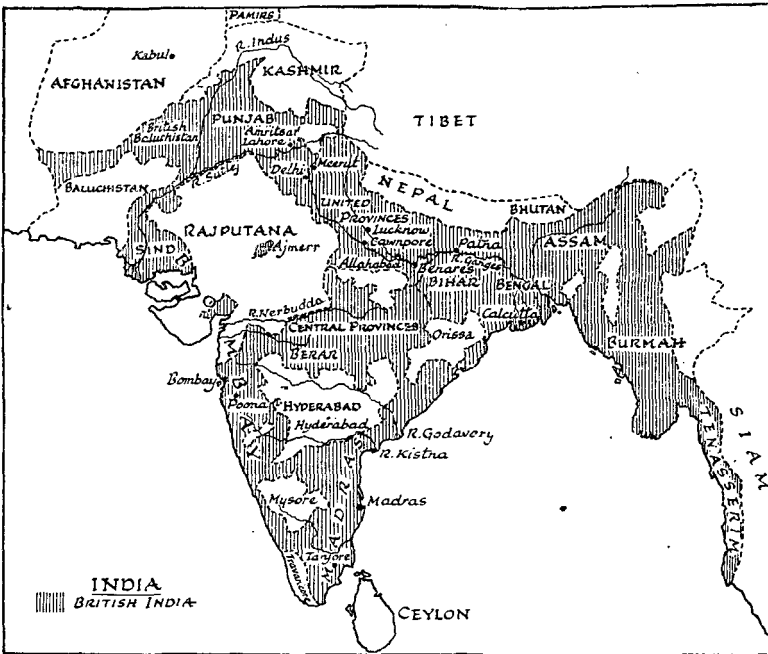
### PART III.—INDIA SINCE THE MUTINY

**The Government of British India.**—The government of India as determined after the Mutiny was placed in the hands of a Governor General, known usually as the Viceroy, assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils in India and subordinate to the Secretary of State and his Council in England.

In England the India Office took the place of the Board of Control, and its head, the Secretary of State for India, is a member of the Cabinet. His Council, composed mainly of men who have had long experience in India, was given advisory functions only; it had no initiative and only gave its opinion on matters concerning Indian administration which were referred to it.

The Viceroy was to be appointed by the Crown for a term fixed by custom at five years, and might be re-appointed. His power in India was almost autocratic; he could summon the Council when he liked, and could act with a quorum of one member in matters that required the concurrence of the Council, and after 1870 he

could legally override the decision of a majority of the members. On the other hand the subordination of the Government of India to the Secretary of State was very real. All matters of importance, and a great many matters of detail, had to be referred to him and his decision was final. An annual financial report was presented to Parliament and Parliamentary sanction was necessary before any war could be undertaken beyond the frontiers of India, but



Parliament as a rule took little interest in Indian affairs and details of the administration were left entirely to the India Office.

The Government, as established in 1858, was modified from time to time with the idea of bringing it more into touch with Indian opinion and giving wider powers to the provincial governments, but before the Great War there was no question of introducing anything of the nature of Parliamentary government. The first important change was made in 1861. By an Act passed in that year, from six to twelve new members, of whom at least half were to be non-official, were added to the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. Provincial Legislative Councils were established as well,

at first only in Bengal, Bombay and Madras; similar Councils could be formed for other provinces but they were not in existence until later in the century. The Councils thus formed were little more than Legislative Committees, all measures passed by them had to be sanctioned by the Viceroy, and the Viceroy's Council still had power to legislate on all matters for the whole of India. One important result was that for the first time it was possible for Indians to have a voice in the Government, for all these Councils had a non-official element from which Indians were not excluded. At the same time important changes were made in the judicial system. The Supreme and Sudder Courts were abolished, and High Courts were substituted for them in each of the provinces. The High Courts hear appeals from the District Courts, and their decision can only be revised by an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

By the Indian Councils Act of 1892 the Legislative Councils were enlarged and a certain proportion of the non-official element was to be chosen by various public bodies, such as the Chambers of Commerce, the Universities, and the big land holders' associations, thus introducing tentatively the election principle. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 took further steps in the same direction. Indians, already eligible as members of the Legislative Councils, were now admitted to the Provincial Executive Councils, to the Council of the Secretary of State, and to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The Legislative Councils both of the provinces and of the Viceroy were considerably enlarged and their powers were increased. In 1912 Delhi was taken as the Imperial Capital.

The provinces, fifteen in number, are divided into smaller areas, each division being placed under a Commissioner, and these divisions are again divided into districts. There are two hundred and seventy-two districts in British India, varying a great deal in size and with an average population of about a million. The district officer under the title of Magistrate or Collector is responsible for every branch of the local administration. As fiscal officer he collects the revenue from the land and from other sources, and as magistrate he has the duty of keeping order and exercises summary jurisdiction; the police system, the prisons, the education, roads, public-works and sanitation are all under his direct control and supervision, and he is expected to have an intimate knowledge of the people and of the economic conditions and needs of his district. There are in addition rural districts and municipalities under the control of boards. By the Indian Local Government Act of 1884 these boards were given increased powers and were to

be more representative of the people. On most of the boards now a majority of the members are elected.

**The Native States.**—The native states, nearly seven hundred in number, though only about two hundred are of any real importance, cover two-fifths of the whole area of India and have a population of seventy-one millions out of a total of three hundred and eighteen millions. Since the Mutiny there has been no further annexation of territory, and in the rare instances when it has been necessary to depose a ruler, as in the case of the Gaekwar of Baroda in 1894, the dynasty has been allowed to remain. The native princes are not English subjects and are not officially subordinate to the Government of India; they are in the position of protected rulers, owing allegiance to the King-Emperor and to the Governor General as his representative. Their relations with the Government are based on treaties, official communications and custom, and come under the control of the Foreign Department of the Government of India. The more important princes have their own mints and postal arrangements and, though they can have no foreign policy of their own, they have entire control over their own internal government and administration, provided that a satisfactory standard of order and efficiency is maintained. On this ground there has been little or no difficulty, for the princes "have that indefinable quality of endearing themselves to the people that arise from their being born of the soil . . . while unrest has been rampant through nearly every province of British India the native States have been conspicuous as oases of peace and quiet. . . . The Indian prince knows best what suits his countrymen, and if success is any criterion he can claim approval." (Mitra.) Yet the government of the native states is often more arbitrary than that of British India; the executive government is strong, and is unhampered by a strong judicial system and consequently it is able to deal more firmly with agitation and check any political trouble in the early stages. In some cases the native states have shown themselves to be very progressive; the expenses of administration are less than in British India, as there is a smaller military expenditure, official salaries are lower and consequently there is more money to devote to such matters as education and public works. The Princes are now considered to be "an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India." (Curzon.) Princes have been nominated from time to time as additional members of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, one has been appointed to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, and they have co-operated with the Government in the steps taken to combat plagues and famines and to suppress sedition, and recently

they have helped in educational work. They have co-operated especially in the work of Imperial defence. They had always had small forces of native troops, which, by virtue of treaties made at different times, could be used in the service of the Government. In 1888 when there was fear of war with Afghanistan they made definite offers of military help: no advantage was taken of this at the time as there was no outbreak of hostilities, but the ultimate result was the formation of the Imperial Service Corps, a body of troops raised and paid by the native princes, but trained and disciplined on European lines, which can be placed at the disposal of the Imperial Government for any wars in which the Empire is concerned. A little later the Imperial Cadet Corps for the training of nobles and princes as officers was formed. In recent years the princes have met in conference at the invitation of the Viceroy, and in 1821 a Chamber of Princes was established as a permanent consultative body to discuss matters of imperial or general interest.

**The Frontier Policy.**—One of the most difficult problems with which the English have had to deal in India since the Mutiny, has been that of the frontier, especially on the north west, for in this period England, as an Asiatic power, was brought into contact not only with native Asiatic powers outside India but with European powers whose Asiatic dominions approached the English frontiers with the French on the south-east and the Russians on the north.

*The North-West Frontier.*—On the north-west frontier difficulties seemed likely to arise because the boundaries were not clearly defined and in this region the tribes, nominally subject to the Afghans, were practically independent.

*The Second Afghan War.*—In Afghanistan political complications were rising. The Government of Disraeli, alarmed at the growth of Russian influence in Central Asia and suspecting the Amir, Shir Ali, of dealings with Russian envoys, demanded that he should receive a permanent English resident at his Court. This demand he was both unwilling and unable to grant, for it would have involved him in trouble with his own subjects who could no longer have regarded him as an independent sovereign. The assumption of the title of Empress of India by the Queen in 1876 was made a pretext for sending an envoy to the Court, but he was not received, and in November, 1878, an invasion of the country was undertaken. The expedition was at first successful: Shir Ali fled, and his son, Yakub Khan, signed the Treaty of Gandamak, which placed the country in the position of a protected subordinate State. As in 1841 it was soon clear that the Conquest was only superficial. There were revolts at Kabul and an Afghan army marched on Kandahar and nearly

destroyed a British brigade at Maiwand. The disaster was retrieved by Lord Roberts, but it was evident that the difficulties of keeping an army of occupation in the midst of a hostile and warlike population were insuperable, and evacuation was decided on.

Shir Ali was dead and his nephew, Abdurrahman Khan, was recognised as ruler on condition that he agreed to have no relations with any foreign power but England, and the demand that a Resident should be received was given up. Abdurrahman was loyal to the English, for he understood that it was to their interest to keep his dominions strong and intact, and he was content to be under English protection and to fulfil his part as outpost in defence of the northern frontier of India.

*Frontier Policy after 1879.*—Relations between the Amir and the English were less friendly after 1885 when there was a change in the English frontier policy. The belt of land between English and Afghan territory had always been a source of trouble and it was now decided to substitute real for nominal control over the semi-independent tribes in this region, to push forward strategic railways, and to reduce these turbulent districts to order. This caused some alarm in Afghanistan, as the Amir preferred the tribes to be independent and did not like English railways so near his dominions, but negotiations about boundaries continued to be carried on in a friendly spirit. This Forward Policy, as it was called, involved the English in constant petty wars with the border tribes, who were now brought more directly under English control; it proved expensive and troublesome, and was abandoned by Lord Curzon who came out as Viceroy in 1899. British forces were now withdrawn from dangerous and advanced positions, the tribesmen were made responsible for the order and defence of their country and were enrolled as a border force, commanded by English officers. There were now two boundaries—the political boundary to mark the limits of English territorial possession, and the administrative boundary beyond—and the land between these two lines is recognised as being under English control. The separation of the districts west of the Punjab and their formation into the North-West Frontier Province marked the completion of this policy.

*The Anglo-Russian Convention.*—By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 an agreement was come to on the subjects of Afghanistan, Persia and Thibet. By this treaty the Russians agreed to regard Afghanistan as outside the Russian sphere of influence and to conduct all political relations with the country through Great Britain; England promised to make no alteration in the political status of Afghanistan, which remains quite independent

as regards its internal affairs, and equality of commercial opportunity was provided for. After the short war of 1919 the Amir regained his independence in foreign affairs.

For some time the English had had informal control over the southern part of Persia and the shores of the Persian Gulf, and in 1903 Curzon had declared that no naval base or fortified post might be established there by any other European power. By the treaty of 1907 Southern Persia was recognised as being under English and Northern Persia under Russian control. Within the Persian Gulf English influence is supreme.

In Thibet both powers agreed to recognise the suzerainty of China, but Thibet was closed to foreign trade except in so far as it had been thrown open to the English by the treaties of 1904 and 1906.

*Burma and Siam.*—Further to the East, Burma was in the position of a buffer state between India and the French provinces of Tonkin and Cochin China, but the relations with the Government of Upper Burma had never been satisfactory, and in 1885 when Thibaw, an oriental despot of a savage type, was on the throne, war broke out. Thibaw, taken by surprise as the result of a rapid advance up the Irrawady, surrendered unconditionally and the country was subdued and annexed by proclamation on January 1st, 1886. In 1896, by a treaty with the French, it was agreed that Central Siam should be neutralised and that the English and French spheres of influence should begin west and east of this province. By the Anglo-French treaty of 1904 France recognised the part of Siam west of the Menan basin, and including the Malay Peninsula and the adjacent islands, to be within the British sphere of influence. Nepal and Bhutan, two states on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, though not within Indian territory, are considered to be within the British sphere of influence.

**The Currency.**—Serious financial and currency difficulties were caused in India by the fall in the value of silver after 1870, for India had a silver currency and the standard coin, the rupee, fell in value from 2s. in 1873 to 1s. 4d. in 1890 and 1s. 1d. in 1895. The effect of this was disastrous. India had to meet very heavy liabilities in London, where payment had to be made for the interest on the public debt and on capital invested in India, for the upkeep of the India Office, for public works, etc. These payments had to be discharged in gold and the burden fell much more heavily on India when eighteen rupees were demanded as the exchange value of a sovereign instead of ten. To try to check any further depreciation in the value of the rupee the mint was closed to the free coinage of silver in 1893, and in 1899 a gold standard was adopted, the sovereign

was made legal tender, and the exchange value of the rupee was fixed at 1s. 4d. The recent rise in the value of silver has again disturbed the exchange value of the Indian currency, and the difficulty has been met by fixing the relation between the rupee and gold at the rate of ten rupees to the sovereign. A gold reserve has been formed, which on August 31st, 1921, stood at £39,629,470. There is a branch of the royal mint at Calcutta and another was opened at Bombay in 1917 but was closed two years later. In 1921 the three Presidency banks were amalgamated as the Imperial Bank of India.

**Agriculture and the Peasantry.**—Agriculture is still by far the most important industry in India, and the great mass of the people—about nine tenths of the rural population—are dependent on it for a bare subsistence. In North India the land is generally held under the Zamindari or landlord system, the landlord being responsible for the land revenue to the Government, and the peasants cultivating the land as tenants; it is in the provinces where this tenure prevails that the permanent settlement of the land revenue has been sometimes, though not invariably, introduced. The Rayatwari Settlement, a modified form of peasant proprietorship, is general in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in Burma and Assam. The peasants in this case deal directly with the Government and are assessed individually for purposes of land revenue; they are regarded only as occupants, but with the privilege of inheritance and the right of transfer. Capitalist farming is quite exceptional and under both the Zamindari and the Rayatwari systems the cultivator is almost universally a smallholder. The size of the holding varies with the quality of the land; in the fertile valley of the Ganges two or three acres are often enough to provide for the family, whilst in the dry uplands of the Deccan from twenty to fifty acres are necessary. Of recent years the development of communications and the increase of population have brought about almost revolutionary changes in agriculture. Formerly when the villages were isolated and self-sufficing they produced just enough for their own subsistence and for the payment of land revenue to the State. Now, though the peasant still raises his own food supply, he also grows crops such as cotton, jute and oil seed which form the raw materials of industries, and both these products and the surplus food grains in good years are exported in considerable quantities.

The main problem in dealing with the agricultural industry has been to check the extreme poverty of the peasants, who find it difficult to earn enough to suffice for the bare needs of existence

and of whom the majority, probably about two-thirds, are described as "living in a state of squalor, ill-clothed by day and with insufficient blankets at night, ill fed, and the sole furniture of their miserable hovels a few brass cooking pots." (Creagh.) There are various reasons that can be assigned for this extreme poverty. Farming is hampered by the caste system—pigs and fowls can only be kept by low caste Hindus, and refusal to take life means that birds and vermin are allowed to prey upon the crops. Cattle breeding is not part of the ordinary work of farming, but cattle are needed for ploughing and for dairy farming and loss of cattle from drought or from other causes is a frequent source of trouble. The division of land among the children at death means that in many cases the holdings have been reduced in size until they are too small to support a family.

Another cause of difficulty has been heavy taxation. Under English rule the assessment for land revenue was much lower than in earlier days but it often pressed more heavily on the people, for rigid punctuality was demanded, payments were made in money instead of in kind and the need for immediate relief in years of scarcity was not realised at first by the Government. In times of difficulty the peasant was forced to have recourse to the moneylender, and the rate of interest charged by the village usurers for money lent on the security of land was sometimes as high as fifty per cent. The difficulty from this cause had increased under English rule, for under Hindu law no moneylender could receive more in interest on a loan than the amount of the principal advanced, and in the native states the transfer of land from a cultivator to his creditor was not allowed, whereas in the English provinces there was no limit to the amount that the creditor could recover and he could take in payment both crops and land. As a result a great deal of the land was passing into the hands of the moneylenders, and transfers went on so rapidly that the Legislative Council of Calcutta declared that the "ousting of the warrior peasantry by our laws and courts to put in the usurer" was "one of the great political dangers of the future." In Assam, by 1866, two-thirds of the usurers had become landowners and in the North-West Provinces nearly half the original cultivators had disappeared.

Some legislative measures have been taken with a view to protecting the peasantry. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, amended in 1907, has given more security of tenure to the rayat and checked evictions, and legislation on similar lines has been brought in for other provinces. The Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 prevents the land of the peasants falling into the hands of moneylenders

and shopkeepers, and the rate of interest has been limited by law to 9 per cent. There has been greater elasticity in the assessment of the land tax, and substantial help has been given by agricultural banks and co-operative credit societies which have been started under government supervision. Poverty is still a great evil but it is considered that the standard of living has shown a tendency to rise in recent years.

*Famines.*—Intimately connected with agriculture is the problem of the recurrence of famines which are liable to result from any failure of the rains and which can be prevented or mitigated only by attention to agriculture and irrigation and by improving the means of transport and communication. The danger of isolation in case of famine was shown by the great loss of life in 1866 in Orissa which was shut off from Central India by mountains and was inaccessible by sea when the monsoons were blowing. Two years later, when there was a famine in North India, food could be brought in from Oudh and loss of life was prevented. There were several severe famines in the later years of the nineteenth century, attended in some cases with great loss of life, though a good deal has been done to mitigate the disastrous effects of local failure of rains or of floods—the most usual causes of famine—by the formation of the Department of Irrigation to plan and construct canals in districts liable to be affected, and by the extension of railway communication.

**Industrial Development.**—Many intelligent Indians are already realising the fact pointed out by the Famine Commissioners as early as 1880 that the only genuine remedy for poverty in India is the systematic development of her natural resources and the establishment of a greater diversity of industries, for to be dependent on agriculture to the extent that India has been in the past must be a source of economic weakness. India produces more than she needs for her own consumption and her foreign trade has been expanding, but her exports are almost entirely raw materials and she is still left mainly dependent on other countries for manufactured goods. Until past the middle of the nineteenth century conditions of industry in India were still mediæval, industries were almost entirely domestic industries, goods were made by hand labour, and agriculture and manufactures were carried on side by side. Though soon after the middle of the century machinery was introduced, advance was not rapid. Cheap fuel is a necessity for machinery and though there is a plentiful supply of coal in India, it is at a considerable distance from the industrial centres and mining is in its infancy. Moreover, partly because education hitherto has been almost entirely on academic lines, the middle

classes in India have shown little industrial enterprise and most of the capital has been supplied by England and Scotland.

New problems have been raised by the economic changes of recent years. Labour is plentiful and unorganised, the Hindu workers are naturally submissive and abuses have consequently sprung up in connection with the conditions of work in the factories, the length of the working day and the bad housing conditions in the towns. The cities are overcrowded and insanitary, and though attempts are being made to bring about some improvement it will be difficult to do much in this direction until a rise in the standard of living results in more willing co-operation on the part of the people. In spite of the absence of organisation there was a spontaneous strike of a hundred and twenty-five thousand cotton operatives in Bombay caused by the rise of prices during the Great War.

**Trade.**—By far the greater part of Indian trade has been carried on with England and in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a tendency to sacrifice the interests of India to those of England and to discourage Indian industries in the interests of the English manufacturer. As early as 1769 the East India Company had tried to encourage the importation of raw silk into England instead of silk material, and prohibitive duties were placed in England on Indian manufactured goods. The native handicrafts of India could not stand against the competition of English machine-made goods, which were exported in large quantities, and many of the native industries—weaving, dyeing, tanning, and working in metals—began to decline. After the middle of the nineteenth century there was a growing demand in England for free trade with India, or at least for free imports into India. Until 1860 nearly all imports had paid an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. and, though English opinion was growing more favourable to free trade, it was for some time considered doubtful whether it would be practicable to sacrifice the revenue gained from the customs. There was, however, a gradual reduction of duties. There is little desire at the present time for free trade in India, and generally speaking educated Indian opinion is in favour of a tariff because it wants to lessen the financial dependence of the Government on the land revenue.

**Education.**—Elementary education is still at a very low ebb in India. Four out of every five villages are without educational facilities of any kind and the census of 1921 showed that about 93 per cent. of the population were illiterate. There is not as yet any great demand for primary education and the people are not ready to take advantage of the facilities already in existence. It seems to be impossible at present to make education universal throughout

India but some steps have been taken to encourage it. Curzon made primary education a charge on the provincial revenues, supplemented by annual Government grants, and an act in Bombay allows the municipalities to make primary education compulsory within their areas. The native states are taking the lead in this matter. Baroda was the first state in India to make primary education free and compulsory and others are now following on the same lines.

The provision of Secondary and Higher Education was at the outset left mainly to private agencies. Since 1835 it had been carried on on English lines and in the English language, and it was valued by the natives as the only avenue by which it was possible to gain appointments to subordinate posts in the Government service. Curzon said that for commercial reasons native languages were being sacrificed to English and some attempts have been made to revert to instruction in the vernaculars. Until recently five Universities, for the most part examining bodies only, controlled education in two hundred Colleges, there was little effective inspection, and the standard was being gradually lowered. Attempts made by Curzon to raise it roused bitter opposition because they were thought to be part of a definite policy to exclude natives from the civil service. Quite recently there has been a remarkable development of University education both in British India and the native states, and a strong desire is shown to bring higher education into closer touch with native culture. Hardinge summoned a conference of the ruling princes to discuss the question, and in 1916 the first University to be founded by a native state was opened at Mysore with special provision for instruction in the vernaculars and in Sanskrit literature. This was followed by a project for a University in the Nizam's Dominions offering special facilities for the study of Moslem literature, and other states are likely to follow on the same lines. In 1916 an Indian Women's College was founded at Poonah purely as a native enterprise and a Medical College for Women was also established. The same year Hardinge laid the foundation stone of a Hindu College at Benares and in 1917 the Patna University Bill was passed.

**Political Unrest.**—The political unrest, which has been for so many years a source of trouble in India, sprang up first among the middle classes who had been educated on Western lines and who had adopted Western ideas of political liberty; it became acute during the Viceroyalty of Curzon and reached its height in the outbreak of indignation at the Partition of Bengal in 1905. The policy of Swadeshi—*i.e.* the boycott of English goods—was adopted,

there was violent press agitation and some rioting, and finally an attack on the Viceroy himself.

Great indignation was roused by the restrictions placed on the immigration of Indians into South Africa and other parts of the British Dominions, and resentment was caused by the severe measures taken to deal with sedition. A regulation issued in 1818 allowing arrest and deportation without trial has been made use of in recent years, and deportation, though not unusual in the native states, was resented in British India as an infringement of the rights of British citizenship. In 1907 an Act for the prevention of seditious meetings empowered the local government to declare any district a proclaimed area in which no meetings could be held without special permission, and the native press was regulated and restricted. As the result of the outbreak of sedition during the War the Rowlatt Commission was appointed to investigate the nature and extent of the trouble, and strongly urged that the exceptional temporary measures taken to maintain order during the War should not be allowed to lapse at the conclusion of peace, and that powers should be placed in the hands of the Government which would enable it to deal firmly with emergencies if they arose.

**Rise of National Feeling.**—Unrest and political agitation in India, though they have to be checked in the interests of law and order, may be taken as one of the signs of the revival of national life and interest, and the demand for self-government and political freedom has been a result of the institutions, ideas and the type of education which the English have themselves established in India. The development of national feeling, fostered by the uniformity and peace of English rule "is a very real influence in the life of India to-day. There is pride in India, in its development and in its future, which inevitably leads to a very rapid development of political consciousness." (Sir J., now Lord, Meston. Evidence given at the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons.)

This awakening of national life is seen in a variety of movements—social, religious, political and economical. The Brahma Somaj movement in the middle of the nineteenth century and the Arya-Somaj a little later showed a desire to reform religion on national lines; both preached a reformed Hinduism based on the authority of the Vedas and were alike in attacking the idolatry of the popular forms of religion, in teaching the unity of God, in advocating social progress and reform, and more especially in demanding the abolition of caste distinctions. They realised the importance of education and the Arya-Somaj, "the most successful and important of modern theistic sects," has founded a good many educational institutions,

among others the Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore and the Teaching Monastery at Hardwar, which give education on Oriental lines and attach special importance to the training of character. The idea of social service led to the formation by Gokhale of the Servants of India Association, with whom devotion to India took the place of religion and who aimed at building up "a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present." The Society was to work on constitutional lines and in a spirit of loyalty to England, accepting the British connection "as ordained in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence for India's good."

Interest in political life found expression in the National Congress which met first in 1885 and for a time was held annually. The Congress had no official or constitutional status and could not be taken in any sense as a real representation of the people of India. It met for the discussion of national questions, but discussions which can lead to no practical result are of little value and dissensions between the Moderate and Extreme parties, which caused the meeting at Surat in 1907 to break up in confusion, brought it into discredit. It met again during the War, but as before the Extremists gained the ascendancy. The All India Moslem League, formed in 1910, united the Mahommedan communities which now form about 21 per cent. of the whole population. In 1916 the Congress and the Moslem League combined to produce a scheme of reform, and the same year the Home Rule League was formally established at a meeting in Madras.

**Defence.**—The forces in India since the Mutiny have consisted of (1) a contingent of European troops, paid by the Indian Government; (2) native troops—the proportion of natives to Europeans being fixed at two to one in Bengal and three to one in Madras and Bombay—and (3) the more recently formed Imperial Service Corps. When the War broke out in August 1914 India gave up almost the whole of the artillery, only reserving a little for use on the North-West Frontier; four-fifths of the garrison were withdrawn, and contingents to the extent of over a quarter of a million men—that is, a force equal to the peace strength of the army in India—were sent to the campaigns in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, East Africa and to the Western Front, the equipment, commissariat and ammunition being supplied by India. Special contributions were made as well by Indian princes. In addition to direct military help India took over the interest and sinking fund charges on a loan of £100,000,000—a sum twice the amount of the total peace revenue—and exported large quantities of raw material for military purposes. Commissions in the army of British India were in 1918 thrown open

to natives and ten Indians are in future to be nominated annually for commissions at Sandhurst.

*The New Constitution.*—It was evident that as a result of the part played by India during the war and the principles of self-determination advocated at the Peace Conference, that it would be impossible to resist the demands of the Indians for constitutional changes and that the policy of a gradual extension of self-government such as was adopted before the War would no longer satisfy even the moderate reform parties. Indians attended the Imperial War Conference of 1917 and Indian representatives in the Imperial Conference took their place side by side with the representatives of the self-governing dominions. In 1918 a War Conference at Delhi was attended by sixteen princes and a hundred representatives of the Provinces; an Indian, Lord Sinha of Raipur, was made Under-Secretary of State for India; India was represented at the Peace Conference and was recognized as an independent member of the League of Nations. The change that was taking place in the political status of India required to be met in some way, that would give the people a real voice in the government. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report issued in 1918 suggested practical measures which were embodied in the Act of 1919, and the new constitution came into force during the winter of 1920-1921.

The aim of the Act, as declared in the preamble, is "to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." It also declares that "progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages," and that "the manner and time of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples."

*The India Office.*—Some alteration is made in the composition of the Council of the Secretary of State, which is now to consist of from eight to twelve members, half of whom must have had ten years' recent experience in India, and who are to be appointed for five instead of for seven years. Their salaries may be paid either from the Indian revenues or from revenues provided by Parliament. The King may appoint by Order in Council a High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom to act as agent for the Governor General, and may delegate to him any of the powers previously exercised by the Secretary of State in Council. The salary of the Secretary of State is now to be borne by the British Exchequer.

*The Central Government.*—The chief change in the central government of India is the formation of the Indian Legislature, which takes the place of the Legislative Council of the Governor General, and consists of two Chambers—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State is to consist of not more than sixty members, of whom only twenty may be officials, and is to be appointed for five years. The Legislative Assembly is to sit for three years only; it is to consist of a hundred and forty members, of whom a hundred are to be elected and forty nominated; of the latter twenty-six may be officials. The President of the Assembly is to be chosen for the first four years by the Governor General, and after that to be elected by the Assembly, with the approval of the Governor General. The Governor General may, at his discretion, dissolve the Chambers before the appointed time or may extend the period if he thinks it advisable.

Bills must pass both Chambers and be sanctioned by the Governor General, and in cases of dispute between the Chambers a joint meeting can be held after six months. The Governor General may send Bills back for reconsideration or he can put bills in force without the consent of the Legislature if he considers that they are necessary "for the safety and tranquillity of India or any part of it" but in such cases the Bills must be submitted to the English Parliament to receive Royal sanction. A modified control over finance is given to the Legislature. Estimates of Expenditure and Revenue are to be laid annually before both Chambers in the form of a statement by the Governor General. For some of its expenditure the Government is dependent on grants made by the Assembly, but in cases of emergency the Governor General may authorise expenditure which he considers "necessary for the safety and tranquillity of India or any part of it."

It will be noticed that wide discretionary powers are left in the hands of the Governor General which can be used in emergencies, and that the Legislature is not given control over the Executive. To secure some connection between them the members of the Executive Council of the Governor General are to be nominated members of one of the Chambers, though they will have the right to attend and address either Chamber. The method of election was not determined by the Act, and by a provisional scheme which has been drawn up by the Government of India, direct election is suggested for both Chambers with separate representation of the Moslems, the Sikhs, the Landowners, the Europeans and the Chambers of Commerce.

*The Provincial Governments.*—Under the new constitution the

Provincial Governments are allowed a great deal more independence. Over-centralisation has been for a long time one of the chief defects of the government of India. No change of any importance could be made by a Provincial Government without the sanction of the Central authority, and in many cases it was necessary as well to refer the question to the Secretary of State, and this always involved long delays. The Central Government was over-weighted and, to economise work, aimed at uniformity, though the provinces, covering so vast an area, are much too diverse in their conditions and interests to make uniformity desirable or possible. Increased powers are given under the Act to the larger provinces—the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam. In these provinces what is known as the diarchial system of government has been established. Certain matters, known as the reserved subjects, are under the control of the Governor in Council, while others, known as the transferred subjects, are dealt with by the Governor acting with Ministers—that is, they come more under popular control. The Ministers, who must not be officials and must be within six months elected members of the local legislature, are appointed by the Governor who must be guided by their advice in dealing with the transferred subjects. The list of transferred subjects includes local self-government, medical administration and public health, sanitation, education, public works, agriculture, industries, etc. In each province there is a Legislative Council, of which at least seventy per cent. of the members are elected and not more than twenty per cent. may be officials.

Provision is made for largely increasing the number of Indians in the Civil Service.

This measure, wide as it was, did not satisfy the extreme Nationalist party, who objected to it on the ground that it did not give the Indians complete control over the government, and they tried by a policy of passive resistance to make the working of representative institutions under English control an impossibility. They failed to prevent the election of the Legislative Assembly, but unrest continues.

Ten years after the passing of the Act a statutory commission is to be appointed to enquire into the working of the system of government and the development of representative institutions, and to report whether, and to what extent, it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing.

## CHAPTER X

### MEDITERRANEAN AND EASTERN POSSESSIONS

#### I. Mediterranean Possessions.

*Gibraltar.*—The promontory of Gibraltar commands the entrance to the Mediterranean and is valuable mainly for its strategic importance. It has been under English control since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Captured by Rooke in 1704, in the War of the Spanish Succession, it was retained by England at the Peace of Utrecht, and its recovery by means of diplomacy or war was one of the objects of Spanish policy throughout the eighteenth century.

Gibraltar is under military rule. The Governor, with whom alone both executive and legislative authority rests, is also the military commander, and has under his control a civil population of nineteen to twenty thousand, and a garrison five thousand strong. No alien is allowed to enter the town without permission, and since 1900 this restriction has been extended to non-resident British subjects. Gibraltar is an important naval base and a port, and of recent years extensive harbour works have been constructed on the western side; the transit trade is considerable, and it is largely used as a port of call and a coaling station for ships travelling from the Atlantic to the East and from European ports to the north-west coast of Africa.

*Malta.*—Malta is a small island less than two-thirds the size of the Isle of Wight. It had been in the possession of the Knights of St. John from 1522, when they were driven out of Rhodes by the Turks, until 1798, when it was captured by the French as a preliminary step to securing their hold on Egypt. It was taken from the French by the English two years later, and at the Peace of Amiens in 1802 it was decided that it should be handed back to the Knights of St. John. Fear of French aggression and the subsequent outbreak of the Napoleonic War prevented the fulfilment of this agreement, with the result that Malta remained in British hands and was formally ceded to England in 1814.

The Maltese are governed by their own laws and justice is administered by native judges. The people have always shown a strong desire for constitutional liberty, and it has not been an

easy task to meet their wishes in this respect and at the same time to ensure security from a military point of view. Until 1921 the Government was that of a Crown Colony. In that year constitutional changes were made by Letters Patent and an elected Assembly with a responsible Ministry was allowed to control local affairs. Certain matters, mainly those which concern Imperial interests, are reserved for the control of the Governor and his Council. Malta is a port of call for ships trading between the United Kingdom and the East; it is the headquarters of the Mediterranean fleet and is important as an outpost in the Mediterranean for the protection of English trade and political interests in the East.

*Cyprus.*—Cyprus was handed over to England by virtue of the Convention made between England and Turkey in 1878, in return for the promise of England to guarantee the Sultan's Asiatic dominions. Though occupied and administered by Great Britain the people were not considered British subjects, and it continued to form part of the Ottoman Empire and to pay tribute to the Porte until the end of 1914. It is governed by a High Commissioner with the aid of a Council, of which the elected members now form a majority. The products are mainly agricultural, and about a third of its exports are sent to Great Britain. When Turkey joined in the Great War in 1914, Turkish suzerainty was repudiated and Cyprus became a Crown Colony.

*Former Possessions.*—Tangier was ceded to England by Portugal in 1661 on the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza, but was found to be of little practical value. The expense was considerable, for all supplies for the garrison had to be sent out from England, both the Moors and the Spanish were hostile, and in 1684 the Government decided on withdrawal.

Minorca was in the possession of England for three separate periods in the eighteenth century: from 1708 to 1756, from 1763 to 1782 and from 1798 to 1802. It was valued for political and strategic reasons, but reverted to Spain after the capture of Malta, for Malta was in a better position strategically and its possession by England was less likely to rouse the hostility of other powers.

The Ionian Islands had for many centuries belonged to Venice. They were occupied by Napoleon and at their own wish annexed to France, but at the Congress of Vienna it was decided to form them into an independent State, for, though geographically they were connected with the mainland, it was not thought right to place them under the control of an alien Mahomedan power. They were granted a republican form of Government, but were placed

under the protection of Great Britain, who exercised authority through a Lord High Commissioner. After the formation of the Greek Kingdom a strong desire was shown for union with Greece, and after Gladstone's mission to the Islands this was finally effected in 1864.

Heligoland, which had been taken from Denmark in 1807, was ceded to Germany in 1890.

## II. Possessions at the entrance of the Red Sea.

The little group of British possessions that protect the entrance to the Red Sea comprise the Peninsula of Aden with some political control over the adjacent part of the coast of South Arabia; the Island of Perim and the Kuria Muria Islands; the Island of Socotra off Cape Guardafui and the Protectorate of Somaliland on the African coast.

*Aden.*—The territory of Aden includes two small peninsulas jutting out from the south coast of Arabia, Aden on the east and Little Aden on the west, with the strip of land along the Bay that connects them; the peninsulas are mountainous, while the country behind is part of the low coastal plain and is barren and uninteresting. It came under British control in 1838 when the local Sultan entered into an agreement for the sale of the peninsula, but difficulties arose when he claimed the right to continue to exercise authority there in spite of this transaction, and relations became so strained that the following year a squadron of British ships acting under instructions from the Governor of Bombay took possession of the place. Politically Aden is under the control of the Government of Bombay, and for legal purposes is considered part of the Presidency of Bombay. It is administered by a political Resident, who is also as a rule commander of the garrison. As a result of treaties made to secure the friendship of the Arab tribes on the coast, a Protectorate is now exercised over the southern coast of Arabia, and the local chiefs are subsidised.

The small island of Perim at the entrance to the Red Sea, which has a total area of only five square miles, was occupied in 1857, and is garrisoned by a small number of Indian troops and administered by an officer under the control of the Resident at Aden. It has a good harbour and is used as a coaling station and a port of call, but has no local trade.

The Kuria Muria Islands, also attached to Aden, were ceded by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854 for the purpose of landing the South Sea Cable.

The Island of Socotra, about a hundred and fifty miles from Cape

Guardafui, was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, mainly because it was a stronghold of piracy, and since 1886 has been a British Protectorate. Though it is fertile there is comparatively little cultivation.

*Somaliland* became of importance to England after the acquisition of Aden, and in 1885 a Protectorate was proclaimed over this part of the country. Until 1898 the administration was under the control of the Resident at Aden; in that year it was placed under the Foreign Office and a British Commissioner was appointed, and in 1905 it was handed over to the Colonial Office. The population is mainly Mahommedan and the tribes are still nomadic, the only permanent settlements outside the coast towns being a few villages founded by the Mahommedan Mullahs.

### III. Islands in the Indian Ocean.

*Ceylon and the Maldivé Islands.*—Ceylon was occupied first by the Portuguese and then fell into the hands of the Dutch, whose influence in the second half of the seventeenth century was supreme everywhere except in the mountainous regions of the centre. In the Revolutionary Wars, when Holland had been conquered by France, the English sent out a naval expedition to take possession of the island, which was formally ceded at the Treaty of Amiens, 1802.

Ceylon was governed first as a dependency of India, but as the result of a native outbreak caused by an attempt to introduce the revenue system of Madras, it was separated from India and became a Crown Colony. The Governor is assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils; in the latter sit some unofficial and elected members, but a nominated majority is maintained. The resources and industries of Ceylon are almost entirely agricultural, though the water supply of the country is defective and it has been necessary to spend large sums in irrigation. It produces a third of the whole tea supply of the world, and coffee is also extensively cultivated. The island was formerly well provided with forests, but a great deal of forestland has been recklessly cleared for tea and coffee plantations.

The Maldivé Islands have been under British control since 1795 and are a dependency of Ceylon. They are governed by an elected Sultan who is under British protection, and pays a yearly tribute to the Government of Ceylon. Some coffee is grown but the industry is not important, and the islands are poor and offer little attraction to traders.

*Mauritius and the Seychelles.*—A number of scattered groups of

islands in the Indian Ocean, most of them insignificant in size and importance, are British possessions. The most important of these are Mauritius and the Seychelles.

After the French had lost their hold on the mainland of India Mauritius became an important base from which to attack English shipping, and its capture in 1810 did much to guarantee the security of English trade in the East. It was formally ceded to England by the Peace of 1814 and was governed as a Crown Colony. In 1912 partially representative institutions were granted under Letters Patent, and the official element now forms less than a third of the Legislative Council. The industries of Mauritius are agricultural only, and the prosperity of the island depends on the sugar plantations; some fruit and vegetables are grown by the Indians, but most of the necessaries of life are imported. The various elements of which the population is composed include French Creoles, negroes of African descent, Indian coolies, whose labour supplanted that of the African negroes after the abolition of slavery, and some Chinese.

The Seychelles form a little archipelago, nine hundred miles to the north of Mauritius. They were ceded to England in 1814, and from 1814 to 1903 were governed as a dependency of Mauritius; since 1903 they have formed a separate Crown Colony with Executive and Legislative Councils in which an official majority is retained. The Colony is of little economic value, but the danger from Mahé when it was used as a base for attacking English shipping during the Napoleonic Wars made it evident that it would not be advisable to allow it to fall again into the hands of a foreign power.

#### IV. Dependencies of India in the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal.

*The Laccadives.*—The Laccadives are a group of coral reefs and islands in the Indian Ocean, eight of which are inhabited. The population is Mahommedan and is of mixed Arab and Hindu descent. The Islands came under British control in 1877.

*The Nicobar and Andaman Islands.*—The Nicobar Islands are a group of islands in the Bay of Bengal between Sumatra and the Andaman Islands. They came under English control in 1869 and since 1872 the Islands have been united for political purposes with the Andaman Group.

The Andaman Group to the north of the Nicobar Islands consists of five large islands. Since 1858 they have been used as a penal settlement by the Government of Bengal for convicts sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The system in force there aims especially at the reform of the prisoners and their conversion into

law-abiding citizens, with the result that many of them have received land grants and have become self-supporting. The islands are under the control of a Chief Commissioner who resides at Port Blair.

#### V. British Interests in the Persian Gulf.

*The Bahrein Islands.*—The English have no territory on the shores of the Persian Gulf, but they preserve peace among the turbulent population and as they have almost a monopoly of the maritime commerce in the Gulf and are responsible for the security of navigation, they claim to exercise political supremacy there. In the early days of the present century Lord Lansdowne, then Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Lords that Great Britain

would resist by all means in its power the attempt of any other nation to establish itself on the shores of the Gulf, and the visit of Lord Curzon to the Gulf in 1903 was regarded as a political demonstration. At the time of the publication of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 Lord Grey stated definitely that the Persian Gulf lay outside the scope of the Convention, that Russia acknowledged British interests there and that these interests were to be maintained as before by Great Britain. The seat of the political Resident who has



control over the Persian Gulf ports is at Bushire, which is the headquarters of the English naval squadron in the Gulf.

#### VI. The Malay States.

The southern part of the Malay Peninsula is entirely under British control. It consists of (1) the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Malacca, and Penang, including the Dindings and Wellesley Province) which now form a Crown Colony; (2) the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) which are under British control; and (3) the Non-Federated States. The Governor of the Straits Settlements is High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States and for Brunei and British agent for British North Borneo, Sarawak and the island of Labuan.

The northern part of the Peninsula up to the borders of Siam is divided among a number of States under native rulers, who acknowledge more or less the authority of the Government at Bangkok.

*The Straits Settlements.*—Trade settlements in the Malay States were established by the Portuguese in the sixteenth, and by the Dutch in the seventeenth centuries, but it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that the English succeeded in getting a footing in this region. In 1786 the East India Company obtained from the Sultan of Kedah a grant of the Island of Penang, in 1800 the greater part of Wellesley Province was acquired by purchase, and in 1808 Penang was made a separate Presidency. In 1825 Malacca was obtained from the Dutch in exchange for the English possessions in Sumatra, a change involving the withdrawal of the Dutch from the Peninsula and of the English from the islands. In the same year Singapore, which the English had held since 1819 by agreement with the native Sultan, was formally ceded, and in 1874 there was some further extension of territory when the native State of Perak ceded some small islands and a strip of the coast twenty miles long by ten miles broad, known as the Dindings, which were attached for administrative purposes to Penang. The chief political changes in the nineteenth century were the union of Singapore, Malacca and Penang under one Governor in 1826, and the separation of the Malay possessions from India in 1867. Since that date they have formed a Crown Colony and the Governor is assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils. Singapore is now the seat of Government.

The prosperity of the Straits Settlements depends mainly upon their trade; some rice and sugar are cultivated but their area is small and their resources limited. Singapore and Penang are important as naval bases. The population is very mixed and the Peninsula is the meeting place of many races—Europeans, Eurasians, Malays, Chinese and Indians. Of recent years the Chinese, who are more energetic and industrious than the natives, have been increasing and in Singapore they now outnumber the Malays.

*The Federated Malay States.*—At times the Government of the Straits Settlements found it necessary to intervene in the affairs of the native states in the Malay Peninsula with the result that they have come more and more under British influence. A treaty made in 1896 with Perak, Selangor, Pahang, and Negri Sembilan, which were already in the position of protected states, provided for their administrative federation, the states agreeing to furnish contingents of troops in case of war, and ten years later a closer confederation was formed. Authority is now vested in a Federal Council which

consists of the High Commissioner and the Chief Secretary, the native rulers, the British Residents, the legal adviser and five unofficial members. In each state there is a Council formed by the native ruler, the Resident, some of the principal Malay chiefs and Chinese merchants.

*The Non-Federated Malay States.*—The Non-Federated Malay States are Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu. Johore, which was under the rule of an enlightened native Sultan, maintained its independence longer than the other States, but is now under British control. The British Government gained the rights of suzerainty, protection and administration over the other four States by virtue of the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, by which English rights to extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam were given up, and Siam ceded to England all her political and territorial claims in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. British officials are now advisers to the ruling chief of the Protected States and direct their administration.

*Economic Resources.*—The agricultural and mineral resources of the native states are considerable, but as yet the former at any rate have not been fully developed and, though the climate and soil are suitable for the cultivation of tropical products, not enough rice is grown even for home consumption; some Indian corn and sugar are grown and there are valuable forests, producing especially rubber and resin. More attention has hitherto been paid to the mineral wealth; gold, silver, lead, iron, and copper are all found, but by far the most valuable product is tin, which is so abundant that from 70 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the whole supply of the world now comes from the Malay Peninsula. The labour in the mines is supplied mainly by the Chinese, as the Malays do not like regular work, and Chinese and Indian immigrants now exceed the native Malay element. The Chinese own and work most of the mines and form the greater part of the trading and artisan class, Indians work on the land as labourers or are employed on public works; clerical posts are filled mainly by Eurasians.

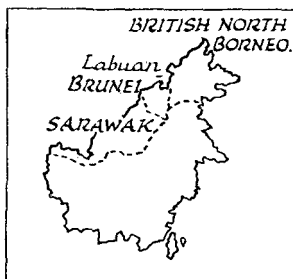
Considerable progress has been made of recent years, and as the result of political security and improved communications, merchants and traders are establishing connections there and are laying the foundations of commercial prosperity. The Government has taken an active part in the work of development and has used the surplus revenues of the States for the construction of roads and railways and the improvement of the ports. Since 1888 the revenue of the Federated Malay States has increased tenfold and the volume of trade fivefold. The resources of the Protected States have as

yet been little developed. The cocoanut is grown along the coast, the soil is well suited to the cultivation of the Para rubber tree, and there is some mineral wealth.

In April 1916 £3,000,000 was contributed to the Imperial War Fund and H.M.S. *Malaya* was contributed to the navy as a gift of the Malayan princes.

*The Cocos-Keeling Islands and Christmas Island.*—The Cocos-Keeling Islands, a group of coral islands rather more than seven hundred miles to the south-west of Java, are proprietary settlements of the Ross family, who went there first in 1825 and still maintain patriarchal rule over a small native and half-caste population. They were declared a British possession in 1857 and were placed first under Ceylon; later they were attached to the Straits Settlements.

Christmas Island, a well-wooded island, somewhat smaller than Jersey, was annexed in 1888 because recent explorations had shown that it contained valuable deposits of phosphate of lime. It was attached to the Straits Settlements in 1900, and the administration is under the charge of a district officer.



**VII. Dependencies in Borneo.**—On the Island of Borneo are the three British Protectorates of Sarawak, British North Borneo and Brunei, and off the coast Labuan Island.

*Sarawak.*—The history of the English in Sarawak is bound up with the name of Rajah Brooke. James Brooke, the son of an Indian Civil Servant, was struck by the fertility and beauty of these islands in the Malay Seas, and wanted to rescue North Borneo from the condition of barbarism into which it had fallen as the result of the rule of the tyrannical Sultan of Brunei. In 1839-40 he visited the State of Sarawak in the north-west of the island, and, as a reward for the help given in putting down a revolt, was proclaimed Governor in 1841, the grant of territory being formally sanctioned by the Suzerain, the Sultan of Brunei, the following year. The territory under his control gradually increased, for the Sultan of Brunei was quite willing to give up land in return for an annual subsidy, and under the firm rule of Rajah Brooke disaffection among the natives was soon suppressed and piracy checked. The suzerainty of the Sultan of Brunei over the district was recognised until 1863, and then it became in theory as well as in practice an independent kingdom until 1888, when it came under British control as far as its foreign relations were concerned, though in internal affairs it

was still independent. The government is still in the hands of a member of the Brooke family, who rules with the aid of advisory Councils formed of European officials and leading Malays. The Governor of the Straits Settlements is now High Commissioner for Sarawak.

*British North Borneo.*—In 1881 the British North Borneo Company was formed to take over concessions which some Europeans had already acquired by purchase from the Sultan of Brunei, and the following year the Company received a charter from the English Government. The district was proclaimed a Protectorate in 1888 and is still under the rule of the Company, which has never taken advantage of its right to trade, but confines itself to the work of Government, carried on through a Court of Directors in London and a Governor and Council in Borneo. The consent of the English Government is necessary for the appointment of the Governor, and the Governor and the Directors of the Company must be British subjects. There is now a British Resident appointed by and responsible to the Governor of the Straits Settlements. There is considerable mineral wealth in North Borneo, but its resources are as yet little developed and imperfectly known, and at present more importance is attached to agricultural and forest produce.

*Brunei.*—Brunei, with North Borneo and Sarawak, came under English protection in 1888, and in 1905 the Sultan agreed to receive an English Resident. The dominions of the Sultan have been diminished by grants to the British North Borneo Company and Sarawak, and he has now only the town of Brunei and a little adjacent territory which are surrounded by the dominions of Sarawak. He is still nominally despotic, but his country is divided into what are practically independent fiefs and he rules in accordance with the advice of the British Resident.

*Labuan.*—In 1846, as a result of the disturbance to trade and the insecurity caused by the prevalence of piracy, the Island of Labuan with Brunei Bay was ceded to Great Britain as a naval base. In 1906 it was placed under the Governor of the Straits Settlements, who is also British Agent for British North Borneo and Sarawak. "Thus it may be summed up that with little or no annexation, by a system of protectorates coupled with the agency of a Chartered Company, something like a British Malay Empire has gradually come into existence in the last forty years, the nucleus being the British colony of the Straits Settlements, and the authority under the Colonial Office being centred in the Governor of the Straits Settlements who has his home at Singapore." (Oxford Survey of the British Empire.)

**VIII. Possessions in China.**

*Hong Kong.*—In 1841, as a result of the Opium War, the Island of Hong Kong was ceded and was made a free port. In 1858 by the Convention of Peking, which ratified the Treaty of Tientsin, the promontory of Kowloon opposite Hong Kong on the north side of the harbour was ceded, and some extension of this mainland territory was obtained in 1898 on the ground that it was necessary for the protection and defence of the Colony. Hong Kong has been a Crown Colony since 1843, the Governor being assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils on which official majorities are maintained. It is partly a military and partly a commercial station, deriving its economic importance from the trade that passes through the port.

*Wei-hai-wei.*—The port and bay of Wei-hai-wei, which includes the Island of Liukung, other smaller islands in the bay, and a strip of land ten miles broad on the mainland opposite, was obtained from the Chinese Government on a ninety-nine years' lease in July, 1898. The year before Germany had obtained Kaio-Chau; and Russia, Port Arthur and Talienwan, and as to China these cessions meant the loss of its naval power it was thought advisable for England to have a naval harbour in North China. The right of erecting forts and stationing troops there was also secured in order that she might be better able to protect her trade in the neighbouring seas, but the idea of making Wei-hai-wei a fortified naval base, which had been entertained at first, was given up as too expensive. In 1899 it was placed under the control of a military and civil commission, and in 1901 it was taken over by the Colonial Office. Port Edward on the mainland was taken as the seat of Government. By the Shantung settlement made at Washington 1922 it was decided to restore Wei-hai-wei to China.

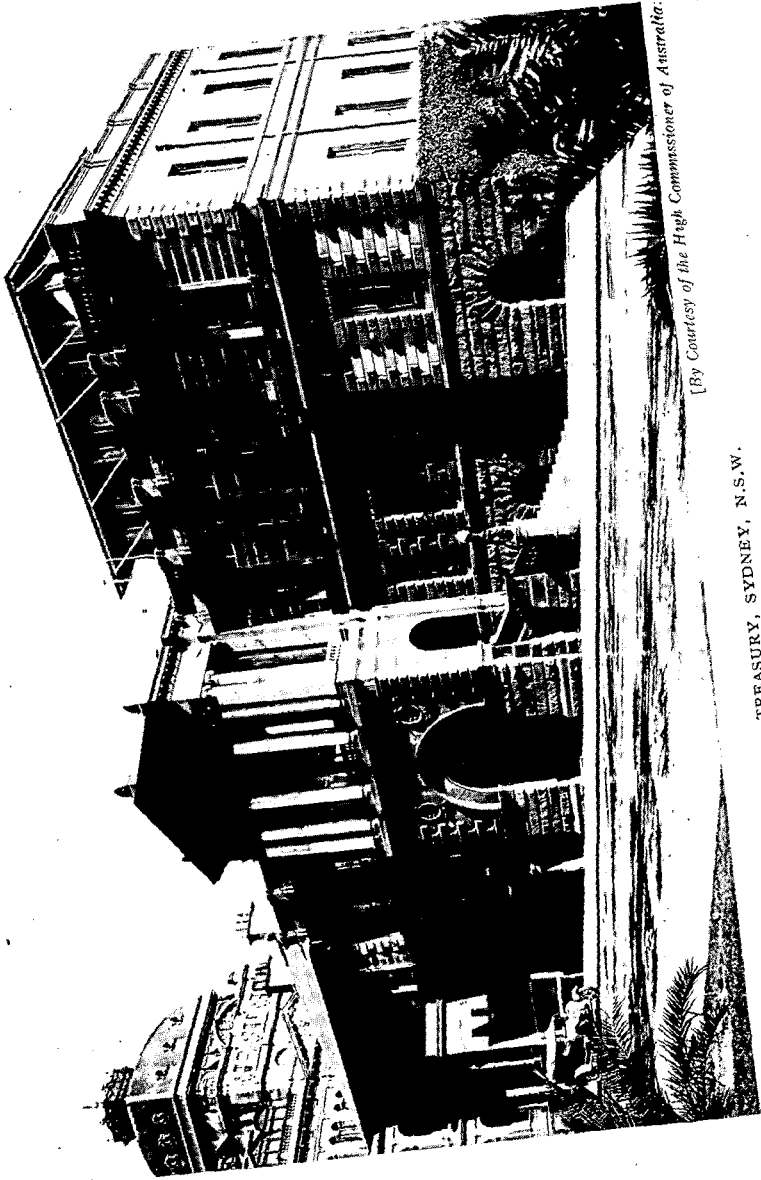
## CHAPTER XI

### AUSTRALASIA

#### PART I.--AUSTRALIA.

**Discovery.**—The exploration of Australia is of comparatively recent date, but the existence of some great vague “Terra Australis” estimated by one writer to consist of one-fifth of the land of the whole globe, had been known to navigators from the early days of the sixteenth century. The Spanish and Portuguese, in their voyages in the Malay Archipelago, had come across the islands to the north, but had no accurate knowledge of the coast, and New Guinea was thought to be part of the mainland until the Spanish navigator, Torres, sailed through the Straits that bear his name in 1606. In the seventeenth century the work of exploration was carried on by the Dutch from their colonial base in the East Indies. Dirk Hartog explored part of the West Coast in 1616, and Tasman, who was sent out on a voyage of discovery by Van Diemen, the Governor of Java, touched at the coast of Tasmania, but the accounts given of the land were not favourable, and, as it seemed to offer little or no opportunity for trade, Dutch interest in it dropped. The attention of the English was first attracted to Australia at the end of the seventeenth century, when Dampier, a buccaneer, brought home news of the North-West Coast, at which he had touched when engaged in plundering raids in the East Indies. He was subsequently sent out in command of H.M.S. *Roebuck* to make further discoveries, but he too saw no opportunity for trade and gave such an unfavourable impression of the country that no further steps were taken until late in the eighteenth century. In 1768 Captain Cook was sent out to Tahiti by the Royal Society to take astronomical observations, and had orders to continue his voyage and search for the Southern Continent. Sailing south-west after leaving Tahiti, he reached New Zealand, and after exploring parts of the coast, went northwards to the eastern coast of Australia, landed in 1770 at Botany Bay and took possession of the country, which he called New South Wales, in the name of the King.

**Establishment of the Penal Settlement.**—There was no immediate result of Cook’s voyage, and the history of Australia as an English



[By Courtesy of the High Commissioner of Australia.]

TREASURY, SYDNEY, N.S.W.

colony begins with the establishment of the convict settlement at Botany Bay. After the American War of Independence great difficulty was found for the time in disposing of convicted prisoners, for they could no longer be sent to the American plantations, and the prisons in England were quite inadequate and were only intended to be places of temporary detention. The Privy Council had been authorised by Parliament to decide on some place to which criminals could be sent, and Gibraltar, West Africa and Australia were all suggested. The first two were rejected, after consideration, as unsuitable, but it was thought that Australia offered certain advantages which would make it desirable as a penal settlement. It was urged in its favour (1) that the distance from England would reduce the chances of escape to a minimum; (2) that there were no Europeans there and few natives to be demoralised by the presence of a large criminal element; and (3) that the large extent of unoccupied land would enable the Government to make land grants to convicts who had served their time, and thus give them a chance of starting afresh in the new country. Fears were raised on the other hand that the penal settlement would be a perpetual financial drain on the Home Government. Under the earlier system convicts sent to the American plantations had been disposed of by contractors and the Government had been relieved both of the work and of the expense, but in Australia there would be, at first at any rate, no demand for labour, and the whole expense of maintaining the convicts and those engaged in guarding them would have to be borne by the Home Government. These objections were, however, overcome, preparations were started for sending out the first batch of convicts, and Captain Phillip was appointed Governor.

The first expedition, which started in May, 1787, and arrived at Botany Bay at the beginning of the following year, consisted of nearly 800 convicts, of whom about two-fifths were women, three companies of marines—212 in all—a few of whom were allowed to bring their wives and families, ten civil officers and about eight free settlers. They landed at Botany Bay, but it was evident to Phillip that the spot was not favourable for the settlement, as the harbour was not good, the water supply was inadequate, and the soil marshy. He therefore explored the coast to the North in an open boat and decided to fix the settlement at Port Jackson, which was more favourably situated, and here the town of Sydney was founded. The colony was known as New South Wales and Norfolk Island was occupied a little later.

**Early History of New South Wales. Difficulties of Settlement.**—The initial difficulties experienced in starting the colony were considerable. In the first place the Government preparations, which had been placed under the control of the Admiralty, were in many respects defective, in spite of the active and intelligent supervision of Phillip himself. The marines, for instance, were provided with guns, but had no ammunition, and, until supplies were bought from the Portuguese at Rio Janeiro on the way out, it would have been impossible to suppress a convict revolt if it had broken out; the women were sent out in the rags in which they had been convicted, and supplies of fresh clothing had been forgotten, and such requisites as agricultural implements, medical stores, needlework stock, etc., were either inadequate or altogether lacking. More serious difficulties were the lack of preparation in Australia itself and the scarcity of artisans. Phillip had urged the importance of sending out an advance guard who should get huts built and vegetables grown, and who should be provided with lists of the convicts with details of the crimes for which they had been convicted, so that on their arrival they would be at once classified and suitably placed. As no preparations had been made at all, and, though the convicts were set to work at once to clear the land, it was nearly a year before a sufficient number of huts was built. Moreover the convicts were for the most part unskilled in the work which was most urgently required; there were among them no farmers or farm labourers, few carpenters or mechanics, and few who understood the management of live stock or who knew anything about gardening.

In these circumstances progress was necessarily slow, and the initial difficulties had hardly been overcome before the colony was threatened with famine. Stores had been sent out for two years, but it was thought that they could be supplemented the second year by the produce raised from the soil. These expectations were not fulfilled. There had been so much work to be done in clearing the land and building barracks and houses, that the work of agriculture had been delayed, and in any case the process of tilling the ground could not be carried on very effectively by gangs of labourers working with the hoe, for it was some years before ploughs were introduced into the colony; moreover, a good deal of the seed had been spoilt and accidents had seriously reduced the live stock. The food supply began to run short, and for three years no news was received from England, ships that were sent having been delayed by accidents. There was a population of a thousand to be fed, and the scarcity soon became so serious that the Govern-

meñt took control of all food supplies and issued daily rations, and petty crimes, especially robberies of the public stores and of the gardens of the settlers, became so general, that the colony was placed for a time under Martial Law. It was not until the supplies were almost exhausted that help arrived from England; as more convicts were brought out at the same time, the scarcity still continued, but the colony was never in danger of actual starvation again.

*Difficulties with the Officials.*—Another serious difficulty for the Governor was the lack of hearty and loyal co-operation on the part of some of the officers, caused partly by the fact that the relations between the civil and military authorities had not been very clearly defined. Officers received grants of land, which they were allowed to cultivate by convict labour at the expense of the Government, and, in the absence of a strong and free civilian element, most of the wealth and power in the colony was in their hands. The difficulty caused by the excessive consumption of spirits—one of the greatest evils in the early days of the colony—was much intensified by the attitude of the military. The sale of spirits was practically a monopoly in the hands of the officers, who soon found that they could make enormous profits by the trade; moreover, the most hardened convicts, who could not be got to work by threats or punishment, would often work for rum, and, in the absence of a sufficient currency, tobacco and spirits became the medium in which payments were made.

*Macquarie.*—It was under the rule of Macquarie (1810–21) that the settlement began to make real progress, and his term of office marks the end of the first period of its history. Hitherto New South Wales had not been self-supporting, and in the first thirty-four years of its existence it had cost the Mother Country about £10,000,000. The Home Government had provided funds for emigration, for the payment of officials, for public works and for supplies of food; henceforth New South Wales was able to support its own civil government and was no longer a drain on the National Exchequer, though the expense of sending out and maintaining the convicts was of course borne by England.

*Government.*—In the early days of the colony the Governor was to all intents and purposes an absolute ruler, for, though appeal to England was possible in theory, the distance was too great for it to be a reality. There was no trial by jury, and justice was dispensed at first by military officers; laws were the orders of the Governor, put in force when they were posted up in manuscript in public places, though it was taken for granted that they should be

in conformity with English law and custom as far as the conditions of the new settlement allowed; there was neither revenue nor taxation, and purchases were made by drafts on the English Treasury. Not only was the Government politically supreme, but it took under its control every detail in the economic life of the community, and the people looked to it to provide even the necessaries of life. As a result of the large criminal element self-government was only very gradually introduced. Civil courts of justice were established under Macquarie, and in 1823 trial by jury in civil cases was allowed and a Legislative Council was appointed, but it only had advisory powers and could neither initiate laws nor veto those made by the Governor. A few years later the powers and membership of the Council were increased, and in 1842 a partially representative legislature was granted, though with very limited powers.

**The Government and the Land.** As all land in Australia was regarded as crown property, a legal title to land could only be obtained by royal grant. The numbers of settlers did not at first increase rapidly, for, though grants were made free of charge, no one was allowed to settle near the penal settlement without Government permission. It was never, however, the intention of the Government that New South Wales should be a penal settlement only, and Phillip, who wanted the colony to be self-supporting and held the opinion that fifty farmers would do more to increase the food supply than a thousand convicts, did all in his power to encourage immigration. He was given authority to make grants freely to settlers, providing them also with grain, agricultural implements and stock, but at the end of his rule their numbers had not risen above seventy-six. Land was granted away as well to officers, discharged marines who wished to stay in the colony and convicts who had served their time, on condition only of residence and cultivation.

*Wakefield's Theory of Colonisation.*—The land question had not yet become a serious problem when Gibbon Wakefield propounded a new theory of colonisation, of which the Government policy soon bore traces. Wakefield wanted to substitute systematic colonisation for haphazard emigration and suggested forming companies in England which should receive land grants and organise the work of colonisation. He recognised the value of undeveloped land and held that land should not be granted away freely, but should be sold by the Government at a uniform and sufficient price. By a "sufficient price" he meant a price high enough to prevent speculation in land, and to make it impossible for settlers of the labouring

class to buy land soon after their arrival, and thus deprive the farmers of their labour. The money gained from the land sales should be spent in assisting emigration in order to ensure a good supply of labour in the colony, and in the provision of public works. It is sometimes asserted that Wakefield wanted to establish the landlord system in new colonies and that the sufficient price would prevent a class of smallholders growing up, but as a matter of fact the price charged was never more than £3 an acre, and sometimes it was as low as 12s., for he held that land ought to be cheapened as soon as there was any excess of labour and that after a few years the more efficient labourers ought to be able to start for themselves as small farmers.

*The Land Sales Act.*—In New South Wales there was no shortage of labour, as the convicts could supply all that was required, but the Government had already adopted the policy of selling the land, though there was some uncertainty about the price. In 1842 the Crown Lands Sales Act was passed, which established a uniform system for all the Australian colonies. It provided for the sale of land by auction, fixing a minimum price of £1 per acre, and gave the Governor power to raise the minimum if he thought it advisable and to reserve land for the natives and for public purposes. It insisted on the importance of the survey of land before sale, and provided for the lease of land for pastoral purposes. The proceeds were to go to the Home Government, but the money was to be held in trust for the colony and expended for its benefit—one half to be used for public works in the colony, the other in assisting emigration.

*The Pastoral Industry and the Squatters.*—It was the rapid development of the pastoral industry that complicated the land question. Sheep and cattle were not indigenous in Australia and had been brought over in the early days of the colony from India and from the Cape. The wool at first was of poor quality and the results were unsatisfactory until Macarthur, a Government official who took an active interest in farming, brought over some merino sheep, and by scientific breeding succeeded in producing a fine wool equal in quality to any that was produced in Europe. Pasture farming now went ahead, but the Government did not contemplate its development on a large scale, and as land grants were of moderate size and a square mile of land provided pasture for only two hundred sheep, it was impossible for the flocks to increase very rapidly. When, however, in 1813, the Blue Mountains were crossed and the settlers had access to the vast stretches of pasture land beyond, known as the Bathurst Plains, the pastoral industry was revolu-

tionised. Many of the settlers whose flocks had outgrown the home pastures went off with their sheep and cattle, and occupied the land they wanted without waiting for Government permission; at worst they could only be ejected, and, as they did nothing to improve the land, they would in any case enjoy the temporary use of the pastures. These pioneer settlers were known as "squatters," and their legal position was that of trespassers on crown lands. The Authorities were at first unfavourable to them and tried by official regulation to check the dispersal of the population beyond the limits of Government control. The officials in the colony realised, however, that it was not only impossible, but not advisable to try and check this movement, for the pastoral industry, which was beneficial to the community as well as profitable to the individual, could not be developed in any other way.

The life of a squatter in the early days was often one of privation and hardship, and the returns were uncertain. The flocks were exposed to many dangers— from floods, drought, poisonous plants, attacks of wild dogs, etc.—the sheep were valuable only for their wool, and the risk of sending the wool from an inland station to the coast was considerable, for it had to be taken by ox waggon across a country unmarked by roads, where the driver had to find his way by bushcraft only, and was liable to be delayed by floods or to lose his oxen by drought. Yet the freedom of the life, cut off from civilisation and out of the reach of the law, in itself offered attractions to many, and it was often taken up by men of good social position—"vigorous, merry, reckless young bachelors, with very few cares and with a hearty appreciation of a healthy, free, animal existence." (Bonwick.)

*The Squatters and the Government.*—The squatters did valuable work in developing the resources of the country, but there was a danger as time went on that they might claim a prescriptive right to ownership of the soil and would become great land monopolists in the near future. To prevent this the Government in 1836 issued grazing licences, allowing the squatters, on payment of a small sum, to occupy temporarily crown lands beyond the boundaries, but reserving the right of the Government to throw the land open to sale at will. There still seemed to be a danger of the land being locked up, for the runs in some cases were of enormous size, and it was possible to hold several runs on one licence; eight hundred runs in New South Wales yielded only £20 in licence fees in 1841, and in the district of the Liverpool Plains 1,747,840 acres were held by eight persons. It was not only the size of the run that was in dispute but the length of time for which it could be appropriated.

The squatters demanded leases for twenty-one years, while the settlers were complaining that the price of land was too high and that too much land was monopolised for pastoral purposes. At length, in 1847, Orders in Council were issued, authorising the granting of leases for grazing purposes only for a maximum term of fourteen years, at the rate of £10 for every thousand sheep or an equivalent number of cattle. As during these fourteen years only the lessees had the right to buy the land and they had the right of pre-emption when it was put up for auction, their position was now very strong; as a result there was in the next few years a great expansion of pasture farming and an area nearly as large as the British Isles was locked up for fourteen years. Between the land speculators on the one hand and the squatters on the other, agriculture made little progress and by 1862 only one twenty-fourth of the land granted away by the crown was used for agricultural purposes.

**The Convict System. The Treatment of Convicts.**—In the early days of the transportation system about ten per cent. of the convicts died on the journey out as the result of the overcrowded and insanitary condition of the ships. On arrival in the Colony they were under the absolute authority of the Governor, who had the right to pardon and remit sentences with discretionary powers of punishment. The men convicts were employed at first in making roads, building huts, agriculture and other public works needed in the settlement. The women, it was found, were more difficult to deal with and to provide with suitable work; they were allowed to marry male convicts or free settlers. Very soon convicts were allowed to work as assigned labourers on the land of officers who had received Government grants and of free settlers. The free settlers provided for their convict labourers themselves, but were credited with £16 a year by the Government for every convict thus taken off their hands. This system solved the difficulty of getting a supply of labour for the settlers, but it brought certain abuses in its train. Ill treatment by the masters was possible, for the word of a convict was never taken by a magistrate. On the other hand, assigned labour afforded plenty of opportunities for escape, and, though most of the attempts ended in failure, a fair number of refugees reached the coast and escaped as stowaways in ships. Some, known as bushrangers, managed to pick up a precarious livelihood as outlaws; they lived mainly by crime, and as robbers and housebreakers were the terror of the isolated farmer, for they often went about in gangs and, as most of them knew that they would suffer the extreme penalty if captured, they were absolutely

reckless. The evil was so great that a Bushranging Act was passed in 1830 giving much greater powers to the police to arrest on suspicion. Hardened criminals, who could not be entrusted with even the modified liberty of assigned service, were employed in chains on public works and were sent to special prisons in Tasmania and Norfolk Island, where the severity was for a time so extreme as to render life almost unendurable.

*The Emancipists.*—It was thought that convicts who had served their time—the Emancipists, as they were called—would settle down as small farmers, as the Government provided them with land and stock and with rations for eighteen months. Some of them did so, but many of them failed to work their lands successfully and soon got rid of them and relapsed into crime. In any case the problem of the Emancipists was to prove a very difficult one.

By the time of Macquarie they formed a considerable proportion of the free population, and he thought that by placing them on a level with the free settlers, and by allowing them to be jurymen and magistrates he would raise them morally and fit them to take their place as citizens. The Emancipists themselves looked upon the colony as their special domain and tended to regard the free settlers as interlopers, while the free settlers refused to look on the Emancipists as equals or to receive them into society. For a time feeling between the two classes was rather bitter, but the difficulty was not lasting, for, as immigration increased, the Emancipists were gradually swamped by the free settlers.

*Cessation of Transportation.*—With the increase of free immigration and the possibility of getting free labourers, a feeling against the convict system was growing up. Transportation had had a fair trial, but the results had not been what was expected. The chances of escape were so well known that it did not act as a deterrent from crime, and it did not have the effect of converting criminals into law-abiding citizens, for it was said with truth, "that New South Wales of all places on the face of the earth, except perhaps a British prison, is the place where there is least chance for the reformation of an offender, the greatest chance of his being improved and perfected in every species of wickedness." A Select Committee of the Commons was appointed to enquire into the question, and in 1840 transportation to New South Wales ceased, though it was still continued for a time in Tasmania and Norfolk Island.

**The Natives.**—At the time when the English came to the country the native tribes of Australia were in a primitive state of civilisation; they had not emerged from the nomadic stage and consequently

had not established definite proprietary rights in the land, and constant tribal feuds made any attempt at union against the newcomers impossible. The natives were at first well disposed towards the Europeans, and Phillip did his best to establish friendly relations with them. Confidence in the good intentions of the white men was soon destroyed by the actions of the convicts and marines; thefts of canoes and boomerangs left on the beach, soon followed up by acts of violence, provoked retaliation, and when relations became actively hostile, the natives with their primitive wooden weapons had little chance of defending themselves. The policy of Phillip was continued by Macquarie, who held a public conference with the tribes in the market-place at Parramatta, and this became an annual institution, for the natives at that time still had faith in the Governor himself. There were no lasting results from this policy, and relations between the natives and the free settlers were not improved. Acts of violence exasperated the natives, and when they were hostile isolated travellers and farmers were unsafe. To ensure the security of their lives and property, settlers cleared their runs and the adjacent land of natives, exterminating them as if they were wild animals, and it was very seldom that a white man was brought to justice for the murder of a native.

The Government, however, did not entirely neglect its responsibilities; in 1840 two protectors of natives were officially appointed, and to encourage good relations between settlers and the "black fellows" it was said, that any settler employing a native for over two years and teaching him a trade was to be rewarded with a grant of land.

**Internal Exploration.**—The chief difficulties in the way of Australian exploration were the great expanses of sandy desert and the constant recurrence of drought. The English settlements lay along the coast, and the first object of explorers was to cross the mountain ranges that run parallel with the coast on the east, and open up the land beyond. The great pasture lands of the Bathurst and Liverpool Plains and the Darling Downs were discovered; the district round Moreton Bay explored and by 1830 the general outline of the river system of the south-eastern part of the Continent was fairly accurately known. Longer journeys were undertaken by Eyre, Grey and Leichardt, and between the years 1840 and 1860 the continent had been crossed from east to west and from north to south.

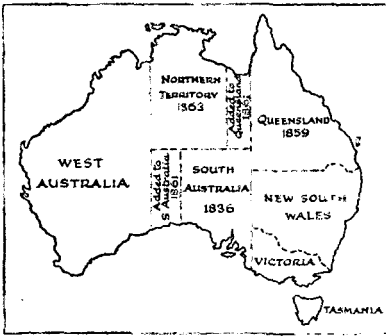
**Foundation of the Other Colonies.** *Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land).*—Van Diemen's Land was included in the commission given to Phillip. It was colonised first as a penal establishment, and

two settlements were made, at Hobart Town in the south in 1804, and at Launceston in the north two years later.

In the early years there was considerable difficulty from scarcity of food. The settlement was at first dependent for its food supply on New South Wales, and when, as a result of the floods of 1806, the crops failed there, and a ship sent to India for wheat was wrecked, a famine was the result, and the settlers for several years subsisted chiefly on kangaroo meat. Famine brought other evils in its train. The diversion of the energy of both convicts and settlers to kangaroo hunting not only retarded the development of agriculture, but also led inevitably to a relaxation of penal discipline, with the result that many of the convicts effected their escape, and for many years bush-ranging terrorised the free settlers. Owing to the nature of the country the Government was quite

unable to put it down by force and only suppressed it at last by offering a free pardon to all who surrendered voluntarily.

In 1825 Van Diemen's Land, which had hitherto been dependent on New South Wales, became a separate colony, and under the rule of an able Governor, Arthur, its material prosperity increased. A great deal more land was brought under cultivation by the Van



Diemen's Land Company, which had obtained large grants from the English Government and sent out many free settlers. Sheep farming was started and soon became the staple industry of the colony, yet, partly owing to the hilly character of the country, individual sheep farmers did not occupy great tracts of land as they did in New South Wales and Victoria, and small permanent farms with freehold homesteads were dotted over the country.

*The Black War.*—Van Diemen's Land was the only part of Australia where there was serious trouble with the natives, for the tribes there were a much stronger race than those on the mainland, and, though they were at first inclined to be friendly, confidence was soon destroyed by acts of cruelty on the part of some of the white settlers; reprisals took place and in 1830 open war broke out. It was decided to draw a cordon across the island, round the natives up, and drive them into Tasman's Peninsula, in the south-eastern corner, which was to be kept as a native reserve.

Though soldiers, convicts and settlers all co-operated, the difficulties were too great and the plan failed, for it was found impossible to hold a line several hundred miles long across difficult and unexplored country. The natives who knew the country well could easily break through, only two were captured and the war, which had cost £30,000, ended in utter failure. A few years later, however, the natives were persuaded by Robinson, an Englishman who was well acquainted with their language and customs, to agree to be transferred to Flinders Island, but they did not prosper in their new home and before long the race died out entirely. On the convicts the effect of the war was beneficial, for the Government had been forced to depend partly on them for military aid and as a result they developed some self-respect and the moral tone of the settlement was raised. In 1853 the convicts were withdrawn and the name of the colony was changed to Tasmania.

*Victoria (Port Phillip).*—Victoria was never a convict settlement; there had been a scheme in 1803 to utilise Port Phillip for that purpose, and a detachment of convicts had been drafted there from New South Wales, but the place was considered to be unsuitable and they were sent on to Tasmania. It was not until thirty years later that the value of the pasture lands there was realised, and then colonisation was begun by private enterprise—mainly by settlers from Tasmania—before the district was recognised as a colony. The Government was not favourably disposed towards this irregular settlement, for it was not anxious to incur the responsibility and expense of a new colony; yet it was powerless to prevent men settling in unoccupied districts, and when settlement was once an accomplished fact could not ignore its existence. Consequently in 1835 the Governor of New South Wales issued a proclamation declaring Port Phillip to be within his jurisdiction, and appointed a resident magistrate. After this the colony grew rapidly; the original settlers obtained eventually a qualified recognition of their rights, and the good reports of the pasture land brought a rush of emigrants from England. In 1850 Victoria became a separate colony and in 1855 had responsible government.

*Queensland (Moreton Bay).*—The Moreton Bay District, of which the town of Brisbane soon became the centre, was taken as a penal settlement in 1826 to relieve the pressure in Tasmania and New South Wales. The growth of the colony, however, was due not so much to the action of Government as to the steady migration northwards of the New South Wales squatters, in order to get more pasture land. Free settlement near the penal district was

at first forbidden, and the squatters were as usual discouraged and were not even allowed to bring their produce to Brisbane for sale until transportation ceased in 1840. Population increased rapidly after this, and the squatters found it so difficult to get enough labour on their lands, that they were even anxious for the continuance of the penal settlement in order that the convicts might supply them with cheap labour as assigned servants. The opposition of the other settlers was, however, too strong and they had to give way. Separation from New South Wales took place in 1859 and responsible government was granted in 1869.

*South Australia.*—South Australia was never a convict settlement and was colonised directly from England through the agency of the South Australian Company. In 1834 an Act was passed by the English Parliament authorising the creation of a province of South Australia, exempt from the jurisdiction of any other Australian Government, and the first detachment of colonists landed two years later at Holdfast Bay. No preparation had been made for them in the new country, and each family had to shift for itself—some had tents, others built temporary huts of the boughs of trees—and when they moved on to the site of the present city of Adelaide they had to convey their possessions as best they could over five or six miles of scrub.

The object of the original scheme was to found a colony—“a free country of independent, liberty-loving people”—in which the principles of Wakefield were to be systematically applied from the first; there were to be no free land grants, and the “sufficient price,” on which Wakefield lay so much stress, was fixed at £1 an acre. Almost from the first, however, there were difficulties in connection with both land and labour. The land did not sell rapidly, for conditions of life, the climate and the soil, were all unknown quantities, and as land could be bought at this time in New South Wales at 5s. an acre, few people were disposed to pay the higher price when the risk was so great. The price was consequently reduced to 12s., and afterwards to 5s. an acre, but this encouraged land speculation, especially in town and suburban allotments. The Government was anxious to prevent the dispersal of population, such as had taken place at Port Phillip, but in South Australia, on the other hand, the population was too concentrated, new comers preferring to remain in the vicinity of Adelaide and get work there rather than embark on the difficult task of breaking fresh ground in the wilderness or working as labourers on distant and isolated farms. The Government at first encouraged this tendency by initiating public works on too large a scale, thus

using up revenue and diverting labour from the more important work of developing the land.

By 1841 the bad effects of this policy were seen. The Government was heavily in debt and money was very scarce, for, as there was little or no tillage, and few sheep and cattle, hardly any food was produced on the colony, and consequently capital had been flowing out to New South Wales to purchase the necessaries of life, which, as poverty increased, were becoming more and more difficult to obtain. The money that ought to have been spent on developing the land had been wasted in land speculation, and working men, who continued to arrive, could get neither money nor work. Matters began to improve when Grey was sent out as Governor (1841). The expenditure on public works was reduced and more labour set free for agricultural purposes; moreover, as many colonists were giving up their lands in despair and were willing to sell them merely for the price of their passage home, it was now possible for working men to buy small plots of land cheaply. The Wakefield system had provided for a capitalist system of agriculture only, and it was the class of small owners now springing up that laid the basis of the future prosperity of the colony. After this South Australia made steady progress, and three years later was not only self-supporting, but able to export wheat to the value of £50,000.

*West Australia (Swan River Settlement).*—West Australia, like South Australia, was expected to be self-supporting from the first and was not intended as a penal settlement. Free land grants were to be given to all who brought capital into the country, and the first settlements were at Fremantle and Perth. As usual there were serious initial difficulties to be overcome before the prosperity of the colony could be assured. The mistake was made of overestimating the importance of land, and not realising that without a sufficient supply of labour and capital land would be valueless. Payment for government services, for contracting and surveying, etc., were made in land, and land which had not yet been surveyed was freely granted away to settlers, the claimants for the largest areas having the first choice; hence all the land in the vicinity of the settlement was very soon appropriated by comparatively few men. The great difficulty that ruined many of the early settlers was the want of labour. Labourers had been sent out from England as indentured servants bound for a term of years to anyone who would pay their passage money, but on arrival many of these proved to be quite useless, and were in some cases undesirables whom the parish authorities wished to get rid of. Effective labourers

on the other hand found they could get land so easily that they soon deserted their masters and started on their own account, but most of them failed, for they could make little use of the land without capital or labour. A time of extreme depression followed the first rush to take up the land; trade with China did not spring up as had been anticipated, for the colony had nothing to export that China wanted—land sales almost ceased except near the towns, and many settlers were throwing up their land. To save the colony from ruin the Government had to step in. Free grants were abolished and land was to be sold by auction with a fixed minimum price of 5s. an acre; to solve the labour difficulty, ticket-of-leave men and Parkhurst lads were sent out, and by means of assigned labour the land was cultivated and the necessary public works were constructed. After this the progress of the colony was steady though gradual. Transportation ceased in 1865 and responsible government was granted in 1890.

**The Gold Discoveries.**—For some years before the opening of the goldfields in Australia there had been rumours of the existence of gold, and some had actually been found in the Bathurst district, but Governor Gipps had discouraged the search for it, as he feared its disorganising effect on society. It was the discovery of gold in California in 1849 that was the immediate cause of its discovery in Australia, for an Australian settler, Hargraves, while prospecting for gold in California, was struck by the similarity of the geological formation of the rocks there to those in Australia, and on his return discovered deposits of alluvial gold on the banks of the Macquarie River. Soon after this deposits of quartz or rock gold were found at Bathurst, and a little later the still more valuable gold districts to the north of Melbourne in Victoria were discovered.

*Immediate Effects of the Discoveries.*—The immediate result was the total disorganisation of economic and social life. In every colony except West Australia there was a rush from the towns and agricultural districts to the gold-fields, all ordinary work was at a standstill and it was almost impossible to get men even to look after the live stock or to get in the crops. Moreover it seriously taxed the resources of the Governments to deal with the sudden influx of people from the Old World, which was facilitated by the recent development of steamboat communication. It was the more recently established colonies that felt the strain most severely. In South Australia when the stampede to the Victorian gold-fields took place "the streets of Adelaide were deserted, houses were abandoned by their tenants, rents fell and property became

unmarketable"; diggers returning from Victoria could find no market for their gold and the Treasury was empty.

Victoria was at first almost depopulated until the tide was turned by the discovery of its own gold-fields, and then the administrative difficulties that resulted from the rush for gold almost overwhelmed the Government. To deal with them a stronger police force and a larger official staff were required, but at one time the Governor was left almost single handed, as most of the regular police and many of the subordinate officials had gone off to the gold-fields, and to cope with the difficulties of maintaining order a regiment of soldiers was sent from England and a force of convict guards from Tasmania. This involved a great deal of expense, and the Government was for the time in serious financial difficulties, which were increased by the sudden and enormous rise of prices brought about by the increased gold supply, the scarcity of labour and consequent rise of wages, and by the greatly increased demand for the necessaries of life.

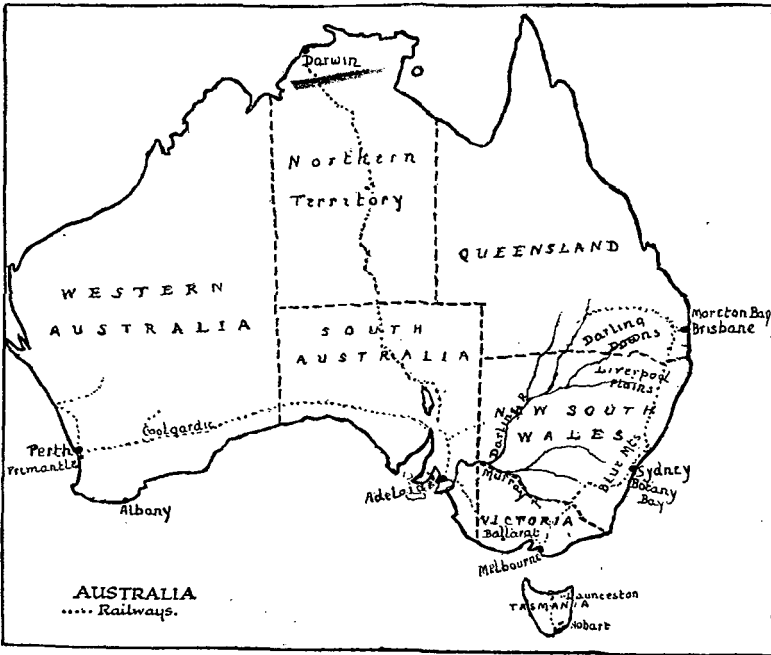
*The Diggers and the Government.*—The settlement of the relations between the Government and the diggers was a source of trouble a little later. As all unoccupied land was crown land, the Crown claimed some right over the gold found there and unauthorised digging on these lands was certainly a trespass, though, as in the case of squatting, it could not be prevented. It was decided that in the case of rock gold Government should claim a 10 per cent. royalty if the gold was found on crown land, and a 5 per cent. royalty if it was found on private property; in the case of alluvial gold licences to dig on crown lands were granted at the rate of 30s. a month, and no digging was allowed on private property without the consent of the owner. Special commissioners were appointed to look after the gold-fields to see that the Government dues were collected and to manage the transport of gold from the gold-mines to the coast, for this work was soon made a Government monopoly. The system worked tolerably well in New South Wales, but trouble arose in Victoria, where there was an outbreak of open violence which had to be suppressed by military force. As the Government was not strong enough to insist on the collection of the tax, it was abolished and a "Miners' Right" substituted, by which permission was given to dig for a year for the nominal fee of £1, and an export duty was imposed on gold at the rate of 2s. 6d. an ounce. The ultimate result of the gold discoveries was to increase the wealth of the colonies enormously. The diggers as a class were a floating population, but there was a large increase in the permanent population as well; more land was brought under

cultivation and other industries arose to supply the needs of the new settlers.

**Self-Government.** By the middle of the nineteenth century it was possible to grant rights of self-government to most of the colonies, for the convict system, the great bar to constitutional liberty, had almost disappeared, and in 1850 by the Australian Government Act permission to have responsible government was given to New South Wales, which then included Queensland, and to Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. To give effect to the Act constitutional committees were set up in the colonies, formed of the most influential members of the Legislative Councils, and in 1855 the constitutions drawn up were submitted to the Imperial authority and received the Royal Assent. These constitutions were modelled on that of England and were similar in all their essential features though varying in detail. The executive consisted as before of the Governor appointed by the Crown and the ministers. In each colony there was a bi-cameral legislature. The Lower House or Assembly, elected by manhood suffrage in South Australia and on a low property qualification in the other colonies, had the exclusive right of dealing with money bills. The Upper House or Legislative Council consisted of nominees appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Executive Council in New South Wales, and was elected on a comparatively restricted franchise in the other three colonies. In no case were the relations between the ministers and parliament, on which responsible government is based, clearly defined; provision was made for pensioning the existing officials, and, though there was certainly a determination that the public service should be under popular control, on the whole "the study of the constitutions of 1855 leaves upon the mind of the student the impression that the colonies had made up their minds to develop the English system, but that they found great difficulty in understanding it, still more difficulty in describing it." (Jenks.) Subsequent changes made in the constitutions were the adoption of the ballot, the extension of the franchise and the payment of members of the legislatures.

*Federation.*—Federation, though not brought about until the twentieth century, had been under discussion for over fifty years, for it was evident that in the interests of the colonies it was desirable that there should be some closer political tie to bind them together beyond their common allegiance to the English Crown. As early as 1847 Grey had pointed out the need for this, and the Home Government had shown itself favourable to federation, but the suggestions met with little sympathy in Australia. This was partly

because the colonies were absorbed in local affairs, and partly because the question of tariffs formed at that time an apparently insuperable obstacle, for Victoria was strongly protectionist, whilst New South Wales still adhered to free trade and the prosperity of Sydney depended on its position as the only free trade port in Australia. In the closing years of the century influences were at work which drew the colonies closer together and brought Federation to the front as a question of practical politics. It was increasingly



evident that a common policy for defence was necessary; the extension of railways was making political isolation and inter-state customs duties more and more undesirable; alarm had been caused by the labour struggle of 1890 followed by the Bank panic of 1893, and it was felt that Federation would have a steadying influence and would make a broader national life possible. A draft constitution was drawn up in 1891 and referred to the colonial parliaments. In 1897 it was revised by a National Convention directly chosen by the people; it was then submitted to a referendum, and was finally adopted by all the colonies and sanctioned by the Home Government.

*The Commonwealth Government.*—The Australian Federal Government is formed on the American rather than the Canadian model, placing the reserve of power in the hands of the State governments and limiting the scope of the Federal Government, which can only exercise such powers as are expressly granted to it by the constitution. Of these the chief are control of commerce and navigation, finance, customs, defence, posts and telegraphs, immigration, banking and currency, the right of conciliation and arbitration in extra-state industrial disputes and external affairs. All matters not specially handed over have been left to the State governments, which still have the management of such important matters as police, education, public lands, railways, and social and industrial reform.

The Federal Executive consists of the Governor General and the Cabinet. The Governor General represents the Crown; he is Commander-in-Chief of the military and naval forces and High Commissioner for the Northern Territory and Papua. The real head of the Executive is the Cabinet, or as it is legally termed—the Federal Executive Council, whose members are in charge of the various departments of State and cannot hold office for more than three months unless they have seats in Parliament. The Federal Legislature consists of two Houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate is composed of six members sent up from each of the States at present in the Commonwealth; they are directly elected by the people and hold office for six years, half of their number retiring every three years. The House of Representatives consists at present of seventy-five members and is elected for a maximum term of three years. Since 1902 there has been a uniform federal franchise to which women are admitted, but it is doubtful whether they are eligible to sit as members of the House. No one may be elected a member of either House unless he is a British subject and has resided for three years in Australia. In cases of dispute between the two Houses the Governor General can dismiss them both and have a fresh election, and if it is still impossible to get agreement he can order a joint sitting of the two Houses. An amendment of the constitution must be submitted both to the Commonwealth Parliament and to a Referendum of the electors.

A High Court of Justice was established by the Constitution which can hear appeals from the Supreme Courts of the States and determine disputes between the States and between the Commonwealth Government and the States. Appeals can be taken to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council only if the Federal High

Court grants permission. Free trade within the Commonwealth was established and a uniform tariff on imports was to be fixed by the Commonwealth Parliament within two years. In 1911 territory for a federal capital was purchased from New South Wales; and in 1913 the foundation stone of the future capital, Canberra, was laid; building operations, however, were postponed by the war and were not begun until 1923. In the meanwhile Melbourne has been the seat of the Commonwealth Government.

State Governors are still appointed directly by the Crown and no change was made in the form of the State Governments.

*Papua and the Northern Territory.*—The Commonwealth Government is entrusted with the administration of Papua (British New Guinea), the Northern Territories and Norfolk Island. The question of New Guinea became important after 1877, when reports of the discovery of gold had led to a sudden increase of the population, and a Resident Magistrate was sent from Queensland to keep order. The Queensland Government was very anxious for annexation and offered to bear the whole expense of the administration of the new district if it was permitted, but the Home Government was unwilling at that time to take over more responsibility. Its policy



changed when the northern part of New Guinea had been settled by a German association, and an agreement had been made with Berlin in 1886 recognising the district—now known as Kaiser Wilhelm's Land—as German territory. In 1888 Papua was annexed to the Crown, and in 1906 it was transferred to the Commonwealth Government. In September, 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm's Land was occupied by an expeditionary force of Australian Imperial troops and at the peace the Mandate for the administration was entrusted to the Commonwealth Government.

The Northern Territory, situated for the most part within the Tropics and with little sea front, was one of the last parts of Australia to be settled and is still very sparsely populated. In 1827 it was incorporated with New South Wales, in 1863 annexed by Letters Patent to South Australia, and in 1911 transferred to the Commonwealth Government. Hitherto the attempts made to develop the country have been disappointing. There is good pastoral country between the coastal belt and the central desert, but cattle rearing, the one suitable industry, is seriously hampered by lack of markets; in spite of Government subsidies industries do not flourish and

population is decreasing. The district is administered by officials appointed by the Governor General, but the settlers objected to be governed from Melbourne and wanted to have a voice in the management of their own affairs. As a sequel to the "revolution" of 1919, when the chief officials were requested to leave, they are now allowed to have a representative in the Commonwealth Parliament, who can speak but not vote.

In July, 1914, the administration of Norfolk Island, hitherto a dependency of New South Wales, was vested in the Commonwealth.

**Defence.**—Australia was the first part of the Empire to establish compulsory military training in time of peace. Before 1870 the work of defence was undertaken by the Home Government and small garrisons of British troops were quartered in the principal towns. The withdrawal of the Imperial troops was followed by the formation of volunteer forces and a little later by militia systems in the various States, and when the Commonwealth Government was established and undertook the work of defence compulsory training was introduced. A Council of Defence was formed, and by the Act of 1909 all British subjects who had resided six months in Australia were declared liable to undergo a period of military training. The contingents sent to join the Imperial forces in the Great War amounted to 330,000 men and were recruited entirely by voluntary enlistment. A Bill to introduce conscription was brought in but was defeated when submitted to the Referendum. Australia also supplied the whole of the ammunition for the campaign in South-West Africa and for the New Zealand contingent, and supplied a large number of horses to the British and Indian governments. In 1918 a permanent Council of Defence was formed. As a result of the International Conference at Washington in 1921 the training for the citizen forces is restricted to youths of eighteen and nineteen years of age, and only sufficient permanent troops were maintained to administer and instruct the citizen force.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the colonies began to take a share in the burden of naval defence. By the Imperial Defence Scheme of 1890 it was arranged that an Australian squadron should be maintained by the British Admiralty at the joint expense of England, Australia and New Zealand. In 1903 it was agreed that the number of ships should be increased and that a force of men for service in the navy should be recruited in Australia. The financial contribution of Australia was dropped after 1909 when it was decided to substitute for this squadron a force of Australian ships and to create an Australian navy. In pursuance of this

policy the Commonwealth Government formed an Australian fleet unit, to be known as the "Royal Australian Navy," which was to be under the control of the Commonwealth Government in time of peace. At the outbreak of the Great War the Australian naval forces, consisting of a dreadnought, cruisers, destroyers and submarines, were placed under the control of the Admiralty and did good service in the eastern waters. As a result of the Washington Conference the construction of warships has been suspended.

**Political and Social Development.**—The leading features of Australian political life have been the influence of labour in politics and the wide sphere of State action. "Before 1890 the State was already the great landlord, the chief employer of labour, and was virtually the owner of the land transport as well as of the telegraphs and telephones. It undertook the business of land registration and transfer. . . . In addition to the duties of land settlement nearly all the colonies had supplied the labour market by importing many thousand immigrants. Protection for native industries was a general policy and bonuses were offered, notably the Victorian bonuses on exported butter. In addition to railway making the Government were spending millions on roads, bridges, harbour works and water supply. They had always taken the completest powers of inspection over flocks and herds, and in the 'eighties were beginning to inspect factories in the interests of women workers and children. Last, but not least, by a new series of Acts, chiefly passed between 1870 and 1880, they had broken with clerical schools and had developed their own system of primary education." (W. Pember Reeves.) There was little theoretical socialism in Australia; socialist measures were introduced for practical reasons as the result of the experience of recent years, and the object in view was not a future ideal, but the improvement of present conditions. State control of land was demanded because the evils of land monopoly had been felt, and State enterprise in the construction of railways and other public works because the State could borrow more easily than private associations. No jealousy was felt of State action, for the colonies saw no reason to fear the power of a Government under democratic control, and thought it was safer to widen the scope of State activities than to let the provision of public facilities fall into the hands of trusts and combines.

**Industrial Legislation.**—Before Federation strong labour parties had arisen in New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria, and labour departments had been formed by the State governments. In 1901 labour captured a fifth of the seats in the Federal Parliament, and in 1904 it had a majority and a Labour Government was formed.

Legislation both in the States and in the Commonwealth Government bears evidence of this influence in politics; good labour conditions have been gained and wages are sufficiently high to ensure a good standard of life and comfort to the worker. The Factory and Workshops Act of Victoria in 1873 was the first of a long series of Factory Acts. It was thought at first that in a new country labour conditions would be good, but with the development of capital and competition the evils that had arisen in the Old World soon made their appearance and a Royal Commission of 1883 revealed serious abuses. Laws were passed in all the States in the following years which did a great deal to improve conditions; hours of work were restricted and an eight-hours' day became the general rule, regulations were made for the health, safety and comfort of the workers, and minimum wage laws were passed, but on the whole wages were raised more by trade union effort than by legislation. To deal with trade disputes the Wages Board system was adopted in most of the States, though arbitration has been effectively employed in West Australia. The Federal Parliament under the powers given it to deal with industrial disputes beyond the limit of a single State has set up a system of compulsory arbitration courts, but its constitutional powers have been hitherto inadequate to enable it to take a strong line in dealing with trade and industry. It has recently been suggested that a tribunal of Commonwealth and State Judges should be established with power to determine such questions as the basic wage and the standard working week, and to define the powers of the Federal-State authorities in industrial disputes. Old Age pensions, which had been granted by most of the States, and invalid pensions were taken over by the Commonwealth Government in 1908, and since 1912 a maternity benefit has been granted and a bonus up to £5 given for every child born of white parents. In the Australian colonies social and industrial legislation has been more advanced than in any other part of the world, with the exception of New Zealand.

*Railways.*—Railways in Australia had almost from the first been under Government control, for, owing to the lack of sufficient capital and the expense of crossing the mountain barrier near the coast, private enterprise had not been successful and both mining and agricultural industries were suffering from want of transport facilities. As a result most of the railways were built by the State governments and were left under their control when Federation was adopted, though the Federal Government was given permission to take them over with the consent of the States concerned, and in 1911 began to embark itself on the work of railway construction.

In that year the railways of the Northern Territory were taken over by purchase and a railway connecting Port Augusta with Oodnadatta was begun. In 1915 the Federal Government undertook to complete a line already in process of construction connecting Port Darwin and Adelaide, and this would make possible the development of large tracts of land in the interior, which, though dry, would be suitable for sheep rearing. The Government has subsidised certain shipping companies for the carriage of oversea mails, and in 1919 started its own line of steamers with the avowed purpose of protecting both the shipowners and the public from the possible effect of recent combinations among private shipping companies.

*Land Problems.*—With the enormous area of land in Australia and the relatively small population, of which a considerable proportion is concentrated in the towns, land hunger ought not to exist, yet, at the close of the nineteenth century, the evils of land monopoly were still great. Large pasture farms still absorbed a great deal of the land, and large tracts had been bought up by speculators who made no use of them, but merely kept them out of the market until the growth of population or other causes increased their value and enabled the owners to realise a large profit on the sale. In all the states the main object of the land policy has been to break up the large estates and encourage closer settlement (*i.e.* an increase in the number of small holdings), and the steps taken to achieve this have been the imposition of graduated land taxation and the repurchase of land by the Government for settlement. Between 1892 and 1901 Acts were passed authorising the purchase of private lands for division into small holdings, but they were very moderate in their scope, powers of compulsory purchase were not given and the Government did not retain freehold rights. Land reformers for the most part object to the sale of Crown lands, and think that the Government ought not to let the land go irrevocably out of its control, but little has been done to check this as yet.

The great pasture farmers, who in former days were the landed aristocracy of Australia, are now being displaced more and more by agriculturalists. The coastal regions with a good rainfall and rich soil are well adapted for root crops, maize and fruit, but more especially for dairy farming which developed rapidly when refrigerating machinery was used and co-operative methods of production were adopted. The great tableland behind the mountain ranges where the squatters built up the early pastoral industry is now known as the wheat belt, and from this region the pastoral farmer is gradually being expelled. Sheep and cattle farmers still enjoy undisputed

possession of the drier pastures of the tropical and subtropical north, and here enormous areas can still be occupied at a nominal rental, but the advance of railway construction will probably bring other activities in its train, for, though as yet no important tropical industry has been started except the cultivation of sugar, a great deal of this land is sufficiently high to make the introduction of other industries possible. It is only on the plains of the interior, where the rainfall is so low as to make agriculture impossible that the pasture farmer will be secure against competition.

In both agriculture and pasture farming there has been a steady increase in the number of small holdings with beneficial results. More intensive occupation of the land has meant more live stock, more transport facilities, and consequently greater protection against the effects of drought. The development of cold storage was of the first importance in its effects on Australian industry, for it enabled the country to produce for world markets just at a time when prices were rising and high profits could be made.

*The Tariff.* --Manufactures have been developing of recent years and have been encouraged by a protective tariff. Import duties had been since early days imposed in all the colonies except New South Wales, but mainly to get revenue, for the population in the country districts was so scattered that the collection of a direct tax would have been almost impossible. As the country developed it was realised that it was not advisable to confine its industrial energy to the production of raw material, and that if manufactures were to be started and maintained a protective system was necessary. A uniform tariff was imposed by the Commonwealth Government, preference being granted to English goods in 1906, and bounties are given to encourage the export of raw material. Reciprocal tariff agreements were made with South Africa in 1906 and with New Zealand in 1922.

The causes of prosperity in the early twentieth century are summed up in the following passage: "The swift rise of young manufactures, the increase in the value of total production by £73,000,000 between 1901 and 1910, the revival of immigration, the spirit of optimism in all classes of the people, the building of railways on an unparalleled scale, the great irrigation schemes—these things are almost entirely due to the fact, now clearly recognised, that Australia is a small holder's country, or, if not all a smallholder's country, sufficient of its wide expanse is adaptable for that purpose to ensure at an early date comfortable homes to a people many millions strong. The confidence which characterises all the young industries to-day is based upon an improving knowledge of the

country's home-making qualities, together with an understanding of the congestion which each decade becomes more pronounced and serious in older countries." (Oxford Survey of the British Empire.)

**The Natives.**—Boards for the protection of the aborigines have been set up in the different States, and institutions where they can be housed and encouraged to work are maintained by public funds. Yet, in contact with civilisation, the natives rapidly declined in numbers, and in the more densely populated States they are now a negligible quantity. In the census of 1911 the number of natives employed by whites or living near them was under 20,000. In the more thinly populated States—Queensland and West Australia—and in the Northern Territory—there are still a good many natives in the savage state and probably, though it is difficult to estimate the numbers with any exactness, the total native population is a little over 100,000.

**Alien Immigration.**—In the latter part of the nineteenth century the question of alien immigration and coloured labour roused strong feeling in the country. The Chinese had been employed in Queensland as shepherds in 1848; hostility to them, leading in many cases to violence, had been first roused at the gold diggings in Victoria and some attempts at restricting immigration were made but were for the most part given up after a few years in deference to the strongly expressed opinion of the Home Government "that exceptional legislation calculated to exclude from any part of Her Majesty's Dominions the subjects of a state at peace with Her Majesty is highly objectionable." After 1880 laws restricting immigration were passed in all the colonies except West Australia. The hostility roused against the Chinese was caused by their competition in industrial life, for the Chinamen did no work that could not be done by white men, but would do it at a lower rate of pay and could exist at a lower standard of comfort; moreover he seldom came with the idea of making his home permanently in the Colony. "Without family responsibilities, without social interests, without political knowledge, he comes to a colony to extract what he can from it and to take his savings back to China."

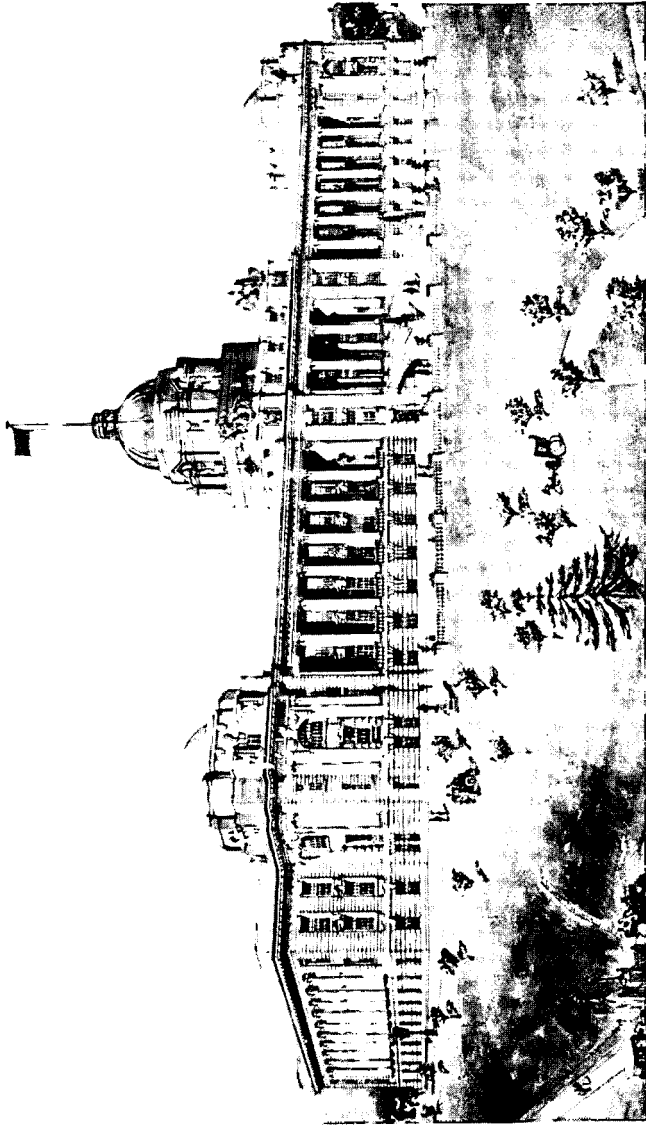
The immigration of the Pacific Islanders was caused by the difficulty of getting cheap labour in North Queensland and the Northern Territory, where the climate and productions are sub-tropical and the large plantations of sugar, cotton and tobacco can be profitably worked by coloured labour. The Kanakas were good workers and payment in kind—in beads, knives, etc.—to the value of £10 was thought a sufficient reward for two years' work. The demand for labour of this kind soon outran the supply, and

kidnapping was resorted to by captains who could make a good profit by selling the islanders to the planters, with the result that before long conditions of actual slavery existed on the plantations. The evil was so great that in 1868 the Queensland Legislature passed an Act to regulate the trade and check forced labour, and, though evasion of the Act was possible, conditions were never so bad again. A strong feeling against coloured labour was growing up in the later years of the century. After 1901 the importation of Kanaka labour was regulated by federal legislation and was stopped entirely after 1906.

*The Commonwealth Immigration Policy.*—The policy of maintaining a white Australia which means the exclusion not only of Chinese and Pacific Islanders, but of Japanese and Indians as well, has always been insisted on by the Australian labour parties and has been adopted by the Commonwealth Government. In 1895 a colonial conference was held at Sydney and laws were passed restricting the immigration of all coloured races, but except in Tasmania these laws did not receive the Royal Assent, the Colonial Office having then adopted the policy it has since adhered to that the exclusion of undesirables is permissible but that colour and nationality cannot be considered as sufficient ground for rejection. Hence the Immigration Restriction Act of 1905 introduced a language test by which alien immigrants may be required “to write at the dictation of an official fifty words of a language prescribed by the regulations.” The Act also excluded undesirables, and labourers cannot come in under contracts except with the sanction of a Minister of State. At the end of the century little encouragement was offered even to white immigrants, and in the 'nineties the average number a year fell from twenty five thousand to less than fifteen hundred, but this was caused partly by economic depression. Several States now offer substantial inducements in the way of assisted passages and land grants to suitable settlers and in 1910 the policy of attracting immigration was taken up by the Commonwealth Government. The Federal Naturalisation Law of 1903 provided for the grant of Australian nationality to applicants who are not already British subjects and who are not natives of Asia or of the Pacific Islands, exception being allowed only in the case of natives of New Zealand.

#### PART II.—NEW ZEALAND.

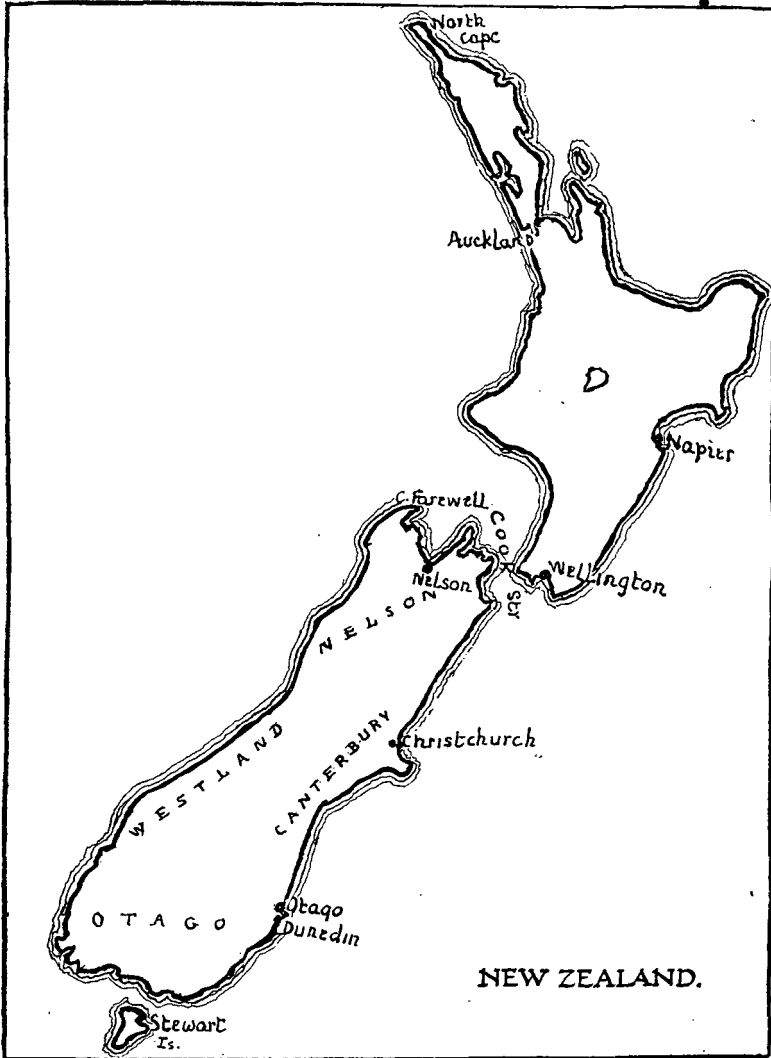
**Foundation of the Colony.**—New Zealand was discovered by Tasman in 1642, and was visited and claimed for England by Captain



New Zealand Publicity Photo.

NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS. WELLINGTON

Cook in 1769, but for many years the English Government showed no desire to take political control of the country. Yet from the early



days of the nineteenth century a heterogeneous European population—sealers and whalers, traders in search of timber and flax, ship-

wrecked sailors, escaped convicts and social outcasts—had been settling in constantly increasing numbers on the north-east coast of North Island. The natives—the Maoris—were not unfriendly at first to the white men, but relations soon became hostile; reports of outrages on both sides roused the attention of the Australian authorities, and as early as 1817 Macquarie, although New Zealand was not within his jurisdiction, appointed a resident magistrate to keep order. Missionary settlements were also established to try and improve the relations between the whites and the natives but they could make little progress. Disturbances still continued and in 1833, after thirteen of the native chiefs had appealed to England for protection against the traders and settlers, the English Government, acting on the advice received from the New South Wales authorities, sent out a resident magistrate, but as New Zealand was not yet recognised as an English possession his position was rather anomalous.

The next step in the settlement of the country was the formation of the New Zealand Association to apply to New Zealand the principles of Wakefield's system of colonisation. The Association could come to no agreement with the Government about the terms of a charter, and two years later, in 1839, a New Zealand Company was formed, which proceeded to act without waiting for Government authorisation. After negotiations with the natives by which they thought that they had acquired the possession of a large tract of land, a batch of emigrants was sent out and settled at Wellington and Port Nicholson. This action of the Company, together with rumours that a French Association was also being formed for the purpose of colonisation in these parts, convinced the English Government of the necessity of accepting full political responsibility and in 1840 New Zealand was formally annexed to the English Crown, at first as a dependency of New South Wales and as a separate colony the following year.

**The Waitanga Treaty.**—The most important questions to be dealt with were those in connection with the land and the natives. The Maoris were much stronger and more advanced than the Australian natives; they were intelligent and adaptable and have proved that they are able to assimilate European civilisation. Unlike the Australian tribes they were no longer nomadic; tribal land ownership prevailed and at the time when the English claimed political control nearly the whole of the North Island and part of the South were parcelled out among the various tribes. The fact that the New Zealand Company failed to grasp was that the land was the property of the tribe and not of the individual, that no member of the tribe,

not even the Chief, had the right to grant away or sell land without the consent of the tribe, and that consequently what they had acquired from the natives was not the freehold but the right of occupation only. One of the first acts of the Governor, Captain Hobson, was to hold a conference with the tribes who, in the Waitanga Treaty of 1840, agreed to acknowledge the political sovereignty of the English Crown, provided that the English recognised their proprietary rights to the land—to give up the shadow and maintain the substance, as they expressed it. The English Government promised that the only land sales regarded as valid should be those made by the tribes to the English Government, and it was proclaimed that land grants which had not received royal sanction were illegal. If this settlement could have been maintained the relations between the settlers and the natives might have been consistently friendly, for it was the conviction that they were being robbed of their land that was at the root of all subsequent trouble with the natives.

**Further Settlement and Government.**—The colonisation of New Zealand went on steadily for the next few years. The land policy of the Government was similar to that adopted in Australia, and crown lands—*i.e.*, lands bought by the English Government from the Maori tribes—were sold to intending settlers at a uniform price. In the first ten years of its existence as a colony six chief settlements were made, mainly through the agency of the New Zealand Company—Auckland, the seat of the Government, Wellington and New Plymouth in North Island, and in South Island, Nelson, Otago (Dunedin) a Scotch Presbyterian settlement, and Canterbury (Christchurch), an Anglican settlement. South Island, where there were fewer natives, progressed more rapidly than North Island, and there the pastoral industry soon became important and squatters occupied large tracts of land on pastoral leases, which in many cases they aimed at converting into freeholds. Thus, as in Australia, there arose a danger of land monopoly, and Grey, sent out as Governor in 1845, advised a reduction in the price of crown lands in order to encourage settlement by small farmers and to check the growth of large estates.

Almost from the first New Zealand has enjoyed some rights of self-government and in 1852 representative government was granted. As the settlements were so scattered effective central control was difficult, and the Act of 1852 introduced government of a federal character by forming the six chief settlements into provinces with elected Councils and superintendents. The provinces were subordinate to a Colonial General Assembly consisting of a Legislative

Council, nominated for life by the Governor, and a House of Representatives elected on the same franchise as the Provincial Councils. No provision was made for responsible government, but by the time the new system was in working order ideas of self-government were already in the air and the question was raised at the first meeting of the General Assembly in 1854. The following year the Home Government declared itself willing to allow responsible government, but took the view that no special legislation was necessary beyond Acts securing pensions to the officials under the old system who would be retiring, and the change was quietly effected in 1856. In 1865 the seat of government was moved from Auckland to Wellington which was in a more central position. Since 1920 the Legislative Council has been elected. The Lower House now sits for a maximum term of three years; it is elected by adult suffrage, but women, though they have been allowed to vote since 1893, are not eligible to be elected as members of either House. With the development of the settlements and the improvement in communications it was found advisable in 1875 to abolish the Provincial Governments which were expensive and inconvenient and to substitute for them government and local boards. In 1907 New Zealand acquired by proclamation the status of a Dominion.

The Defence Act of 1909, amended in 1910, took the place of the former Militia Acts, and formed a permanent and a territorial force, and gradually military training was made compulsory. In 1916 conscription was adopted and during the Great War contingents of 99,650 men were sent overseas.

New Zealand had joined with Australia in paying money contributions towards naval defence and in 1912 built and equipped a battle cruiser which was to form part of the Imperial Navy. The Naval Defence Act of 1913 provided for a New Zealand force, raised and maintained by voluntary enlistment only, which was to be placed at the disposal of the British Government in time of war.

**Maori Wars.**—In spite of the Waitanga Treaty troubles with the natives soon began to arise, for after the first few years the treaty was not strictly enforced, and the Maoris believed that they were being cheated out of their lands. It was to deal with these difficulties that Grey was appointed and he tried to establish better relations with the natives by placing the chiefs in positions of trust and responsibility and lavishly distributing gifts and stores among the people. This policy, known contemptuously as the "flour and sugar policy," was unpopular with the white settlers and was not successful because by this time matters had gone too far for peace to be maintained. Isolated outrages occurred and in 1845 war broke out in

North Island and the scattered settlements on the coast would have been at the mercy of the natives if the tribes had united. This, however, did not happen and after a struggle the English got the upper hand. Grey now strongly urged conciliation and a strict enforcement of the Waitanga Treaty, and declared void any land grants in which he thought the natives had been unfairly treated. Resident magistrates were appointed to administer justice in matters in which the natives were concerned and heavy fines were imposed on anyone purchasing or occupying land by agreement with a native.

Trouble, however, was not yet over; the natives had been suppressed but only for the time, and the cause of the difficulty—discontent about the land—had not been removed. The constitution of 1852 had given no political rights to the Maoris and there was now a movement among them to take a king of their own and to establish a system of self-government under the supreme authority of the Governor. This movement was not intended to be hostile to the English Government, but it certainly made Maori discontent more formidable, as the tribes were more politically united and internal feuds nearly ceased. In 1863 war broke out again in North Island. No decisive victory could be gained, for the Maoris refused open battle and to carry on a campaign in the dense unexplored forests of the centre was a task of extreme difficulty; after some years of desultory warfare though the Maoris were conquered but they were still not subdued.

Better relations with the natives were gradually brought about. As the tribes hesitated to sell land to the Government natives were allowed by law to sell to private purchasers and native land courts were set up to deal with the titles to land both of the seller and purchaser, and these land-courts, being managed by men who understood native customs, have worked well. Certain reserves of land have also been secured to natives in each district by granting the land for that purpose to trustees who have no power to sell it. In 1866 the Maoris were granted parliamentary representation and four Maori delegates chosen by Maoris have seats in the House of Representatives, where they are allowed to speak in their own language and have the aid of interpreters. The decline in their numbers which was going on very rapidly in the last part of the nineteenth century, seems to have been checked. In 1871 they still owned eleven-sixteenths of the land of North Island, and in the census of 1911 their numbers were estimated at nearly 50,000. There is now a native Department in the Government, and the younger generation of Maoris will take an intelligent part in the industrial life of the country.

**Industrial and Social Progress.** The long period of the Maori Wars had been a severe strain on the resources of the Colony, retarding its development and checking immigration. Peace made progress possible, but prosperity was still chequered and the 'eighties were years of depression caused partly by the locking up of land, partly by bad trade and lack of industrial organisation. The energetic policy adopted in dealing with these economic difficulties resulted in a great extension of the sphere of government activity and in social and industrial legislation on democratic lines more advanced than in any other part of the British Empire. As in Canada the Labour Party, though efficiently organised for industrial purposes, was not a strong political body and worked in Parliament in alliance with the Liberals who, under Ballance and Seddon, initiated the reform policy of the last decade of the nineteenth century.

*The Land Policy.*—As in Australia there seemed to be a danger at one time of the great pasture farmers monopolising the land. As late as 1891 enormous tracts were in the hands of a few large land-owners who had been allowed to acquire the freehold, and most of this land was neglected, badly cultivated and almost entirely uninhabited; much of it was mortgaged and hardly any of it was used to the best advantage. About half the great estates were up for sale, but, though the land was suitable for close occupation, it could not be sold at the price demanded and for the last twenty years there had been a genuine land hunger and steady emigration to Australia. The policy adopted by the Government of retaining some measure of State control over the land and of breaking up the large estates was on similar lines to that followed in Australia, though on the whole it was more drastic.

To enforce genuine settlement in the case of future grants of crown lands a new form of tenure was devised, known as the perpetual lease, which had been initiated as early as 1882. By the perpetual lease a settler could gain security of tenure for himself and his descendants for a period of 999 years with the right of purchase at the prairie value subject only to conditions of residence and improvement; he had in practice almost all the advantages of a freeholder but paid a moderate rent instead of expending his capital in buying the land. The grants were limited to 640 acres of first class or 2,000 acres of second class land. Whether the Government ought to retain the fee simple of the land was for a long time a disputed question, but there has been a decided tendency in the direction of state ownership, and, though freehold tenure has not been abolished, steps were taken to make leasehold attractive, and the locking up of the land showed

that State control was necessary if the small holders were not to be altogether excluded from a share in it.

To encourage the break up of the great estates the policy of land taxation had been adopted as early as 1878, and in 1891 an elaborately graduated land tax was imposed from which the smallest class of peasant farmers was exempted, absentee landowners paying at a higher rate. The rating of land values was part of this policy, and a bill was drawn up to confer the necessary powers on the local authorities, but it did not become law until 1896 and then was not strong enough to be of much use. It was hoped that with land taxation a great deal of land would be brought into the market, but many exemptions were allowed and the act did not operate quickly. Repurchase of the land for the purpose of closer settlement was much more effective as soon as powers of compulsory purchase were granted. In 1894 the Government was authorised to spend £500,000 a year for this purpose, and land so acquired was provided with roads and let to small holders on a perpetual leasehold tenure. In 1908 leases in perpetuity were abolished, and sixty-six years' leases substituted with the right of renewal for the same period at rents to be determined by revaluation, and the principle that the State shall never give up entire control over lands repurchased for closer settlement has been definitely affirmed.

The result of this policy has been to place a large body of small holders on the land, and the average size of the holding which was seven hundred and twenty-eight acres in 1891 was reduced to five hundred and twelve acres in 1908. With the increase of small holdings, and more intensive pastoral farming the land became more productive and co-operative dairy farming and fruit farming have also become thriving industries. As in Australia the prosperity that began in the last years of the century was due to other causes as well, and more especially to the increased export trade made possible by the development of cold storage and by the rising prices obtained for produce in Europe.

*Industrial Legislation.*—In many other spheres of industrial life the principle of State regulation and control was gaining ground; and legislative experiments were made. One of the most important of these was the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894, which has done much to prevent strikes and lockouts in labour disputes. Under it a local board of employers and workmen was set up in each industrial district, and any employer or trade union could bring disputes before it. The award of the board was not final and either party could appeal from it to the Arbitration Court. The principle of arbitration was not accepted even after the passing of

the act, without a struggle, for the local boards did not work well and serious strikes broke out. For a time it looked as if the system would break down, but the general sense of the country was in favour of a peaceful settlement of trade disputes, the local boards were reconstituted as Conciliation Councils, and an act of 1908 imposed penalties in case of any breach of an award made by the Arbitration Court. The principle of an eight hours' day was conceded as far back as 1873 for women and young persons, and in 1901 it was extended to adult male workers. To check sweating it was made illegal for an employer to give out or sub-let work and in 1899 a universal minimum wage law was passed. To deal with unemployment labour bureaux were formed in 1895, and have since been merged with the Department of Labour.

With its great natural resources it was not advisable for New Zealand to remain a purely agricultural country and the importance of starting manufactures was recognised. Substantial help was given by the provision of transport facilities and by subsidies to local bodies for the maintenance of roads and bridges, and infant industries were protected by a tariff on imported goods. In 1903 a surtax was imposed on goods not produced within the British Empire.

*State Enterprise.*—The Government has also taken part directly in the work of production and trading, though always with the aim of putting an end to abuses or checking monopoly. In 1869 it took over the work of Life Insurance and two years later a Public Trust Office was established. From the first telegraphs and telephones belonged to the Government, and it now owns the whole of the railway system which it works not with a view to making profits, but in order that the railways should be "an effective and active coadjutor" in the work of opening up the land. Among other activities the State owns some of the coal mines, it is the only legal trader in discount stamps, it puts up workman's dwellings and owns experimental farms. In the sphere of social legislation may be noted the Old Age Pensions Act of 1898, a law to deal with habitual criminals in 1906, and the reformatory system inaugurated in 1910. In 1911 national prohibition of the sale of intoxicants was carried and the same year a Widows' Pension Act was passed securing pensions up to a maximum of £30 a year for widows in needy circumstances with young children to maintain.

The experience of New Zealand has shown that it has been possible to humanise industry and get good conditions for the workers, and at the same time to increase enormously the productive powers of the country. Capital has not been unduly burdened by taxation, and

has even benefited by the greater security for investments which has resulted from the elimination of unscrupulous forms of competition.

### PART III.—THE PACIFIC ISLANDS.

**Fiji.**—Fiji, the centre for the English possessions in the Pacific, was surrendered to the British Crown by native chiefs in 1874, and the Governor of Fiji is now High Commissioner for the English possessions in the West Pacific. The Treaty of Berlin, 1886, defined the limits of German and English spheres of control in this district, allowing English influence to extend south and east, and German influence north and west of a line drawn from the south-eastern corner of German New Guinea eastward to the Solomon Islands, which it bisects, then north-east to the Marshall Islands and thence northwards. In the New Hebrides the English and French had conflicting claims, but in 1906 the administration of the Islands was re-organised under an Anglo-French Convention which secured better control in the interests of both settlers and natives.

**Samoa.**—In Samoa, the claims of England, the United States and Germany met. In 1878 a treaty between America and Samoa gave the United States certain trading rights and some rights of jurisdiction over American citizens in Samoa, and the following year England and Germany made treaties with Samoa on somewhat similar lines. Difficulties were caused by the insecurity due to constant native feuds and by the lack of harmonious co-operation amongst the treaty powers, and at a Conference held in Berlin in 1889 it was decided to establish a Supreme Court and a Council at Apia representing the three powers. As the difficulties still continued, England withdrew in 1899 in favour of Germany, receiving compensation in Tonga and elsewhere. In August 1914 Samoa was occupied by an expeditionary force sent from New Zealand. The mandate for the administration of the island was accepted by Great Britain but the administration has been handed over to New Zealand.

## CHAPTER XII

### GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

At the present time the British Dominions may be classified with regard to their political development as Protectorates and Dependencies, Crown Colonies and the Self-Governing Dominions.

The chief features to be noted in the history of the last fifty years are the growth of the great tropical dependencies, mainly in Africa, the extension of the principle of Colonial Federation and the drawing together of the bonds of empire.

**Protectorates and Dependencies.**—The distinctive feature of a Protectorate is that the native social and political organisation is maintained as far as possible, the local administration in some cases being left in the hands of native rulers subject to the control and supervision of English officials. Most of the great Protectorates of the present day are of modern origin, though in earlier days it was sometimes necessary to establish political control over a native state bordering on English territory in cases where internal disorders or turbulence made it troublesome as a neighbour. It was, however, the Foreign Jurisdictions Act of 1843, legalising the exercise of authority and jurisdiction beyond the limits of British territory, which enabled political control to be extended over hitherto independent tribes and made a Protectorate in the modern sense of the word possible. No great advantage was taken of this Act until the last part of the nineteenth century, when the interior of Africa was in course of being partitioned among the European nations. Trade with tropical Africa had been carried on since the sixteenth century, but hitherto both trade and settlement had been confined to the coast; now it was realised that better results could be obtained from direct trade with the Hinterland, and also that, as it would be impossible to secure trade and establish firm trading connections without securities for peace and order, a certain measure of political control would be necessary. It was this international rivalry for the control of the interior of Africa that forced the Government to discard its policy of non-intervention, but private commercial enterprise was still the precursor of political activity, and Government still took on new responsibilities with caution if not with positive reluctance.

In the regions which have come under British control most of the

preliminary work of opening up the country and establishing trade has been done through the agency of chartered companies. Unlike their predecessors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these companies had no trade monopoly, but were granted certain political rights; they could acquire territory from the natives by grant or purchase and could exercise political power over the districts so acquired. Protectorates are administered in various ways. As a rule when the Government take control over a district it is placed under the Foreign Office, and later on, when the administration has been firmly established, it is transferred to the Colonial Office. Again, some Protectorates come directly under the control of the Colonial Office, while others are administered through the Government of adjacent colonies.

*International Action.*—It is in connection with Protectorates and Dependencies that International Action has been found necessary. Grants of wide powers to trading companies by various European nations in adjacent territories soon led to the need for the delimitation of boundaries and for the determination of their respective spheres of influence, a term first used at the Berlin Conference of 1884, and which does not necessarily involve the exercise of any form of political control, but merely rights of intervention to the exclusion of any other European power. Questions concerning the welfare of the native races were considered by the Conferences and some attempt was made to stamp out the slave trade, but on the whole international action in this sphere proved ineffectual, partly because of the want of union among the Powers, partly because it was difficult to fix responsibility and enforce obligations when authority was exercised by the Powers acting in concert.

**Mandates.**—The conquest of the German Dependencies and the problem of deciding their political future brought the whole question forward again, and it was one of the first to be discussed by the League of Nations. Article 19 of the Covenant stated that to colonies and territories “inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand for themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation”; and that, as the best method of giving practical effect to this principle, “the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations, who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.” The character of the mandate must vary with the stage of development of the people, geographical position and other

circumstances. In some cases the territory will remain a political unit and will be governed as a separate dependency, while other districts will be administered as integral parts of an adjacent state—the mandate for South West Africa, for instance, has been accepted by the Union of South Africa and the mandate for the German part of New Guinea by Australia. In any case the Mandatory Power will be responsible for the administration and will send in an annual report to the League. It is hoped that by placing undivided authority in the hands of one nation, which will have a free hand provided it observes the principles laid down in the Covenant, it will be possible to avoid the evils incidental to international or joint control, and to provide adequate guarantees for the well-being of the native races.

**Crown Colonies.**—In Crown Colonies the chief authority rests with the Governor, who is appointed by the Crown and is directly responsible to the Colonial Office. There are different types of government in Crown Colonies, ranging from governments in which the Governor is to all intents and purposes absolute, to those in which the people have a predominate voice in the Council and the power, by checking the grant of supplies, of paralysing the administration. (1) In a few colonies the Government consists merely of the Governor, acting alone, as at Gibraltar, or with the help of a small Executive Council, as at St. Helena. (2) In the next stage there is a nominated Legislative Council, which may or may not have an official majority, as well as an Executive Council. Among the colonies included in this group are Trinidad and Tobago, the Falkland Islands, British Honduras and the Gambia. (3) In some colonies the Legislative Council is partly elected and the people are able to have more voice in the Government. In Jamaica, Cyprus and British Guiana the elected element is in the majority; in other colonies, such as Mauritius, it is in a minority. (4) The type of colony with representative government, where there is a separate representative assembly in addition to the Council but without control over the Executive, the most usual form of colonial government in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, now survives only in Barbados, the Bahamas and Bermuda.

**The Self-Governing Dominions—Colonies with Responsible Government.**—The self-governing Dominions—the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, and New Zealand—and the Colonies with responsible government—Newfoundland and Southern Rhodesia—have complete control over their internal affairs. Until recently they had no voice in foreign affairs, and even in the arrangement of trade agreements

with other countries the concurrence of the Home Government was required. At the end of the nineteenth century there were still some traces left of the legislative authority of the Home Government. Though the Governor never had in practice the right of veto he could reserve bills which he considered undesirable for the consideration of the Home Government. For instance, a bill passed by the Queensland Legislature in 1877, imposing a special fee on Chinese miners, was disallowed on the ground that "exceptional legislation calculated to exclude from any part of Her Majesty's Dominions the subjects of a state at peace with Her Majesty is highly objectionable," and a bill passed by the Parliament of Cape Colony, authorising the Governor to enter into a Customs Union with the Orange Free State, only received the royal assent on condition that preferential treatment was confined to trade by the overland route. Annexation of land by colonies has also at different times been prohibited by the Home Government. The annexation of New Guinea by Queensland in 1883 was repudiated and a bill passed by the New Zealand Parliament authorising the annexation of any islands in the Pacific not already claimed by foreign powers, was disallowed. As to persist in the policy they had initiated might have involved heavy expense and possibly have brought the Imperial Government into conflict with other powers, the colonial legislatures acquiesced in these decisions. In the case of the Dominions the right to reserve and disallow bills is now obsolete.

*The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.*—The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is the final Court of Appeal for the Colonies and India, and some members of the Committee are specially appointed for their knowledge of Indian and Colonial law. The Crown has a prerogative right to hear an appeal from any colonial court, except in the cases of Australia and South Africa, where its right was restricted by the Acts of Federation. In Australia no appeal is allowed from the Federal High Court except at the discretion of the High Court itself, and the Judicature Acts of 1903 and 1907 tried to prohibit appeals from the State courts on constitutional questions. In South Africa appeals to the Privy Council can only be made by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. No restrictions were made in the case of Canada.

**Imperial Federation.**—With the development of the self-governing colonies new Imperial problems arose, for though to all intents and purposes independent nations they had no voice in Imperial questions, and all matters concerning foreign affairs and peace and war were reserved exclusively for the English Cabinet and Parliament. As long as the burden of defence fell entirely or mainly on England and

there seemed to be little likelihood of the colonies being involved in conflicts with other powers, little objection was raised to this state of things, but with the growth of international colonial rivalry and the development of local military and naval forces in the dominions, the position changed and the need for some re-organisation of the relations between the different parts of the Empire became increasingly evident.

**Imperial Conferences.**—The first step taken in the direction of co-operation among the colonies themselves in matters of common interest was the formation of the Imperial League in 1884, and two years later, at the time when the Indian and Colonial Exhibition was held in London, the Premier was asked to summon an official Conference with the view to the creation of an Imperial Council. The Conference was a meeting not of nations on equal terms but of the Mother Country with the Colonies, and the Crown Colonies were represented as well as the self-governing dominions. Salisbury, in his opening speech, made it clear that he thought it impossible to govern the Empire from one centre, and that he regarded Imperial Federation as a question for the future rather than for the present.

The Conferences held in 1897 and 1902 were attended by the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies, and the leading spirit was Joseph Chamberlain, who aimed at drawing closer the ties that united the various parts of the Empire by means of a policy of tariff reform and Imperial preference—to lead eventually to a system of free trade within the Empire. He looked forward to the creation of a great Council of the Empire, to which the colonies would send representative plenipotentiaries, and to the growth of this body into “that Federal Council to which we must always look forward as our ultimate ideal,” though for the present he allowed that the primary purpose of the Conference was still “the enlightenment of the Imperial authorities in regard to colonial opinion rather than the construction of a co-operative partnership.” Chamberlain failed to grasp the fact that his Imperial policy might run counter to the growth of nationalism in the self-governing dominions. National feeling had been fostered in the colonies in recent years; they had realised their military strength as a result of the aid they had freely given to the Mother Country at the time of the Second Boer War, and were inclined to draw back from a policy of Imperialism that might hamper them in their development as free and independent nations. In 1907 it was decided that Conferences should be held every four years. They were recognised as meetings between governments on equal terms, and in future the English Premier and

not the Colonial Secretary was to be ex-officio president. The term "Dominions" was used in speaking of the self-governing colonies and a separate Dominions Department of the Colonial Office was created. To get continuity in the work a permanent Secretariat under the control of the Colonial Secretary was to be appointed which should keep the Dominion Governments informed of what was going on and what subjects were to be brought up for discussion at the Conferences. Subsidiary conferences could also be arranged to deal with urgent matters and matters involving technical detail; under this clause the Defence Committee was summoned in 1909 to consider the question of naval contributions and the Conference on Copyright Law in 1910.

In accordance with the arrangement made in 1907 a general conference was held in 1911. The meeting that should have been held in 1915 was postponed because of the War, but a definite promise was given that the Dominion Premiers should be consulted when the time should arrive to discuss terms of peace. Those Dominion Premiers who were in England—Borden in 1915, and Hughes in 1916—were invited to attend meetings of the War Cabinet as visitors and in 1917 invitations were sent to all the Dominion Premiers to attend it as members, India being represented by the Secretary of State. A special War Conference of the Empire was summoned and was to meet simultaneously with the War Cabinet, and to this India sent representatives. The War Cabinet was only a temporary institution, but it marked an important step in advance for the Dominions, in that their representatives now had executive authority and were not as hitherto restricted to the exercise of consultative and advisory functions.

At the Imperial Conferences before the War, and at the subsequent Conferences held in 1917, 1918, 1921 and 1923, the chief questions under discussion have been (1) Imperial defence; (2) trade and Imperial preference; (3) alien immigration and the position of Asiatics in the Empire; (4) Imperial naturalisation; (5) the Imperial constitution.

### **Imperial Defence.**

*Military Defence.* It was tacitly understood that when the colonies obtained self-government they incurred also the obligations of self-defence. Hitherto the burden of protection had fallen on England. After 1841, however, it became more and more the custom to concentrate forces at a few important centres, and between the years 1862 and 1870 a large number of colonial garrisons were either reduced or withdrawn altogether; military

establishments were only retained where it was necessary for Imperial reasons, and the defence of the colonies was left for the most part to the colonial militias. The military help given by the colonies at the time of the Second Boer War suggested a scheme, which was brought up at the Conference of 1902, for the establishment of Imperial reserves in the colonies which could be used at the wish of the British Government, but, though willing to give help in Imperial wars and anxious to raise the standard of efficiency of the colonial forces, the colonies disliked the idea of " a special body of troops ear-marked for Imperial service " and made it clear that the extent of the assistance given when the need arose and the way in which it should be given must be left to the colony to determine.

*Naval Defence.*—The growth of naval defence was more urgent than that of military defence because the recent growth of naval power in other countries exposed the colonies to a new danger. In the Conference of 1887 the question of naval defence occupied a good deal of attention, and both Australia and New Zealand were willing to recognise the responsibility of defending their own ports and to make money contributions for that purpose, and though as yet they had no control of the expenditure of the money granted and showed no desire to create naval forces of their own, the policy of mutual defence was started. This policy was extended by the Conference of 1902 when Cape Colony, Natal and Newfoundland also agreed to pay subsidies : Canada still held out because it resented any form of Imperial control and wanted to establish a local naval force for Canadian waters. It was felt by some that money contributions, though a step in the right direction, were not entirely satisfactory, and that some steps should be taken to increase the maritime spirit of the Empire ; that the ships serving in colonial waters should be manned by colonial seamen and officers and that colonial branches of the Royal Naval Reserve should be established. These suggestions again met with a favourable response except from Canada. A few years later the idea of colonial navies, which in time of peace should be under colonial control, had gained ground and the policy of an inter-Imperial naval alliance instead of one fleet under one control was developing.

The next step was the formation of Dominion navies, and at the Conference of 1909 a proposal was made and provisionally accepted by which an Imperial Pacific Fleet was to be formed consisting of three units—the British Fleet unit on the East Indies station, the British Fleet unit, with the battle cruiser contributed by New Zealand as a flagship, on the China station, and the Australian Fleet unit in Australian waters.

At the Conference on Imperial Defence held in 1911 the naval forces to be provided by Canada and Australia were under discussion. It was agreed that the training and discipline of these forces should be generally uniform with the training and discipline of the fleet of the United Kingdom; that in time of war when the naval service of a Dominion or any part thereof had been put at the disposal of the Imperial Government by the Dominion authorities, the ships would form an integral part of the British fleet and would remain under the control of the British Admiralty during the war. It was also agreed that one or more representatives appointed by the responsible governments of the Dominions should be invited to attend meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence when questions of military and naval defence affecting the Oversea Dominions were under consideration, and that Local Defence Committees on the lines of the Committee of Imperial Defence should be formed in the Dominions.

The need for strengthening the naval defence of the Empire in face of the rapidly increasing navies of other European powers was generally recognised. Sir Joseph Ward had pointed out the importance of protecting trade routes and had stated that in his opinion "local protection, however good it may be for the separate portions of the Dominions concerned, is not sufficient, is not adequate, and does not meet the condition of protecting the conveyance of oversea products to anything like the extent it ought to do." Borden in a speech in the Canadian Parliament in 1912 emphasised the inadequacy of the existing naval establishment to deal with the new conditions brought about by the growth of rival navies. "Twelve years ago the British navy and the British flag were predominant in every ocean of the world. To-day they are predominant nowhere except in the North Sea. The paramount duty of ensuring safety in home waters has been fulfilled by withdrawing or reducing squadrons in every part of the world and by concentrating nearly all the effective naval forces in close proximity to the British Islands. . . . To sum up, in 1902 there were a hundred and sixty ships on foreign and colonial stations against seventy-six to-day. Trade routes vital to the Empire's continued existence are inadequately defended and protected by reason of necessary concentration in home waters."

In 1918 the Admiralty circulated a memorandum on naval defence, suggesting that there should be one Imperial navy under a central naval authority. The overseas Premiers declared that it was not practicable for the navies of the various dominions to be united in this way and that it was not necessary, for the experience

of the War "has shown that in time of war a Dominion navy can operate with the highest efficiency as a part of a united navy under one direction and command established after the outbreak of war." They agreed that similar organisation, equipment and construction of the dominion navies would be desirable and for that purpose they would welcome the advice of a highly qualified expert who should represent the Admiralty. In 1921 it was decided to postpone for a time the discussion of the question. A resolution was passed to the effect "that while recognising the necessity of co-operation among the various portions of the Empire to provide such naval defence as may prove to be essential for security, and while holding that equality with the naval strength of any other power is a minimum standard for this purpose, this conference is of opinion that the method and expense of such co-operation are matters for the final determination of the several parliaments concerned and that any recommendations thereon should be deferred until after the coming Conference on Disarmaments." As a result of the Conference further naval construction is in abeyance for the time in Australasia.

**Trade.**—All the self-governing colonies had adopted protective tariffs, and in the Conference of 1887 it was suggested that some form of Customs Union might be possible in the future and would not involve the abolition of colonial tariffs. Most of the self-governing colonies were favourable to a policy of preferential duties within the Empire, the more so that the sugar-producing colonies were at this time feeling the effects of the Continental sugar bounties, which had been the main cause of the heavy fall in sugar prices. They also wanted removal of the restrictions on their power to make commercial agreements among themselves. In 1873 the Australian colonies had been granted permission to make such treaties among themselves, but the permission did not extend to foreign countries or even to other colonies. In 1902 the question of Imperial Free Trade was brought up again, this time by Chamberlain, who thought it was essential to any form of political union, but he could not get this policy adopted in England because the nation as a whole was hostile to the adoption of a protective system which it would have entailed, and the colonies were not now anxious for any schemes of Imperialism which might hamper their own freedom of action, and were alarmed at the prospect of open competition with the manufacturers of England. The system of preferential duties within the Empire has been very generally adopted, though England, keeping true to her free trade policy, could offer no reciprocal advantages.

In April, 1912, in consequence of a Resolution passed at the Con-

ference the previous year, the Dominions Royal Commission was appointed to travel round the Empire and to make an exhaustive enquiry into the natural resources of the self-governing colonies, the trade of the Dominions with each other, with the United Kingdom, and with the rest of the world, and the supply of food and raw materials produced within the Empire. In the report which was published early in 1917, suggestions were made for the economic development of the Imperial resources; of these the chief were the improvement of the harbours and of the mail services throughout the Empire, the interchange of school teachers, and the creation of an Imperial Development Board to deal with the problems of production and exchange within the Empire.

In 1916, as the result of the Economic Conference of the Allies held in Paris in June, a Committee was appointed with Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Chairman to consider the question of Imperial trade, and to suggest the steps that should be taken to prevent the sources of supply from falling again under foreign control. The Committee reported strongly in favour of Imperial Preference with special consideration for allied and neutral powers; the War Cabinet was also definitely in favour of Preference but decided to make no change until after the War. It was decided that an Imperial Conference should be held to consider the report of the Committee and to discuss the future trade policy of the Empire. Partly as a result of this report preferential rates of customs duties were provided for in the Finance Act of 1919, the rate to be on some articles five-sixths and on others two-thirds of the full rate. In the conference of 1921 the Dominion Premiers suggested that this policy should be extended, but the Labour Government decided to make no further concession in that direction.

**Alien Immigration.**—Towards the end of the nineteenth century the nations of the Far East, who had been forced out of their policy of isolation in the interests of European and American trade, were sending out a continually increasing stream of emigrants, and the question of alien immigration became acute in all the colonies bordering on the Pacific. The hostility roused was due partly to racial antagonism, partly to the feeling that it was impossible to assimilate races so alien in thought and customs. There was in addition the economic difficulty that Asiatics have a lower standard of living, and work for a lower wage than white labourers, so that to allow them unrestricted admission to the labour market would be prejudicial to the interests of the white working man. Colonial governments passed laws restricting immigration but were checked by the Home Government, as the restrictions tended to raise diffi-

culties for the Foreign Office. The attitude taken up by the Government and since adhered to, was explained by Chamberlain at the Imperial Conference of 1907. "We quite sympathise with the determination of the white inhabitants of those colonies which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics, that there shall not be an influx of people alien in civilisation, alien in religion, alien in customs, whose influence moreover would most seriously interfere with the legal rights of the existing labour population. An immigration of that kind . . . must be prevented at all hazards . . . but we ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire which makes no distinction in favour of or against race or colour; and to exclude by reason of their colour or by reason of their race all Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to those peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it. . . . What I venture to think you have to deal with is the character of the immigration. It is not because a man is of a different colour from ourselves that he is necessarily an undesirable immigrant, but it is because he is dirty, or he is immoral, or he is a pauper, or he has some other objections which can be defined in an Act of Parliament and by which the exclusion can be managed with regard to all those whom you really desire to exclude." The immigration laws in force in the Dominions at the present time embody the principles laid down in this statement; undesirables can be excluded and an effective check is placed on the immigration of aliens in some colonies by a language and education test. Acute ill-feeling was caused just before the War by the restrictions placed on natives of India in South Africa and British Columbia, and the rights of the coloured races who are British subjects to freedom of movement within the Empire was one of the questions which urgently needed attention after the War. It was realised that it was impossible for the Home Government to interfere, and the inherent right of each part of the Empire to exercise complete control of the composition of its population by restricting immigration from other parts was recognised. This principle was reaffirmed in 1921, but it was recognised at the same time that the position of Indians in many parts of the Empire was incongruous. "The Conference accordingly is of opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised." South Africa alone refused to accept this resolution "in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union." The question was too complicated to be dealt with summarily and it was

decided to appoint a commission to investigate the question and make suggestions.

**Naturalisation.**—Imperial Naturalisation Acts were passed in 1847 and 1850 and colonial legislatures were allowed to confer the status of British subjects on aliens, but only within the limits of the Colony. At the Imperial Conference of 1911 the question of Imperial naturalisation was discussed, and the suggestion of the Imperial Government that the five years residence necessary to qualify for British citizenship might be spent anywhere within the Empire was accepted by the Dominions with the exception of Canada.

**The Imperial Constitution.**—The question of an Imperial constitution and the relations between the Dominions and the Home Government did not come under discussion before 1911, when it was felt that some machinery should be devised that would enable the Dominions to have a voice in Imperial matters, but the only result was to show to what an extent the subject was beset with difficulties. It was realised that anything in the nature of a Federal Parliament would be too unwieldy, and a scheme for an Imperial Council of State drawn up by the New Zealand Premier received no support, for the Dominions were determined to maintain complete independence in local affairs and were afraid that a strong Imperial organisation might lead to Imperial interference.

The question came up again in 1917, and though it was decided to postpone any action until after the War the principle was laid down "that any readjustment of relations must in the first place preserve all the existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs; that it must be based on a complete recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and must fully recognise their right to a voice in foreign policy and foreign relations." Since then their international status as independent nations has been accentuated by their admission to membership of the League of Nations. By 1921 it was evident that nothing in the nature of constitutional machinery beyond the periodical meetings of the Dominion representatives was possible—"having regard to the constitutional developments since 1917 no advantage is to be gained by holding a constitutional conference." Thus for the present the constitutional position of the Dominions in their relations with the Mother Country and with one another "defies exact definition, since they enjoy a special position corresponding to their special duties within the British Empire as free communities, independent as regards all their own affairs, partners in those that concern the Empire at large." (Viscount Grey.)

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