

THE
FOUNDATION & GROWTH
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

BY

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PREFACE

THIS short account of the foundation and progress of the British Empire is intended primarily for use as an introductory course in the study of the subject.

It is in my opinion a mistake in such a text-book to deal extensively in generalisations and the discussion of abstract principles. What is necessary to leave a permanent impression on the mind of a possibly indifferent student is an abundance of vivid detail carefully selected so as to concentrate attention on the salient features of the story. In this respect it is important to discriminate between the requirements of the advanced and the elementary student. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*, for example, is fascinating reading for one who already has the facts at his fingers' ends, but it would be of little interest to the average boy at school. If, therefore, one can succeed in so handling the subject that it will be studied from interest rather than compulsion, it will be safe to leave in great measure to the teacher the task of deducing general principles and correlating the facts. A good teacher, indeed, will stimulate his pupils to do this for themselves.

Two other points my own experience impels me to emphasise: it is essential that a chronological framework shall be retained in the memory, for which purpose a list of important dates has been appended to each chapter;

and no attempt should be made to read any part of our Empire story without the aid of a map of the region under consideration. Maps to illustrate special subjects have been inserted where necessary; elsewhere a good school atlas will be found sufficient.

J. A. WILLIAMSON.

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INTRODUCTION

THE remote origins of the British Empire must be looked for long before the discovery of America or the sea passage to India, long before Englishmen had begun to dream of interesting themselves in any land beyond the confines of Christendom. The chief sower of the seed from which such a mighty tree has sprung was the mediaeval merchant, who steadily pushed his quest of gain further and further afield regardless of, or even profiting by, the storms of chivalric warfare.

He it was who, by growing rich, acquired a voice in the councils of kings; who drew a profit from the disasters of the Crusades; who taught his humbly born countrymen that if a high career was denied them at home, wealth and power might nevertheless be gained by adventures across the seas. Foreign trade, in fact, found an outlet for the energies of that class of ambitious men, always particularly prominent in the English race, who cared neither for the miseries of war, nor for the dull seclusion of the Church, nor for the prosaic life of the home-staying craftsman. The romance of Dick Whittington typifies the career of many another man unknown to fame.

During the two centuries following the Norman Conquest the English became consciously a nation with distinctive language, laws and constitution. The reign of the great law-giver, Edward I., may be said to mark the completion of this process of fusion. At its close the country was possessed of a stable and sensible system of government, representative of the middle as well as of the upper classes, and sensitive to a large extent to the demands of public

opinion. Such a regime, vigorous yet flexible, was naturally conducive to the advance of commerce, and the latter accordingly became, by the close of the Middle Ages, an important factor in the national life.

English commerce, however, in spite of having made a good beginning under the Plantagenet kings, was nevertheless destined to be for some time but a junior competitor to three mighty groups of rivals which overshadowed it in age and experience.

These were: (1) The Hanseatic League, consisting of the free German cities on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic. This League sought always for a monopoly of the North Sea trade and fisheries. It also controlled the overland trade route through Poland and Russia to Persia and the Middle East. (2) The great manufacturing cities of the Low Countries, Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and afterwards Antwerp. Here were made most of the cloth, armour, weapons and hardware needed by northern Europe. (3) The trading cities of Italy, of which Venice, Genoa and Florence were the most important. The Italian merchants and sailors had in their hands the entire control of the trade between the Mediterranean and the north of Europe. It was a rare occurrence in the Middle Ages for an English ship to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar. The Italians supplied England and Flanders with eastern fabrics and spices, which they obtained in the marts of the Levant, with Malmsey wines from the Mediterranean islands, and with superfine manufactured goods from the workshops of their own cities.

England then had at the outset but a slight hold upon the mediæval trading system. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in spite of rebuffs she did her best to increase it. She possessed two natural advantages in the struggle. The first and greatest was that English wool was absolutely essential in the manufacture of the best kinds of cloth. It had peculiar properties not to be found in the produce of the sheep of other lands. When the significance of this fact came to be realised, England was in a position

to point a pistol at the heads of two of her competitors, the Italians and the Flemings, who lived largely by the manufacture of cloth. The other advantage lay in the tin and lead mines of England producing, although in comparatively small quantities, metals for which the demand in Europe always exceeded the supply.

Naturally enough it was the trade in these articles which was first exploited by English merchants. At some time in the thirteenth century—tradition says in the reign of Henry III.—the traders dealing in wool, hides, lead and tin were banded together under the name of the Merchants of the Staple. They gradually acquired a monopoly of selling the commodities named, and held their mart or staple at first in Flanders and afterwards in various English ports, whither foreign buyers were obliged to resort for their supplies. After the capture of Calais in 1347 the staple was removed thither, and so remained until the loss of the town in 1558. The monopoly of a company was necessary under mediæval trading conditions for two reasons. (1) It gave the merchants the advantage of mutual support and protection, and ensured that all should obey rules framed in the common interest. (2) It facilitated the collection of customs dues by the King's officers. In return for the revenue thus gained, the Crown gave the company its support when involved in disputes with foreigners. These advantages alone made trade possible in days of international lawlessness. Individual merchants could not hope to obtain them; consequently it is found that, with certain exceptions, mediæval traders tended always to band themselves into companies, to negotiate collectively with governments, and to secure monopolies by which they might exclude non-members from the enjoyment of their hard-won privileges.

While foreign trade was thus being organised, the progress of good government at home and the extinction of feudal anarchy were bringing into prominence a class of town-dwelling craftsmen quite distinct from the peasants and landowners who composed feudal society.

These craftsmen, finding plentiful supplies of raw wool ready to hand, began to make it into cloth, and thus inaugurated the earliest of English manufactures. For several centuries English cloth was a rough, unfinished article, not skilfully dyed or dressed. The cloth finishing processes long remained the secret of the Flemish craftsmen, but the latter found the product of English weavers a convenient basis on which to exercise their skill. Accordingly towards the end of the thirteenth century a new export trade sprang up—that of despatching half-manufactured English cloth to the Low Countries.

From the outset this traffic seems to have been mainly in the hands of English exporters. Like the Merchants of **The Merchant the Staple**, they formed themselves into a company under the name of the Merchant Adventurers. Pushing energetically into the Low Countries they obtained grants of privileges from the ruling powers there, and held their marts at fixed dates in the great Netherlands cities—at Bruges at first and latterly at Antwerp. From the English Crown they obtained charters allowing them to frame rules for their trade, to elect a governor and council to carry them out, to fine and imprison delinquents, and to exclude non-members of the company from taking part in the trade. The earliest charter now extant embodying these privileges is that granted by Henry IV. in 1407, but it is probable that the privileges themselves were enjoyed for more than a century previous to that date.

The English cloth exporters did not limit their energies to the Netherlands trade. They began also to sell their **The Eastland Merchants** produce in the cities of northern Germany, Denmark, and Scandinavia, where the rigorous winters no doubt gave rise to a considerable demand. The North Sea trade had hitherto been in the hands of the German merchants of the Hanseatic League—the Easterlings as they were called in England—and naturally the new competitors were regarded with dislike. At the opening of the fifteenth century, however, the Easterlings could not afford to quarrel with England, where they enjoyed con-

siderable privileges, and the English trade was successfully incorporated by charters from Henry IV. in 1401. Their terms were similar to those of the Merchant Adventurers, and the merchants trading under them came to be known as the Eastland Company.

A consideration of two other branches of oversea enterprise will complete the picture of the earliest stage of English expansion. In the days before the Reformation religious as well as economic reasons caused fish to be an important item in the diet of all European nations. The chief fishing grounds of Northern Europe were the North Sea and the coasts of Iceland. On the latter, in particular, huge quantities of cod and other coarse fish were taken, salted down, and sold as stock-fish in the ports of Europe. Every spring an English fishing fleet set forth for this coast, returning with full holds in the autumn. Records show that when the trade was at its best the Iceland fishing fleet numbered close on 150 vessels of an average burden of about 70 tons. Such an industry must have been no inconsiderable factor in making England a sea-going nation.

The remaining avenue of mediæval trade was the import of wines from Bordeaux. The duchy of Aquitaine came under the rule of English kings when Henry II. wedded its heiress in the middle of the twelfth century. Although the area of English sway steadily contracted during the long wars, the capital itself was not lost until 1155. Englishmen fetching wine from Bordeaux were therefore almost in the position of trading with an English town. It is perhaps for this reason that the wine trade was never incorporated and monopolised as the cloth and wool trades were. Down to the end of the Middle Ages it remained free to all, and was largely frequented by the merchants of Bristol and Southampton as well as of London. About the year 1500 it is recorded that in the height of the wine-shipping season (November—February) there were as many as 8,000 Englishmen in Bordeaux at the same time.

The extension of commerce early rendered necessary special legislation for its control. The Easterling merchants English mari- obtained grants of privileges in England in time policy. the twelfth century, before the rise of the English trading companies. Magna Charta contained clauses with regard to the rights of foreign merchants. In the reign of Edward I. the customs were fixed on a permanent basis, and thenceforward the Crown derived a regular revenue both from the export of wool and the import of foreign goods. In 1381 the first Navigation Act of English history was passed by Richard II.'s Parliament. It stated that the trade of English merchants must be carried on exclusively in English ships, and it shows that the Government was alive to the importance of a strong mercantile marine. The same policy of fostering English commerce was vigorously pursued by Henry IV. and Henry V. The latter monarch also maintained a strong fleet of warships to serve as a nucleus upon which armed merchantmen might rally in time of war.

With the death of Henry V. (1422) the prospect rapidly changes. Under his feeble successor the interests of commerce were neglected. The ministers of the Decline of English trade in the 15th century. Crown were occupied with the disastrous wars in France, and with quarrels among themselves, and were quite unable to look after one of the most important interests of the nation. They even went so far as to sell off the warships of Henry V., and in a few years the English navy had entirely ceased to exist. The Wars of the Roses began as soon as the Hundred Years' War had ceased, and misgovernment became ever worse and worse. The natural consequence was that English commerce and shipping suffered a swift and prolonged depression. The Merchant Adventurers saw their privileges in the Low Countries invaded, and their numbers declined. The Easterlings of the Hanseatic League made open war upon the unfortunate merchants of the Eastland Company, whose trade was practically wiped out, while their rivals extorted increased privileges from the English

Crown. Pirates swarmed in the Channel and the North Sea, and there was no English fleet to hunt them down. The Navigation Act became a dead-letter. Even on the distant Iceland coast the English fishermen found their industry prohibited by the King of Denmark, the overlord of that island. The Yorkist kings are usually credited with having done something in the interests of commerce. No doubt their intentions were good, but their time was short, and there was no real improvement until the accession of Henry VII. in 1485.

SUMMARY OF ENGLISH MARITIME AFFAIRS TO 1485

1. The merchant was the pioneer of English expansion.
2. The commercial rivals of England were the Hanseatic League, the Flemings and the Italians.
3. English wool was indispensable in the manufacture of cloth.
4. In the thirteenth century two English trading companies came into existence: the Merchants of the Staple, exporting wool, and the Merchant Adventurers, exporting cloth.
5. The late Plantagenet and early Lancastrian kings fostered trade and sea power.
6. From the death of Henry V. to the accession of Henry VII. there was a long period of depression in English trade, due to unsuccessful wars with France and civil wars in England.

IMPORTANT DATES

1363. The Wool Staple established at Calais.
1381. Richard II.'s Navigation Act.
1404. Henry IV.'s Charter to the Eastland Company.
1407. Henry IV.'s Charter to the Merchant Adventurers.
1474. Edward IV.'s treaty with the Hanseatic League granting it great privileges in England.
1485. Battle of Bosworth, death of Richard III. and end of the Middle Ages in England.

PART I. THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1603

THE AGE OF EXPERIMENTS

CHAPTER I

HENRY VII., 1485-1509

THE victory of Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field marks the final turning down of an unhappy page of English history bearing upon its surface a red record of unsuccessful foreign war, unruly ambitions on the part of the great nobles, and turbulent contempt for government on that of the commons. By the unremitting efforts of Henry VII. and his successors all this was changed. The power of the nobles was curbed, the Church was brought into subjection to the State, and the laws were enforced on all sections of the community. With the strengthening of the Government the country grew in power abroad and more than regained its lost influence among the States of Europe. Henry VII., while resolute to be obeyed, determined that his position should be based on a recognition by his people that his measures were in their true interest. He therefore set himself to revive, by all the means in his possession, the lost maritime prosperity of the country.

His first Parliament passed a Navigation Act differing in its scope from that of Richard II. The latter had been too comprehensive, and had on that account proved unworkable in practice. The new Act stated that all wines and woad imported from Bordeaux

Significance
of the revolution
of 1485.

Navigation
Act, 1485.

must be carried to this country only in English ships manned and owned by Englishmen. Thus at a stroke an important branch of foreign trade was placed exclusively in English hands.

Turning next to the North Sea, the King found English commerce on the point of vanishing altogether. The companies which Henry IV. had chartered for trade with Germany and the Baltic were practically in abeyance owing to unscrupulous Hanse competition. A state of war existed with Denmark, with the result that the English fishery in Iceland waters was prohibited. In the Low Countries the affairs of the Merchant Adventurers were in disorder, mainly on account of their disputes among themselves. Henry struggled with more or less success against these abuses. He was obliged to confirm the privileges of the Hanseatic League because he feared its maritime power, but he lost no opportunity of treating its members with severity on the smallest pretext, and was thus able to secure a little more respect for the rights of English merchants in German towns. This branch of trade, however, never really flourished until the power of the Hansa was definitely broken in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1490 he negotiated a commercial treaty with Denmark which permitted the resumption of the Iceland fishery.

In Flanders matters were complicated by dynastic considerations. Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of **The Magnus** Richard III., had great influence there, and **Intercursus** used it to encourage Perkin Warbeck and other pretenders to the English throne. Henry retaliated with decisive effect. He prohibited all trade between England and the Low Countries, and removed the headquarters of the Merchant Adventurers from Antwerp to Calais. The stoppage of trade had fair to ruin the Flemish manufacturers, and their rulers were forced to give way. The result was the great commercial treaty known as the *Magnus Intercursus* (1496). By this Perkin Warbeck was thrown over and the rights of the English traders were confirmed. They were welcomed with joyous festivities

when they returned once more to Antwerp. The next step was to put an end to the abuses in the company itself by an Act of Parliament making all Englishmen free of its privileges on payment of a reasonable fee, and by a new charter (1505) strengthening the authority of the governor and council over the private members.

The above by no means exhausts the list of Henry's activities on behalf of maritime trade. He negotiated commercial treaties with Spain and the Italian states, and in his reign the English merchants first began to make regular voyages to the Mediterranean. The conveyance to England of the rich goods of the Levant—wines, silks, eastern spices and fabrics, and Italian luxuries of all kinds—had hitherto been carried on by the great trading galleys of Venice and the carracks of Genoa. Now, the progress of the civilised crafts in England permitted the construction of large and well-armed ships which could undertake this distant voyage, as formidable to the navigators of that day as the rounding of Cape Horn to our own. English merchants began to pass the "Straits of Marrok" in increasing numbers, and the King backed up their enterprise with his vigorous diplomacy, by which he secured to them fair treatment at the hands of the Italian powers.

Thus, with increasing boldness and experience, modern England began to serve its apprenticeship upon the seas, the necessary prelude to the foundation of the maritime empire which the future was to bring forth. It was an age which felt the stirrings of vast new ideas, which was not content with dreaming dreams, but promptly sought to realise them. The year 1492 saw Christopher Columbus set sail across the unknown Atlantic with three small caravels. A few months later he returned in triumph with news of fair islands in the western sea. Already, for many years, the seamen of Portugal had been pushing steadily down the coast of Africa, discovering Cape Verde and the Gold Coast, and finally the Cape of Storms, which a far-seeing prince renamed the Cape of Good Hope.

At length, in 1498, Vasco da Gama capped all previous achievements by rounding the Cape and traversing the Indian Ocean until he set foot upon the shore of India itself, and so for the first time brought Europe into effective contact with the gorgeous East.

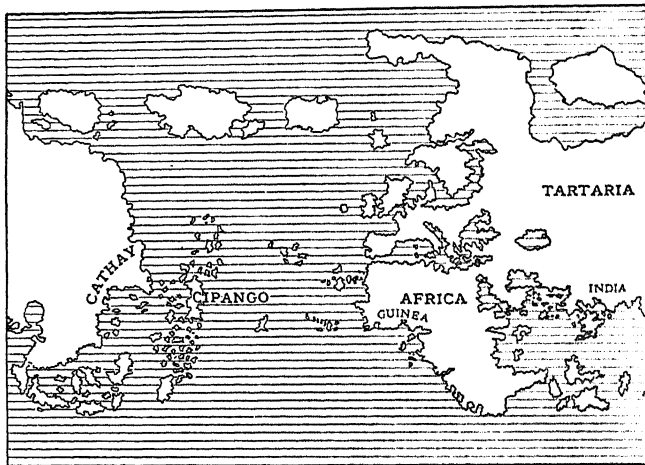


FIG. 1.—THE WORLD AS IMAGINED IN 1492.

An understanding of the condition of geographical knowledge at this time is essential, because it supplies the clue **Geographical** to the motives underlying these great move- theories. The best-informed minds of the time recognised the fact that our planet is spherical in shape, but they underestimated its size. They held that on its surface there was only one huge mass of land, consisting of the three continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. This land mass was thought to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean, in which lay many islands of relatively unimportant dimensions. No geographer had as yet any inkling of the existence of the continents now named North and South America.

Here, then, was the theory upon which the early explorers worked. The motive power which caused the wealthy to find money for their efforts was the hope of Cathay and commercial gain. The east of Asia was Cipango. thought to be a storehouse of incalculable riches. In the Middle Ages a few Christian travellers had reached it by the overland route. The best known of them, a Venetian named Marco Polo, spent many years at the court of the Emperor of China, and on his return wrote a description of that country, which he called Cathay. He had heard rumours of the existence of Japan (Cipango), although he had not been there in person. The spices and fabrics of the East were in great demand among the wealthy of Europe, but during the Middle Ages they arrived only in a thin stream by means of Asiatic caravans reaching the ports of the Levant—Alexandria, Beyrout and Smyrna. Hence they were distributed through Europe by the merchants of Venice and Genoa.

It was obvious that, if a sea route could be discovered to India and Cathay, an extremely profitable trade would be opened up by its pioneers. The Portuguese, as we have seen, sought to find this route by rounding the extremity of Africa. Before they had succeeded in doing so, another plan had been put to the test. Since the world was round and, so far as knowledge then went, contained only one land-mass, it was evident that by sailing due west from Europe a ship would arrive in time at the coast of Cathay. Columbus, on his return from his first voyage, claimed that he had found, not the mainland of Asia itself, but some islands lying near it. He confidently expected to reach Cathay itself in a subsequent expedition.

Whatever the result of the race between Spain and Portugal, Europe felt itself to be on the edge of great events. Commerce meant wealth, wealth meant power, and Henry VII. felt himself John Cabot. called upon to take a hand in the great game in progress. An instrument came ready to his hand. An Italian merchant named John Cabot had been for some years resident

at Bristol. He was a Genoese by birth, but had become a naturalised citizen of Venice, and so was generally described as a Venetian. In 1496 he petitioned the King for

to have exclusive rights to all new lands to be discovered in the West, and Portugal to those in Africa and the East. Of course the pioneers of the two nations would ultimately meet on the other side of the globe, since they were going round it in opposite directions, but nothing was said about this contingency until it should actually arise. Henry, then, in sending John Cabot across the Atlantic, was infringing the right claimed by Spain, but he doubtless argued that, while the Spaniards had a good title to the lands they had already found, any undiscovered territories were fair game for any one who should be enterprising enough to seek them out. The Spanish sovereigns at the time contented themselves with little more than a verbal protest by their ambassador, but the whole incident strikes the keynote of English expansion in the Tudor period. It may be expressed as follows :

(1) Wherever they went English pioneers were regarded as interlopers by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. It was not admitted that they had any right to make discoveries or open up new trades. Englishmen had therefore to be hard fighters before they could be traders or explorers.

(2) The Bull of Alexander VI. gave a religious sanction to the overbearing claims of Spain and Portugal. Consequently in England the party of expansion tended to become anti-Papal, and ere long Protestantism and Imperialism went hand in hand.

In the reign of Henry VII. these developments were still on the far-distant horizon. Discovery was yet in its early stages, and there was plenty of room for all. Henry, therefore, was able to send ships to the west and at the same time to remain on fairly good terms with Spain.

John Cabot set sail from Bristol in the spring of 1497 in a little ship called the *Matthew* with a crew of eighteen men. Keeping well to the north of Spanish waters he reached the American coast in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. He followed the shore for some distance, landing at one place to set up the flags of England and Venice. He saw no

John Cabot's
first voyage,
1497.

inhabitants, but found signs of their presence, such as felled trees and snares for game. He was struck by the immense quantities of fish on the Newfoundland banks. He arrived safely again at Bristol in August, and travelled at once to London to report his experiences to the King.

John Cabot was convinced—and all London agreed with him—that he had found the mainland of Asia, and that he had only to follow it southwards to reach a second tropical region abounding in spices and gold. John Cabot's voyage, 1498. The Spaniards had not as yet reached the mainland, being still engaged in exploring the islands of

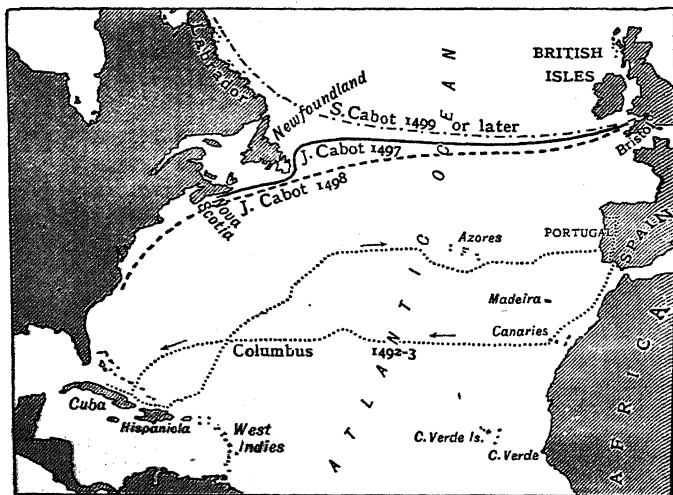


FIG. 2.—THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

the West Indies. It appeared, therefore, as if England would be the first to reach the coveted goal—the Cathay and Cipango described by Marco Polo. The merchants of London were now eager to invest in the enterprise, and in 1498 Cabot sailed again with five ships laden with English cloth which he intended to exchange for the produce of

China and Japan. Beyond the bare facts that he set sail and had returned by the following year, nothing whatever is known of this second voyage of John Cabot. Knowing, as we do, the great delusion under which he was labouring, it is permissible to make a guess at what happened. It is probable that he followed the same course as in the previous year, and coasted southwards from Newfoundland. Relying on Marco Polo's description of Cathay, he expected to find wealthy and populous cities inhabited by Chinamen as civilised in some respects as the people of Europe, and ruled by a Grand Khan who kept imposing state. What he actually found was very different. For league after league the coast stretched out, strewn with rocks or clothed in forests, but showing few traces of the presence of man. Here and there might be encountered bands of wandering red men. But these were not the orientals of Marco Polo. They had no spices or silks to sell, nothing of value to give for English cloth. Slowly the bitter truth became evident to the explorer. He had not discovered Cathay, but some other land quite worthless for purposes of trade. Once this was realised there was nothing for it but to turn back with cargoes unsold and failure to report in place of dazzling success. John Cabot did not long survive his disappointment. It is probable that he died in 1499 or 1500.

In such a depressing light did the discovery of America present itself to the English mind. The Spaniards were equally disappointed when the same facts became evident to them, but ere long they were to be consoled by the riches of Mexico and Peru. In the region of the English discoveries no such compensations presented themselves. For nearly a century to come the American coast-line was regarded by English explorers as valueless in itself, an obstacle which must be penetrated or circumvented in order to attain the desired goal, the sea passage to Cathay. It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that Englishmen turned their hands to their true work in the world, the colonisation of the great continent itself.

For the present the problem they set themselves to solve was the discovery of a way round the north of the new land, and many heroic efforts were expended in the quest of the North-West Passage. The first to undertake it was Sebastian Cabot, the second son of our first explorer. At some time subsequent to his father's failure—possibly, but not certainly, in 1499—he made a voyage with two ships up the repellent coast of Labrador seeking in vain for some opening to the west. He was turned back by huge masses of ice and also, according to one account, by a mutiny of his men. After this he quitted England and entered the Spanish service, but we shall meet him again in his old age when he again plays a part in English expansion.

Bristol had already been prominent in ocean discovery, and the next effort we have to consider was made by three merchants of that city¹ in conjunction with three Portuguese navigators. In 1501 Henry VII. granted them permission to make voyages to the north-west. Their object seems to have been similar to that of Sebastian Cabot, to find a North-West Passage and to establish a fortified colony at its entrance so as to prevent other nations from using it. They made four or five expeditions in 1501 and the following years, but little is known as to their achievements. They received some financial assistance from the King, and probably paid expenses by fur-trading and fishing on the Labrador coast. Their attempts to find the passage were a failure, and they seem to have discontinued the enterprise after 1505.

The only practical result of the voyages of Henry VII.'s reign was the opening up of the Newfoundland fishery.

The Newfoundland fishery.

This was soon energetically worked by Frenchmen, Spaniards and Portuguese. The fishermen of the east coast of England still continued to resort to Iceland, but those of Bristol found the Newfoundland voyage more profitable, and their use of the

¹ Their names were Richard Ward, Thomas Ashehurst and John Thomas.

coasts of that island constitutes the claim of Newfoundland to be the oldest English settlement beyond the seas.

SUMMARY OF EXPANSION UNDER HENRY VII

1. Henry VII. restored order after the Wars of the Roses and worked successfully in the interests of English commerce.
2. The old branches of foreign trade took a fresh lease of life, and a new trade with the Levant was opened up.
3. Columbus discovered the West Indies for Spain, and Vasco da Gama the sea route to India for Portugal.
4. It was a general belief that Eastern Asia could be reached by sailing to the west.
5. Henry VII., although desiring friendship with Spain, countenanced attempts to make this discovery.
6. John Cabot's two voyages first raised a hope that Cathay had been reached, and then proved that America lay as an obstacle in the way.
7. The voyages of Sebastian Cabot and the Anglo-Portuguese Company of Bristol were attempts to find a North-West Passage round America.
8. The Newfoundland fishery began to be exploited.

IMPORTANT DATES

1485. Navigation Act reserving the Bordeaux wine trade to Englishmen.
1492. Christopher Columbus discovers the West Indies.
- 1493-6. Quarrel with the Netherlands, stoppage of trade.
1496. The *Magnus Intercursus*, treaty with the Netherlands.
1497. John Cabot's first voyage to North America.
1498. John Cabot's second voyage to North America
Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea.
- 1499(?). Sebastian Cabot's voyage to the north-west.
- 1501-5. Voyages of the Anglo-Portuguese syndicate from Bristol.
1505. New Charter granted to the Merchant Adventurers.
1509. Death of Henry VII.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII., 1509-1547

THE accession of Henry VIII. in 1509 involved, for a short time, a return to a state of affairs familiar to the Middle Ages. The young King was fired with the idea of reconquering the lost territories in the north and south-west of France, and ere long was making war upon that country in alliance with the Emperor Maximilian and the King of Spain. The war was on the whole unsuccessful. An expedition was sent to Spain under the Marquis of Dorset with the object of crossing the Pyrenees with Spanish assistance, and overrunning the province of Gascony. This expedition proved a complete failure, and returned in disgrace without striking a blow at the enemy. The men were neglected by their allies, their health was undermined by the climate and a too free indulgence in the fiery wines of the country; they broke into mutiny and came home without leave.

To retrieve this humiliation, Henry crossed to Calais in the next year, and opened a campaign in north-eastern France. He won the Battle of the Spurs, and assisted in reducing Tournay and Terouenne. During his absence James IV. of Scotland crossed the Border only to meet defeat and death at Flodden Field. The credit for so promptly dealing with this serious peril was divided between Queen Katherine, who organised the English army of defence, and the Earl of Surrey, who led it to victory. Henry VIII. returned to England in the autumn with only a very small portion of his expected conquests in France accomplished.

In the meantime the English navy had been rendering somewhat better service against the French than the land forces had done. On August 10th, 1512, the fleet, under Sir Edward Howard, fought a battle with the French off the Breton coast. Each side lost its largest ship, the English *Regent* and the French *Cordelière* engaging in a desperate duel which ended in both being burnt side by side. But the battle otherwise went in favour of the English, who routed their enemies and chased them into Brest. Early in 1513 Howard was again at sea looking for the French. They refused to come out of Brest to face him, and he began a blockade of that port. He himself was killed in an attempt to capture some French galleys which had arrived in a neighbouring haven, and the blockade was then discontinued. His fleet had, however, demonstrated its superiority, and held the command of the Channel during the remainder of the war. The English navy was at this time a young force fighting its first campaign. The warships of Henry V., it will be remembered, had all disappeared during the evil times of his successor. Henry VII. had made a fresh beginning by building a few first-class fighting ships. These had been largely added to by Henry VIII., who always took an especial interest in the navy.

The war came to an end in 1514. The King, although he had gained some glory, had little else to show for it, and henceforward, under the guidance of Thomas Wolsey, he pursued a more cautious policy. His martial occupations had left him little leisure to continue his father's efforts on behalf of English trade. In spite of this, the good work already done continued to bear fruit. The Merchant Adventurers benefited by friendly relations with the Low Countries (under the rule of the Emperor Maximilian). Henry's wife also was the daughter of King Ferdinand, a fact which had a favourable influence on commerce with Spain. So flourishing did this branch of trade become that the merchants interested formed themselves into a company in imitation of the Merchant Adventurers. They secured

**Progress of
commerce.
The English
merchants in
Spain.**

privileges from the Spanish authorities, including liberty to erect warehouses and a church at the port of San Lucar, near Seville. Henry granted them a charter similar to that of the older companies, by which they might elect a governor, frame rules for the conduct of the trade, and collect fines from the disobedient.

Thus, in spite of the wars which distracted Europe at this period, things went smoothly with the merchants and sea-captains of England for the first twenty years of Henry's reign. Then a question arose which produced far-reaching changes. The Reformation had begun in Germany under Martin Luther in 1517. Henry was at first hostile to it, but when he desired a divorce from his wife, Katherine of Aragon, the Pope was unable to grant his request. The English King refused to swerve from his purpose, and attained it by severing the connection between England and the Papal Church. He who by an earlier Pope had been complimented as Defender of the Faith now became Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the reformed doctrines made rapid headway in the country. To understand the effects of this change upon English maritime affairs it is necessary to bear in mind the following facts: the Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain were now both dead; Charles V., the grandson of both, was also the heir of both; he ruled over Germany, the Netherlands, part of Italy, Spain and all the vast dominions which the Spaniards were conquering in America; and he, the most powerful prince in the world, was the nephew of the woman whom Henry had driven from his court.

It soon followed that the English merchants were regarded sourly both in the Netherlands and Spain. In the former country they had to put up with irritating annoyances; officials plagued them with new taxes and regulations, and on two occasions they were all placed under arrest for a considerable time. But if trade with the Netherlands became difficult, with Spain it became well-nigh impossible. The Inquisition had long been at work in that country in

the spiritual interests of the Moors and Jews. It now began to persecute Englishmen for heresy. All good subjects of Henry VIII. were expected to take oath that they believed their King to be head of the English Church. This was sufficient to condemn them in the eyes of Spanish priests. In 1539 it was reported that three Englishmen had been burnt on these grounds, and although the story was not confirmed there was no doubt that many were imprisoned, tortured and deprived of all their goods. These cruelties produced retaliation. English seamen, despairing of legitimate trade, began to capture Spanish and Flemish ships at sea. They soon learnt that vessels coming from the West Indies were likely to prove rich prizes, and although the quarrel was patched up after a time, the former friendly relations were never restored.

As has been related, the regular English trade with the Mediterranean was begun in the time of Henry VII. Like that with Spain, it continued to prosper in the first years of his successor. Consuls were appointed in the ports of the Levant, and a sixteenth century writer records that as early as 1511 "divers tall ships of London, with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristol, had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripoli and Beyrout in Syria." The voyage out and home usually occupied a full twelve months. Large and well-armed ships were necessary because of the danger from the pirates who swarmed in Mediterranean waters. The trade thus formed an excellent training ground for a new generation of sea-captains who were to carry the English flag to unheard-of distances. Among the men who engaged in it in their youth were Anthony Jenkinson, the Asiatic explorer, and Richard Chancellor, the discoverer of the White Sea.

**Increasing
frequency of
voyages to
the Medi-
terranean.**

To keep pace with the merchants' demands for cargoes, the manufacture of cloth in England was carried on to an ever increasing extent. Arable land was converted into sheep farms to produce the raw material, but the weavers soon absorbed the increased supplies. One result of this

was the decline of the oldest of English merchant companies, the Merchants of the Staple, since there was less raw wool available for export. The shipments of the Staplers fell off by 50 per cent. in this reign.

- Although Henry VIII. always showed a keen interest in maritime concerns, the other great affairs of his reign—foreign politics and the Reformation—prevented him from doing as much as he would have wished to forward the cause of English exploration. Nevertheless, there were several attempts at discovery promoted by the mercantile classes of his subjects, and patronised by the Sovereign himself. In the earlier ones, in fact, the initiative was mainly due to the Government. In 1521 the King and Cardinal Wolsey made a proposal to the Livery Companies of London that they should provide some ships for a voyage of discovery to the North-West. The expedition was to have been commanded by Sebastian Cabot, who would have returned from Spain for that purpose. But the merchants of London did not look so favourably on schemes for western discovery as those of Bristol had done, and the plan was abandoned owing to their unwillingness to subscribe the necessary funds.

Next, in 1527, Robert Thorne, a member of a wealthy family of Bristol merchants trading in Spain, wrote a

Robert Thorne and the promotion of discovery. treatise in which he sought to prove that Cathay might be reached by sailing right over the North Pole. He was undeterred by the reports of icefields which the earlier explorers in this region had brought back. He argued plausibly that since the equatorial zone had not been found too hot for Europeans to traverse, so the polar regions would not prove to be too cold, and he added that the perpetual daylight of the arctic summer would more than compensate for the disadvantages of the route. Although mistaken, Thorne was a sincerely patriotic man, and spent his money freely in acquiring information about remote parts of the world. His name deserves to be remembered as that of the first English writer on such subjects.

Perhaps in consequence of Thorne's arguments, an expedition sailed for the North-West in 1527. It consisted of two ships under the command of John Rut, a sea-captain, and Albert de Prato, a canon of St. Paul's. It was financed largely, if not entirely, by the King, and one of the ships at least belonged to the Royal Navy. They sailed from the Thames on May 20th, 1527, and shaped their course for the coast of Labrador. On the way one of the vessels, the *Samson*, was lost in a storm, and John Rut with the remaining one, the *Mary Guilford*, continued the voyage alone. He persevered in the attempt to find the passage until he was turned back by masses of ice. He then returned to refit in a Newfoundland harbour, where he found ships of all nations engaged in fishing. By one of the fishing craft he sent home letters to the King in which he related his adventures and expressed his determination to persevere in the attempt. He is next heard of as coasting down the American shore to the southwards until he arrived in the West Indies. He encountered a Spanish captain off Porto Rico and inquired from him the way to San Domingo in Hispaniola, the principal island of the Spanish group. At San Domingo Rut's vessel was fired upon, and he was unable to land. He therefore returned to Porto Rico, traded with the inhabitants, and thence sailed homewards, having accomplished a memorable voyage.

John Rut's
expedition
to the
North-West.

This was the first recorded visit of an English ship to the West Indies, and, if the Spaniards had known it, it was as great an omen of ill-fortune for them as the raven beating in from the sea had been to our Saxon forefathers in the days of the Vikings. For the present, however, Henry VIII. had strong reasons for not quarrelling with Charles V., and did not encourage his subjects to repeat the performance.

In 1536 another north-western expedition set out under the command of Master Hore of London. It achieved no results of importance, getting no further than the neighbourhood of Cape Breton. The crew suffered greatly from want of food, some of its members being driven to kill and

eat one another. At last a French ship was sighted. The starving Englishmen boarded her and helped themselves to victuals, and so returned home after a most miserable experience. Afterwards, when the Frenchmen complained to King Henry, "he was so moved with pity that he punished not his subjects, but of his own purse made full and royal recompense unto the French."

In the meantime a private subject of the King had been opening up a new trade in quite a different direction.

The voyages of William Hawkins. William Hawkins of Plymouth was one of the best known merchant captains of the west of England. In 1530 he set sail in his ship, the *Paul* of Plymouth, to visit the coasts of Brazil. On the way out he touched the western shore of Africa, and obtained ivory from the natives. Arriving in Brazil, he conducted a successful trade. The country had been first discovered by the Portuguese, who now claimed a monopoly of its trade. But at this period they had only a few isolated settlements on the coast, and Hawkins seems to have avoided coming into collision with them. In 1531 and 1532 he repeated his exploit, making friends with the natives, and even bringing a native chief to England. This savage caused a great sensation at Henry's court by his extraordinary appearance. According to his promise, Hawkins treated him as a guest and not as a prisoner, and took him back on his next voyage to Brazil; but the chief died at sea on the way.

After making three voyages in person and establishing the trade, Hawkins continued to send out ships under subordinate captains, and obtained the support of Thomas Cromwell, Henry's second great minister of state. Other merchants followed his example, and a fort was built on the Brazilian coast. But for some unexplained reason the trade was allowed to die out after ten or a dozen years of prosperity. Possibly the outbreak of a series of naval wars in Northern Europe may have been the cause. Cruising against French and Spanish commerce soon became more profitable than lawful trade, and there is evidence

that William Hawkins was the owner of several privateers in his later years.

The record of these voyages under Henry VIII. shows that, although the English had achieved nothing which could compare in value with the discoveries of Spain and Portugal, they were nevertheless beginning to find their way about the world and to accumulate experience on which future expansion might be based. This slow progress was not a disadvantage in the long run. The Spaniards and Portuguese were demoralised by their too easily gained wealth, and never acquired the true art of colonisation. The English, being too late to seize the rich tropical lands, were forced to work hard for little gain in the bleak regions of the north. Although many were discouraged, a few persevered, and after long years of struggle the English race was firmly established in North America.

A few words must be said as to the navy under Henry VIII. Throughout his life he worked hard to improve this force. He built and bought many ships both **Henry VIII.** great and small, and always showed willingness **and the navy.** to experiment with improved types. Guns increased greatly in power and range, and Englishmen rapidly became as skilful gunners as they had been archers in the Middle Ages. The hour of trial arrived in 1545, when the French planned an invasion and conquest of England. Their fleet and army were of unprecedented strength, but they were foiled by Henry's warships. After an indecisive engagement off Portsmouth in July, the fleets again encountered, one August evening, off the Sussex coast. The English anchored to prepare for a decisive battle on the morrow, but when morning dawned their enemy was almost out of sight. They had retired without a struggle to their own ports, and the scheme of invasion was abandoned. **The fleet had saved England on this occasion just as certainly as it did forty-three years later from the Spanish Armada.**

Henry's work on behalf of the navy can be gauged from the following facts: When he ascended the throne there were seven royal ships, of which two were battleships of

the first class ; when he died he left a fleet composed of 53 vessels, amounting together to 11,268 tons and carrying 2,087 guns and 7,780 men. The progress of commerce and the practice of distant voyages caused his subjects to build larger merchantmen than formerly, and these were also made useful in time of war. The merchant sailor, in fact, was just as good a fighting man as he who served in the fleet.

SUMMARY

1. The improvement in English trade, commenced under Henry VII., was maintained under Henry VIII., although that King did not do so much for commerce as his father had done.
2. Trade with Spain and the Mediterranean increased.
3. The Reformation gave rise to hostility between England and Spain. This steadily increased, until it culminated in the despatch of the Spanish Armada.
4. Voyages of discovery under Henry VIII. were mainly directed to the finding of a North-West Passage to Asia.
5. William Hawkins opened up an important trade with Brazil.
6. Henry VIII. engaged in wars with France, and made the English navy stronger than it had ever been before

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1512-14. War with France. Success of the English fleet.
1521. Failure of a plan for the London Livery Companies to finance an English expedition to the North-West.
1527. Robert Thorne's *Declaration of the Indies*.
John Rut's voyage to the North-West and the West Indies.
1530. The English merchants in Spain become a Company by Charter of Henry VIII.
- 1530-2. William Hawkins' three voyages to Brazil.
1536. Hore's voyage to the North-West.
- 1539-40. The Inquisition persecutes Englishmen in Spain.
1545. A French invasion foiled by the English fleet.
1547. Death of Henry VIII.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD VI. AND MARY, 1547-1558

WITH the death of Henry VIII. changes which had long been preparing in the trend of English maritime affairs began to manifest themselves in unmistakable fashion. The old European trades, hitherto the most important, showed a sudden decline from which they never fully recovered. Many separate causes acting at the same time produced this result. The dissensions arising from the Reformation, and the fierce competition of the Hanseatic League affected the security of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, and oft-repeated complaints were made of the "decay" of their trade. The Merchants of the Staple, although exporting less wool than formerly, found a difficulty in selling their wares owing to the competition of the Spanish product. But, apart from this, their day was nearly ended. The increase of home manufacture was slowly but surely absorbing the surplus left over for export. The finishing stroke was supplied by the capture of Calais by the French in 1558. An attempt was made to re-establish the Staple in a Netherlands town, but ere long the shipments became irregular, and finally ceased altogether.

In the Bordeaux wine trade again, the English monopoly was broken by a partial repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1552. The Act of Henry VII., which had excluded foreigners from engaging in this trade, had been enforced with fair regularity, and had been extended by a new Navigation Act in 1540. The Duke of Northumberland, the virtual ruler of the country during the last years of Edward VI.,

found it convenient to throw the trade open to foreigners at certain seasons of the year.

The position of the English in Spain continued to suffer from the causes which had endangered it under Henry VIII.

Advance of the Turks and cessation of the Levant trade. In the Mediterranean, which had seemed at one time the most promising new outlet for English energies, a decline also took place. The Turks, who had taken Constantinople in 1453, steadily extended their conquests in the sixteenth century. One by one the islands of the Levant, formerly colonies of the Italian cities, fell under their sway. The Christian populations were reduced to slavery, and commerce was slowly blotted out. Fierce Mohammedan pirates swept the seas, and only those merchantmen which were as strongly armed as warships could hope to survive. In 1552 and 1553 occurred the last recorded English voyages to the Levant of this early series. Thereafter the trade was "utterly discontinued and in a manner quite forgotten, as if it had never been, for the space of twenty years and more." Its revival in the middle of Elizabeth's reign will be dealt with later on.

The Hanseatic League deprived of its English privileges. The only event of this period favourable to the old commerce was the extinction of the privileges of the Hanseatic League by the governments of Edward VI. and Mary. These German merchants had taken advantage of the confusion of the fifteenth century to secure a treaty from Edward IV. by which solid advantages were conferred on them. They had a block of warehouses in London called the Steelyard (where Cannon Street Station now stands). Here they governed themselves by their own laws and magistrates. They paid lower duties on their wares than did any other foreigners. In some instances, in fact, they paid less than English merchants themselves. Taking advantage of the misfortunes of the English in the Low Countries, they began to grasp a leading share in a trade which the English had always regarded as peculiarly their own. But the Merchant Adventurers, although their

business was declining, had a hold upon the English Government. They had lent it large sums of money. In return they demanded the abatement of the privileges of their rivals. Accordingly, in 1552, the Charter of the Easterlings was revoked, and they were reduced to the same status as ordinary aliens. Mary, on her accession in 1553, restored the privileges for a time, but withdrew them again before the end of her reign. The Easterlings continued to trade in their humbled position for another forty years, and were finally expelled by Elizabeth in 1598.

The foregoing account shows that the middle years of the sixteenth century were a time of depression in the old trades. Those merchants who clung to them exclusively and refused to look further afield were loud in their complaints of bad times. But there were others more enterprising, who realised that the world had grown larger, and that there was no need for Englishmen to confine their activities to the waters of Europe. In two different directions, therefore, we find a beginning of better things.

Oceanic
enterprise
stimulated by
misfortunes
in Europe.

It will be remembered that William Hawkins had touched at the African coast on his way to Brazil in 1530. That coast had been the earliest scene of the discoveries of the Portuguese, and they raised loud protests at any invasion of their rights. But under the Protestant regime of Edward VI. Englishmen were less disposed to pay reverence to the Bull of Alexander VI. which had divided the world between the two nations of the Peninsula. Accordingly, in the year 1551, a syndicate of London merchants despatched a ship called the *Lion* to the coast of Morocco. It was commanded by Thomas Wyndham, an officer who had gained some reputation in the naval wars of Henry VIII. He was successful in opening up a trade, and repeated the voyage with three vessels in the following year. The goods obtained by these expeditions were sugar, dates, almonds, and molasses, all of which were much

The voyages
of Thomas
Wyndham
A regular
African trade
begin.

scarcer luxuries in England than they are at the present day.

The merchants, having now amassed considerable capital, determined to invest it in a still bolder venture. They had heard that further to the south lay the coast of Guinea producing pepper, ivory and gold. The Portuguese had always taken pains to keep secret their knowledge of the navigation of this region. But at this time there was in London a Portuguese traitor named Pinteado. He had served as a pilot on the coast of Guinea, and was now a fugitive from his own country. This man went to the merchants interested in the African trade and offered to guide an expedition to this wealthy and secret region. His offer was accepted, and he set sail with Thomas Wyndham in 1553, a month after the death of Edward VI. The squadron consisted of the *Lion*, Wyndham's old ship, the *Primrose*, and a pinnace called the *Moon*. On the voyage down the African coast they met a Portuguese galleon sent expressly to stop them, but when it came to the point she declined the fight, and they proceeded on their way. Arriving at the Gold Coast, they traded with the native chiefs and obtained 150 lb. of gold dust in exchange for beads and metal basins and other goods of very slight value.

The next step was to sail on to the Bight of Benin, where Pinteado knew of a pepper-growing region. He himself, with some of the English merchants, went up country to bargain for pepper. In his absence an epidemic of sickness broke out among the crews, and numbers of the men died. Messages were sent ordering the merchants to return at once to the ships, but they failed to obey. Pinteado alone went back to beg for some delay. He found Wyndham dead and the survivors in a state of mutiny. They insisted on sailing for home at once, taking Pinteado with them, and abandoning the merchants to their fate. On the way home many more died, including Pinteado himself. Of the 140 men who had set out from England, scarcely 40 returned. But the value of the gold brought back showed a handsome profit on the expedition in spite of all disasters.

In the following years many English merchantmen made voyages to the Guinea Coast. John Lok in 1554-5 secured 400 lb. of gold with other produce amounting in all to a value of £20,000. William Towerson made three successive voyages, all of which seem to have been profitable, and other Englishmen whose names are not recorded engaged in the same trade. The Portuguese sent out warships to hunt down the interlopers. They also made complaints to the English Government, and induced Queen Mary to prohibit the trade. But small notice was taken either of warships or prohibitions so long as large profits were to be made. In course of time it would appear that the trade was overdone. The supply of gold was limited, and the natives raised their prices. Other branches of commerce began to attract English capital, and the African trade was no longer so vigorously pursued, but it was never entirely lost sight of.

While Wyndham and others were voyaging to Africa, the project of a northern passage to Asia was being revived in a new form. In 1548 Sebastian Cabot had returned to England after serving for thirty years in the important office of Pilot-Major of Spain. His flight from Spain had probably been managed by a group of influential persons who hoped that he would be useful in promoting English discovery. Some years elapsed before the plan took shape, but at length, early in 1553, a company of courtiers, nobles and merchants was formed to set forth an expedition to Cathay by the north-east. Several explorers had already failed to find a North-West Passage, but the north-eastern route had never yet been tried by Englishmen, and high hopes of success were therefore entertained. Cabot's advice determined the direction of the new venture, and he drew up a set of rules for its conduct. At a meeting of the investors it was decided that the expedition should start in the summer of 1553, that it should consist of three ships, and that it should be commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby. Willoughby had distinguished himself on land in the

Sebastian
Cabot and the
North-East
Passage.

Scottish wars, but it is not known whether he had any experience of the sea. His second-in-command, however, Richard Chancellor, was a professional seaman who had made voyages to the Levant.

The fleet sailed from Ratcliffe on May 10th, 1553, and arrived after many delays at the Isle of Senjen off the coast of Norway on August 2nd. Here a sudden and violent storm separated the ships. Willoughby with the *Bona Esperanza* and the Chancellor. *Bona Confidentia* lost sight of Chancellor in the *Edward Bonaventure*. In case of such a mishap it had been agreed to rendezvous at Vardo, the most northerly civilised settlement of Europe. Chancellor duly proceeded thither, but Willoughby lost his reckoning, and went sailing on until he reached Novaia Zemlia on August 14th. He was still full of eagerness to discover the passage, but one of his ships sprang a leak, and he had to seek some haven where she might be repaired. The weather also grew rapidly worse, and it soon became evident that the discovery must be postponed till the following spring. After examining the barren and cheerless coasts for more than a month amid increasing cold, Willoughby decided to winter in the mouth of the River Arzina in Russian Lapland. The two ships were moored, and men were sent out to examine the country. They found plenty of wild animals, but no signs of human existence. Tragedy was the result of this attempt to pass the winter in the hulls of the ships. Before the next spring, Sir Hugh Willoughby and every one of his men were dead. In 1554 Russian fishermen found the ships with the bodies in them and also a journal kept by Sir Hugh, from which the account of the voyage is drawn. There was plenty of food still remaining, and it was therefore conjectured that the cold alone of the Arctic winter had been sufficient to kill those who had no experience of the best methods of meeting it.

In the meantime Chancellor had waited some while for his chief at Vardo, but, finding he did not appear, deter-

mined to push on with the discovery alone. Keeping nearer to the coast than Willoughby had done, he found the entrance to the White Sea. Soon after entering it he fell in with some Russian fishermen who guided him to Archangel.

**Discovery
of the
White Sea.**

He was somewhat surprised to find that he had discovered the territories of the Czar, as no one at that time thought that they extended so far to the north. He realised that some commercial advantages might be gained, and travelled to Moscow to present to Ivan the Terrible the letters of recommendation with which Edward VI. had furnished the expedition. Ivan was pleased with the Englishman's bearing, and readily granted permission to his countrymen to buy and sell in all parts of his dominions. With this message Chancellor returned to his ship and, as soon as navigation was possible, set sail for England.

On his arrival in 1554 his story created a great sensation. The company decided to engage with energy in the Russian trade, and for the time being the less promising search for the North-East Passage was dropped. Hence the undertaking became known as the Muscovy or Russia Company. Queen Mary granted them a charter of incorporation in the usual terms, by which a monopoly was secured to them. Chancellor returned with several merchants to Russia, and factories for the storage of goods were established. Although it did good business for many years, the company was unfortunate in losing several ships. Chancellor himself was wrecked and drowned on his second return from Russia in the *Edward Bonaventure*. A Russian ambassador who took passage with him was saved, and met with an enthusiastic reception in London. He was the first of his nation who had ever been seen there, and was instrumental in concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce.

The Russia Company was the first of a series which were in time to come to develop for England a world-wide trade. The most important of them all, the East India Company

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mined to push on with the discovery alone. Keeping nearer to the coast than Willoughby had done, he found the entrance to the White Sea. Soon after entering it he fell in with some Russian fishermen who guided him to Archangel. He was somewhat surprised to find that he had discovered the territories of the Czar, as no one at that time thought that they extended so far to the north. He realised that some commercial advantages might be gained, and travelled to Moscow to present to Ivan the Terrible the letters of recommendation with which Edward VI. had furnished the expedition. Ivan was pleased with the Englishman's bearing, and readily granted permission to his countrymen to buy and sell in all parts of his dominions. With this message Chancellor returned to his ship and, as soon as navigation was possible, set sail for England.

On his arrival in 1554 his story created a great sensation. The company decided to engage with energy in the Russian trade, and for the time being the less promising search for the North-East Passage was dropped. Hence the undertaking became known as the Muscovy or Russia Company. Queen Mary granted them a charter of incorporation in the usual terms, by which a monopoly was secured to them. Chancellor returned with several merchants to Russia, and factories for the storage of goods were established. Although it did good business for many years, the company was unfortunate in losing several ships. Chancellor himself was wrecked and drowned on his second return from Russia in the *Edward Bonaventure*. A Russian ambassador who took passage with him was saved, and met with an enthusiastic reception in London. He was the first of his nation who had ever been seen there, and was instrumental in concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce.

The Russia Company was the first of a series which were in time to come to develop for England a world-wide trade. The most important of them all, the East India Company

- formed half a century later, owed a good deal to the experience gained by the Russia Company. These companies differed from the older ones like the Merchant Adventurers in that they were worked on a joint stock, that is to say, the capital and the profits were pooled, and the latter were distributed to the investors in the shape of interest on their shares. The older companies were of the "regulated" type. In them each merchant traded on his own separate capital and made his own profit or loss. Membership of the company simply meant that he enjoyed its privileges and submitted to its rules. The regulated type of company was found unsuitable for long voyages in which large ships were employed, the risks being too great for single merchants to bear.

SUMMARY

1. The period 1547-1558 is one of decline in the old trades with European countries.
2. In spite of this, mercantile enterprise found an outlet in voyages to Africa and the North-East.
3. Thomas Wyndham first led expeditions to Morocco, and afterwards to Guinea and Benin.
4. The African trade brought Englishmen into collision with claims based on the Bull of Alexander VI.
5. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor set out to find the North-East Passage. Chancellor discovered northern Russia instead.
6. Establishment of the Russia Company, the first great joint-stock company.

IMPORTANT DATES

1548. Sebastian Cabot returns to England.
 1551. Wyndham's first voyage to Morocco.
 1552. The privileges of the Hansa revoked.
 1553. Discontinuance of the Levant trade.

1553. Wyndham's voyage to Guinea.
 Formation of the Russia Company.
 Willoughby and Chancellor sail for the North-East.
 Death of Edward VI.
- 1553-4. Death of Willoughby. Arrival of Chancellor at Moscow.
1556. Wreck of the *Edward Bonaventure*. Death of Chancellor.
1558. Loss of Calais.
 Death of Mary.

CHAPTER IV

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

(i) *English Trade in Europe*

THE year 1558, which saw the accession of Elizabeth, saw also the death of Charles V. Before retiring to the Spanish monastery in which he ended his days, he had divided his vast empire between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip. The former became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which in practice meant ruler of Austria and overlord of the other princes of Germany; the latter became King of Spain and the Spanish colonies, and ruler of the Netherlands and part of Italy. Later on, in 1580, Philip made himself King of Portugal on the extinction of the old royal line, and thus united the whole peninsula under his rule. The main importance of this step to England was that, in the war which followed, the colonies and commerce of Portugal, in addition to those of Spain, became open to English attack.

Philip II. was determined to put a stop to the spread of Protestant doctrines among his Netherlands subjects. The

The revolt of the Netherlands. Inquisition redoubled its activities, and the inhabitants of the northern or Dutch provinces were slowly but surely driven into rebellion.

The struggle, once started, involved the whole country, and the position of the Merchant Adventurers, as the subjects of a Protestant queen, became an extremely difficult one. The trade of Antwerp languished, and was ultimately destroyed by the wars, and the English merchants transferred their mart to Hamburg in 1569. On new ground

the business of the Merchant Adventurers took a fresh lease of life, and they flourished at Hamburg for over a century to come.

The reduction of the privileges of the Hansa by Edward VI. and Mary had also a good effect on the English trade to the Baltic. It will be remembered that Henry IV. had chartered companies for this region, but that Hanse competition had almost wiped them out. In 1579 Elizabeth issued a new charter reconstituting the Eastland Company, which did good business in the ensuing years.

The Russia Company, which had begun well owing to the ability of Richard Chancellor, continued to prosper until nearly the end of Elizabeth's reign, when The English its fortunes suffered a decline. Anthony Jen- in Russia. kinson, who succeeded Chancellor as the Company's chief agent in Russia, made long and perilous journeys into Central Asia, and opened up an English trade with Persia by the overland route. The sea-passage to Russia was also shortened by the conquests of the Czar, Ivan the Terrible, who captured the port of Narva on the Baltic coast. This made it unnecessary for the Company's ships to brave the northern shores of Scandinavia and the White Sea. But towards the end of his reign, his former friendly feelings towards England underwent a change. The Dutch and the Easterlings began to intrude into the trade, and the English merchants were charged with exacting extortionate prices in Russia. Thus, by the opening of the seventeenth century, their business had fallen to very small dimensions, although their monopoly against other Englishmen was jealously maintained.

In commerce with Southern Europe there were gains and losses. In spite of increasing ill-feeling, trade with Spain continued right up to 1585, when King Philip gave orders for the arrest of all English ships and men in his dominions. Thenceforward there was no intercourse for nearly twenty years. Previously to this, steps had been taken for the renewing of the Levant trade, which had been discontinued about 1550. In 1575 two Englishmen travelled through

Poland to Constantinople, and opened up negotiations with the Sultan. As a result, he granted privileges and safe-conduct for English merchants, and in 1581 **The Levant Company.** Queen Elizabeth issued letters patent to the merchants interested, constituting them a company with a monopoly of the trade. The Turkey Company, as the new body was called, carried on its business until 1593, when it was amalgamated with a similar venture named the Venice Company, whose name indicates the scene of its activities. The combined Mediterranean traders took the name of the Levant Company. Although they never achieved startling prosperity, they continued to carry on a trade until the early years of the nineteenth century, when their exclusive privileges were annulled. For commerce with further Asia, the Mediterranean route had, of course, been superseded by the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope, and the Levant Company dealt mainly in the products of Turkey, Syria and Egypt.

Although oceanic adventures are relatively more important in this reign, it will be seen that European trade was by no means languishing in spite of the wars which the Reformation produced in nearly every quarter of Christendom.

(ii) *Oceanic Trade and the North-West Passage*

The trade with the Guinea coast, which had been so successfully begun under Queen Mary, was continued in the early years of her successor. Elizabeth, unlike her sister, did not disapprove of this traffic, and permitted ships of the navy to be chartered by the merchants engaged. But various adverse circumstances combined to rob the later expeditions of the profits made by the pioneers. The Portuguese, finding protests useless, increased their force of warships on the coast, and fighting with their galleys became the rule rather than the exception. The French also were entering largely into the trade, and their competition tended to raise the prices exacted by the negroes for their produce.

But the most patent cause of the decline was the activity of a new class of adventurer on the African coast. John Hawkins, the son of William Hawkins, who had voyaged to Brazil in 1530, exploited the negroes in a manner which proved to be more profitable than tedious bargaining for gold dust. In 1562 and the following years he carried off large numbers of the blacks "partly by the sword and partly by other means," and sold them as slaves to the Spanish colonists in the West Indies. The result was that all Englishmen were distrusted upon the Guinea coast. Where formerly they had traded in peace and friendship, they were now attacked by the natives, even when bent only on barter. Thus the year 1566-7 saw the last English voyage of the older type for many years to come. This voyage was commanded by George Fenner. He did more fighting than trading with the negroes, and on his return was attacked by seven Portuguese men-of-war off the Azores. His own ship, the *Castle of Comfort*, beat off all attacks for three days in succession, her two consorts being too small to be of much assistance. Finally, the Portuguese were glad to draw off, and leave the heroic Englishman to pursue his voyage in peace.

John
Hawkins and
the slave
trade.

John Hawkins had gained his early experience of the ocean in trading voyages to the Canaries. Here he sought diligently for intelligence of the commercial prospects in the West Indies, and was told that negro slaves would command a good price from the Spanish planters. Within a very few years after Columbus' first discovery, the Spaniards had enslaved the aboriginal inhabitants of those islands. Hard labour and cruel treatment had proved fatal to them, and now the entire race was extinct. To supply their place, negroes had to be imported from Africa, but their numbers were restricted by the regulations of the Spanish government. Hawkins realised that in engaging in the trade he would be infringing the monopoly of the western seas claimed by Spain, but he shrewdly guessed that the planters themselves would be so glad to obtain

labour that they would raise few objections. Although he was the first Englishman to engage in the slave trade, it will be seen from the foregoing that he was in no sense the inventor of it.

Hawkins set sail on the first of these voyages in October 1562. He had with him three small ships, and the voyage was financed by a syndicate which included, strangely enough, some of the merchants interested in the gold and ivory trade. They probably did not foresee the disastrous effect the new traffic would have upon the old. He made a good passage to Guinea, captured 300 negroes "besides other merchandise," and sailed across the Atlantic to the island of Hispaniola, the Spanish headquarters in the West Indies. There he sold his negroes and other commodities for such good prices that he was able to lade with the proceeds, not only his own three ships, but two others also which he chartered and sent to Spain. The goods which the West Indies at this time produced were hides, ginger, sugar and pearls.

So profitable had this voyage been that another on a larger scale was soon projected. In 1564 Hawkins sailed again with four ships, of which the largest was the famous *Jesus of Lubeck* of 700 tons. Henry VIII. had bought her from the Easterlings when he was at war with France in 1545, and she had ever since remained in the English fleet. Her presence in Hawkins' squadron illustrates a practice of Queen Elizabeth's which will frequently be noticed in the maritime history of her reign. Whenever a mercantile venture gave promise of success, she took a share in it as a private investor on the same footing as the other merchants, and she usually paid for her share, not in ready money, but by giving the syndicate the use of one or more of the ships of the fleet. The participation of the *Jesus of Lubeck* in the voyage of 1564 represents the Queen's investment in the expedition.

On this second occasion Hawkins repeated his former

success. It is true that orders had arrived from the Spanish government forbidding their colonists to trade with him, but this was a small difficulty to a man of his resourceful character. He represented that he had been driven out of his true course by storms, and claimed liberty on that account to obtain food and water. Where the local authorities stood to their instructions and forbade his traffic, he resorted to a bold display of force, to which in most cases they were glad to submit after a nominal resistance. The key to the situation lay in the fact that the colonists were in need of slaves, and were anxious to buy them in spite of the policy of their government. On departing, Hawkins was careful to obtain a certificate of good conduct. He returned to England in 1565, "bringing home both gold, silver, pearls and other jewels great store."

After resting on his laurels for more than a year, Hawkins again set out in 1567 with a larger fleet than on either of the previous occasions. In this voyage, which ~~His disastrous~~ **third voyage** was destined to be as disastrous as the first two had been profitable, he had with him the *Jesus of Lubeck* and the *Minion* belonging to the Queen, and four smaller vessels, of which one, the *Judith*, was commanded by Francis Drake. The usual slave hunt was carried out on the African coast, and after some hard fighting 400 or 500 negroes were procured. They were sold in the same manner as before on the coast of the Spanish Main, the northern shore of South America. At one place where the Governor absolutely refused to permit the trade, Hawkins landed his men and captured the town. After he had done so, the colonists came to him secretly and bought a large number of his negroes. Having disposed of the greater part of his cargo, he set sail, intending to make his way out of the West Indies by the Florida Channel. But a violent storm so damaged the *Jesus* that it was thought impossible for her to reach home without repairs. Hawkins accordingly made for the roadstead of San Juan d'Ulloa, the only port on the Mexican coast. The day after his arrival there appeared outside a fleet of thirteen ships from Spain.

Hawkins was in a dilemma. If he held the port against them, as he was in a position to do, they ran a great risk of being wrecked by the northerly gales, in which case the indignation of the Spanish government would probably have been his ruin. It must be remembered that England and Spain were then at peace. On the other hand, if he admitted them, they might fall upon his storm-beaten ships and destroy them at their leisure.

Finally he decided to let them come into the harbour, after they had given an undertaking not to molest him.

The fight at San Juan d'Ulloa. The anchorage was so small that all the ships, Spanish and English, had to be moored side by side, with very little space between them. Six

days after this agreement had been made, the Spaniards suddenly fell upon the English ships, having secretly reinforced their own with soldiers from the mainland. Most of the Englishmen who were ashore were slaughtered without mercy, and it is said that Drake himself only escaped by his presence of mind and bodily strength. The Spaniards concentrated their fire upon the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and so ruined her masts and rigging that it was impossible to bring her off. Three of the smaller vessels were also lost, and only the *Minion* and the *Judith* got clear away. They were crammed with men, survivors of the other crews as well as their own, and short of food and water. Hawkins had 200 in the *Minion*, of whom, by their own consent, he set 100 on shore on the Mexican coast. With the remainder he reached home after suffering extreme privations. Drake in the *Judith* had parted company with him near the scene of the disaster, but arrived in England within a few days of his commander.

Whatever may be urged against Hawkins for his high-handed proceedings in the Spanish colonies, it cannot be denied that his assailants were guilty of the basest treachery. They owed him the preservation of their ships if not of their lives, and had given a solemn undertaking to abstain from hostilities. The men whom he left in Mexico were in after years barbarously treated by the Inquisition; some

were burnt, some publicly flogged, and others condemned to lifelong servitude in the galleys; few ever saw their native land again. The massacre of San Juan d'Ulloa was never forgotten by the spirited seamen of Elizabeth. For the future they gave up all idea of trading with the colonies of Spain. They sailed instead for plunder and revenge, and Francis Drake became the leader of an ever-increasing band who sacked from end to end the Spanish Main and the Islands, the Isthmus of Panama and the shores of Peru, until the terrified Spaniards dared not move a cargo by sea nor a mule load of treasure by land without the protection of an armed force. Such was the price they had to pay for refusing the fierce subjects of the Tudors the right of fair trade on equal terms.

Spanish and Portuguese exclusiveness had yet another effect in stimulating the energies of a more pacific type of man than Drake and his companions. The relative decline of the European trades, and the increase of manufactures and capital in England, demanded that in some quarter an outlet must be found for the commercial activities of the country. The old design of finding the North-West Passage was accordingly revived in the middle of Elizabeth's reign. The object of the quest must be clearly understood. The discovery of the passage would have given England the shortest route to China, the East Indian Archipelago and India itself, and she would thus have acquired a preponderant share in Asiatic trade, then the monopoly of the Portuguese. It was for this reason alone, and not for the honour of mere geographical discovery, that the merchants of London opened their purses in support of the project.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1575, wrote a learned treatise to prove the existence of an open channel to the North of America. Two other men were at the same time turning their attention to the matter—
Michael Lok, a merchant of the Russia Company, and Martin Frobisher, an experienced seaman. These two became friends, and were the first to put their plans

Revival of the search for the North-West Passage.

Michael Lok and Martin Frobisher.

to the test. A few hundred pounds were collected, mainly by Lok's exertions, and Frobisher set sail with two small ships in 1576. He discovered a gulf, still called Frobisher's Sound, breaking the frozen coasts to the north of Labrador. Bad weather and losses among his crew forced him to turn back without making a close examination, but he was convinced that he had found the mouth of the Passage, and announced the fact very positively on his return.

Public interest being aroused, a company was formed called the Company of Cathay, and the Queen granted it **The Company** a charter with the usual monopoly privileges of Cathay. Lok was to be Governor and Frobisher Admiral of the new undertaking. Before the latter set sail once more in 1577, traces of gold had been found in a piece of mineral brought home on the first voyage. Frobisher was therefore ordered to lade his ship with more of this mineral before proceeding with the discovery. He gave the whole of his attention to this part of his instructions, and came home in the autumn of 1577 with three ship-loads of ore, leaving the discovery of the passage in the same position as before. A mania for speculation set in among the courtiers and merchants of London. Before the real value of the ore had been determined, Frobisher was at sea again (1578) with fifteen ships representing the investment of a large capital sum. During his absence the amount of gold in the ore was found to have been greatly exaggerated, insomuch that it would not pay for the cost of extraction. Not knowing this, Frobisher collected fifteen ship-loads more of the stuff, and arrived home to find the Company bankrupt and the enterprise at an end. During his third voyage he had discovered the straits between Labrador and Baffin Land, now named after a later explorer, Henry Hudson. Baffin Land itself was at that time called *Meta Incognita*. The Cathay Company thus perished disastrously within two years of its incorporation. Every penny invested had been lost, and Michael Lok, upon whom everyone concurred in laying the blame, was ruined and cast into prison for debt. Judging from the details which

survive, it would seem that Lok was neither more nor less in fault than Frobisher, or any one else connected with the enterprise. Frobisher was thenceforward unable to obtain support for further voyages to the North-West, but the project was carried forward by other hands.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as we have seen, had interested himself in the North-West Passage before Frobisher's first venture in that direction. But in course of time his ideas were modified, and when he at length found means to make a voyage himself, it was rather with the intention of planting a colony in Newfoundland or the neighbouring regions. In 1579 he set forward an expedition which proved a total failure. This left him short of money, and although he had obtained letters patent from the Queen authorising his undertaking, he was not able to make another attempt until 1583. In June of that year he set sail with five ships, of which the largest, the *Bark Raleigh*, deserted soon after leaving port. This was not a good omen for the discipline of the remainder, but Gilbert pushed on and arrived, after a few weeks, on the coast of Newfoundland. Here began a long series of disasters. The crew of the *Swallow*, one of the fleet, took to piracy, and robbed some fishermen whom they met on the Grand Banks. In spite of this, Gilbert was hospitably welcomed by the main fishing fleet on the coast, and formally took possession of Newfoundland in the name of the Queen. He stayed some weeks on this coast, and his crews became very disorderly. Many obtained leave to go home on pretence of sickness, and one of the ships was set apart for their transport. With the other three, Gilbert sailed to the southwards at the end of August, intending to search for a convenient site for his colony. While examining the shore of Nova Scotia, the *Delight*, the largest remaining ship, struck a reef and went to pieces, nearly a hundred men being drowned. This entailed the ruin of the whole plan, for she carried the greatest part of the provisions and all the stores necessary for the founding of a settlement.

There was now nothing more to be done, the two surviving crews were ragged and hungry, and Gilbert shaped his course for England. He himself was in the *Squirrel*, a little "frigate" of ten tons, and in her he lost his life. At midnight of the 9th of September, during a fierce Atlantic gale, the watchers on board the *Golden Hind* saw her lights suddenly go out: "in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea." And with Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished for the time being the project for an English colony in North America.

The merchants of London still had hopes of the North West Passage. The profits of success would have been so large that it seemed well worth while to make a thorough search before abandoning the idea. Accordingly, in the years 1585-7, three successive voyages for this purpose were made by

John Davis' three voyages to the North-West.

John Davis, a mariner who acquired the reputation of being at the same time the most practical and the most scientific seaman of Elizabeth's reign. He was financed by a small syndicate of merchants headed by William Sanderson of London. Davis discovered the strait named after him, and demonstrated the fact that Greenland is entirely separated from Labrador, a point on which there had hitherto been much confusion. He failed, as all his contemporaries did, to discover the Passage, and his voyages led to no commercial result. In after years he joined Thomas Cavendish in a disastrous expedition to the Straits of Magellan, and returned with but sixteen men alive of seventy-six who had sailed from England. He himself met his death in a fight with Japanese pirates in one of the earliest English voyages to the East Indies.

(iii) *The Revenge for Spanish Exclusiveness and the War with Spain*

While the men of peace were braving the ice and the storms of the North-West, Francis Drake was making the Spanish colonies the scene of a lifelong revenge for San Juan d'Ulloa. He had lost money and friends and almost

life itself, and he was not the man to forget his wrongs. Yet his vengeance was reserved for the Spanish government and its officials; towards private men he was ever courteous and merciful. In 1570 and 1571 he made two voyages to the West Indies. Nothing is known as to their success, but it is improbable that he returned empty-handed. The information which he gained enabled him to plan a third expedition, which is as remarkable as any in the history of the sea. On May 24th, 1572, he sailed from Plymouth with two small ships, and shaped his course for the Gulf of Darien. There, in a hidden harbour which he named Port Pleasant, he fitted together three pinnaces which he had brought in pieces from England. Leaving a few men to guard the ships, he embarked the remainder in the pinnaces, and on July 29th made his appearance at Nombre de Dios, "the treasure house of the world." The Spaniards were in the habit of sending the gold and silver from the mines of Peru to Panama by sea. At Panama it was unladen and carried on the backs of mules across the isthmus to Nombre de Dios, where it was again shipped on board a treasure fleet for Spain. Therefore, at certain seasons, when the cargoes were ready for the treasure fleet, Nombre de Dios was a very rich prize indeed.

Drake and his men entered the town by night, and captured it after some fighting in the streets. He led them to the treasure, and was on the point of having it conveyed to the boats, when he fell to the ground overcome by loss of blood from a wound he had received in the fighting. His men were dismayed at his fall, and fearful of a return of the Spanish forces. They abandoned the treasure, carried their unconscious leader to the boats, and sailed back to their concealed harbour in the Gulf of Darien.

Drake determined not to be foiled, and, after a period spent in recovering from his wound and capturing Spanish merchantmen at sea, he embarked upon another scheme as novel and bold as the first. Making friends with some Cimaroons, or escaped negro slaves of the Spaniards, he

persuaded them to guide him with a small party over the Isthmus, his design being to surprise a mule train carrying treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios. The first attempt was a failure owing to a drunken man springing prematurely from the ambush and alarming the Spaniards. But at length perseverance brought its reward, and a train laden with thirty tons of silver was captured on April 1st, 1573. The English carried off as much of the treasure as they could, and hid the remainder. Before they could return, the Spaniards had recovered it. Nevertheless, an ample success had been gained. Drake sailed for home, and arrived at Plymouth on the morning of an August Sunday in 1573. The rumour of his arrival was whispered through the church, and the people ran out to welcome him without waiting for the end of the sermon.

During the next few years Drake was employed mainly in Ireland, where ceaseless wars and rebellions were in progress. In 1577 he began to make preparations for another great voyage against the Spaniards. On December 13th he sailed from Plymouth with five ships, of which the largest, the *Pelican*, was of 100 tons. His destination had been kept a profound secret, even from his own men, and it was not until they were well out at sea that they were told the object of the voyage. This was to pass through the Straits of Magellan and into the South Sea, where it was rightly guessed that the Spaniards, expecting no enemy, would have made no preparations for defence. As before, Drake meant to strike at the treasure route, but this time between Peru and Panama instead of on the Isthmus itself. The Straits of Magellan formed the most perilous piece of navigation known to the seamen of the sixteenth century, and there were some among the crews who feared that success would be impossible. Drake put down disaffection with an iron hand. He hanged Thomas Doughty, the ringleader of the discontented, and this example had a good effect upon the remainder. Before entering the Straits, he destroyed

The capture of the treasure train.

The voyage of circumnavigation, 1577-80.

his two weakest ships, thus reducing his squadron to three vessels.

The Straits of Magellan were successfully passed in sixteen days, and then came a period of seven weeks of ceaseless tempest before more temperate latitudes could be gained. Time after time the voyagers were blown back to the south-eastwards, and all their progress was wiped out. The *Marigold* foundered with all hands; the *Elizabeth*, commanded by John Winter, sailed back through the Straits and returned to England. Only Drake in the *Pelican*, which he had renamed the *Golden Hind*, held on. At length he fought his way through the storms, and reached the Chilean coast. He took some treasure at Valparaiso, and passed on up the coast to Callao, the port of Peru. There he learned that a treasure ship had sailed for Panama a few days before. He overtook her, and she surrendered almost without resistance. The value of the booty was estimated at from £150,000 to £200,000. Everywhere Drake fell upon the Spaniards like a bolt from the blue, for they had never dreamed that an Englishman would dare to sail through the Straits of Magellan.

It was now a question of getting safely home with the plunder. Drake knew it would be dangerous to return by the way he had come; and it was ever his policy to do what his enemies least expected. He therefore sailed northwards from the neighbourhood of Panama, apparently with the object of finding the North-West Passage from the Pacific side, and so returning to Europe. Increasing cold soon obliged him to give up this plan, and, after refitting in a haven which he named Port Albion, he sailed across the ocean westwards, intending to make his way home by circumnavigating the globe. After many more adventures in unknown seas, he passed through the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached England on September 26th, 1580, having been two years and nine months away.

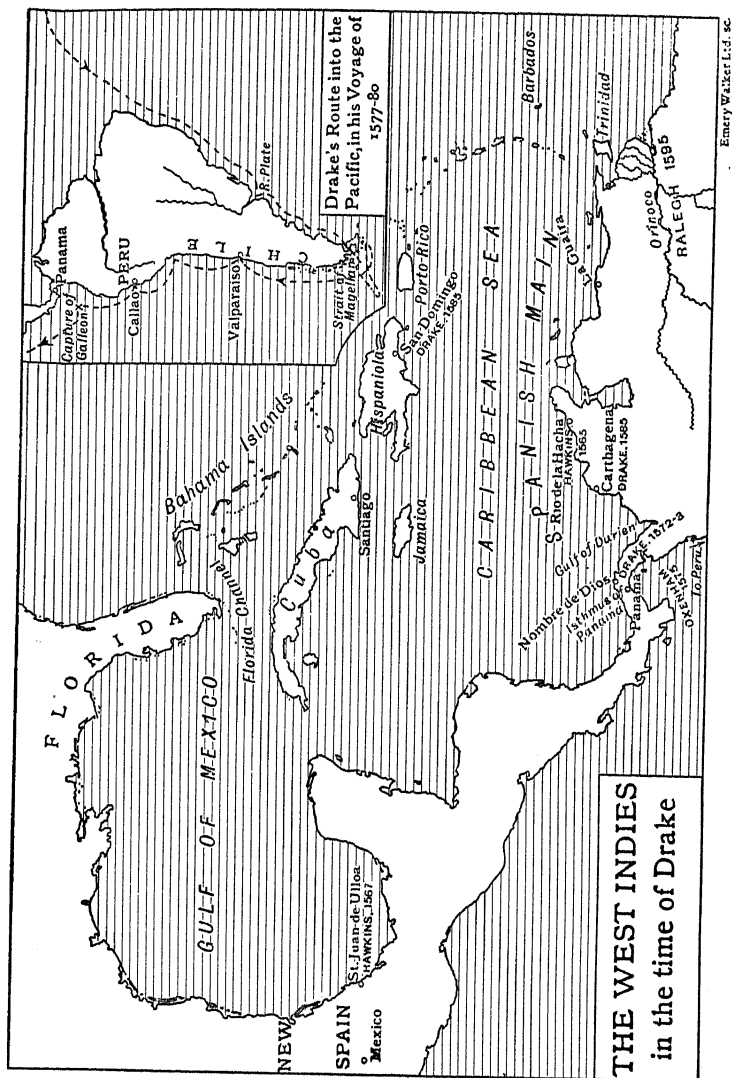
The Spaniards raised a great outcry at their losses, and there were many in England who advised that Drake

should be sacrificed to their anger. The Queen, however, thought otherwise, and showed her sympathies plainly enough by knighting Drake on the deck of the *Golden Hind*. Henceforward war with Spain became practically certain, but some years were yet to elapse before its declaration.

Drake's great success caused many to imitate his example. Some failed, many succeeded, and privateering was on the whole sufficiently profitable to be regarded as a form of mercantile investment. Nobles and imitators, merchants, until the end of Elizabeth's reign, continued to send out fleets of small and active craft to prey upon the wealth of Spain and Portugal. Among the men prominent in this connection were the following: John Oxenham, who in 1575 led an expedition across the Isthmus of Panama, and, returning with plunder, was captured and hanged by the Spaniards; Thomas Cavendish, who sailed round the world in 1586-8, and captured a rich galleon in the Pacific; Edward Fenton, who attempted a voyage to the South Seas in 1582, but turned back before reaching the Straits; and the Earl of Cumberland and Alderman Watts of London, who fitted out many fleets of privateers with varying success.

Drake's next appearance at sea was no longer as a privateer, but as an officer of the Queen. In 1585 Philip II. at last decided upon war, and laid an embargo upon all English ships in Spain. It was decided that in retaliation a great force should attack the West Indies, and the command of this, the first campaign of the Anglo-Spanish War, was entrusted to Drake. With twenty-five ships and 2,300 men he sailed from Plymouth on September 14th, 1585. Martin Frobisher, now also a naval officer, went as second-in-command, and the soldiers were under Christopher Carleill, who made a great reputation in these wars. Proceeding by way of the Spanish coast and the Cape Verde Islands, they crossed to the West Indies, sacked part of San Domingo, the principal city of the islands, and held

The Anglo-Spanish war.
The great West Indian raid.



Emery Walker Ltd. sc

FIG. 8.

the remainder to ransom. They then stood over to the mainland of South America and treated Carthagena in like fashion. After inflicting many other losses upon the enemy, they turned homewards by way of the coast of Florida and the new English colony of Virginia founded by Sir Richard Grenville in the previous year. The colonists had become faint-hearted, and Drake gave them passage home on board his ships. He finally reached England in the summer of 1586, about ten months after his departure. In spite of considerable losses by sickness, his raid had been an entire success.

Philip II. was a cold-blooded man, never governed by passion and slow to make up his mind, but this contemptuous insult to the power of Spain stung him keenly, and, after his slow fashion, he began to make preparations for the invasion and conquest of England. Few of his advisers doubted the ability of Spain to accomplish the task, when once she should exert her strength.

Vast undertakings in the dockyards of Spain and Portugal were reported by English spies. Ships were being built and armed, guns cast, and food and munitions collected. The invasion was planned for 1587, but the English fleet was ready while that of Spain was still in process of formation. Drake sailed for the Spanish coast in the spring, burned or captured thirty warships at Cadiz, and by cruising off Cape St. Vincent and Lisbon paralysed the movements of the remainder. Although he was recalled before the end of the summer, he had done such damage that the invasion could not be launched for another year.

Every heart in Spain, save that of the King, was struck with dismay; the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was to have commanded the expedition, died of vexation; but Philip calmly began all over again, and made his plans as if nothing untoward had occurred. The scheme in its final form was as follows: The Spanish Armada, consisting of 130 ships, carrying 30,000 men, was to sail up the Channel without staying to fight the English

"Singeing
the King of
Spain's
beard."

Philip II.'s
plan.

fleet ; it was to seize a convenient landing-place in the Thames estuary, and was then to transport to England the great army under the Prince of Parma, which Spain maintained in the Low Countries for the purpose of coping with the rebellious Protestants there. Once landed, it was calculated that Parma's veteran soldiers would have no difficulty in overthrowing Elizabeth and restoring the Catholic religion in England.

In the meanwhile the whole naval strength of England was collected in the Channel. Besides the regular warships of the navy, every seaport contributed its armed merchantmen and privateers, manned by crews who had fought for their lives in every part of the world for years past. The English put their faith in seamanship and their great guns ; the Spaniards trusted to soldiers and hand-to-hand fighting, which their nimble adversaries never gave them a chance to practise. The English fleet was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral of England, and under him were all the great seamen of the time, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Fenner, Davis and probably also Grenville and Raleigh. The land army, which the Queen reviewed at Tilbury, was placed under the Earl of Leicester.

After one false start, in which it was scattered by a storm, the Armada finally got to sea on July 12th. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, its commander, acted strictly on his instructions, declining to look for the English in Plymouth, and fighting rear-guard actions all the way up the Channel. In these fights the Spaniards lost several ships, and the superiority of the English method of fighting was apparent. The English captains declined to grapple and fight side by side, and thus to allow the swarms of Spanish soldiers to overwhelm them ; instead, they held off at convenient range for their heavy guns, with which they slaughtered the crowded Spaniards without mercy. Any Spanish ship which was damaged and unable to keep up with the rest fell a prey to the superior numbers of the pursuers.

The Armada
campaign,
1588.

After six days of this disheartening work the Armada dropped its anchors in the harbour of Calais, hoping for some respite in which to repair damages and get into touch with Parma. But the English, having once seen their enemy run, determined to keep him running, and in the middle of the second night at Calais sent eight fireships blazing into the crowded port. A wild panic followed; every captain cut his cables and made for the open sea. Next day the Spaniards, with nerves shaken by their disasters, were brought to action off Gravelines in a rising gale. Here the terrible English gunnery excelled itself. Many Spaniards were sunk outright, some drifted ashore on the Netherlands coast, and the remainder fled, hopelessly beaten, up the North Sea. Parma, watched by a force of Dutch and English privateers, refused to bring his army out to destruction in his open boats and defenceless transports. The great plan had utterly broken down.

The English fleet, short of powder and provisions, pursued only far enough to make certain that their foes had no thought of return. Pursuit, indeed, was needless. With the Channel barred to him, Medina Sidonia thought only of reaching home by the north of Scotland and the west of Ireland. A series of storms completed the havoc wrought by the English guns, and less than half the great armament reached the ports of Spain, whence they had sailed, confident of victory, two months before. The ships lost numbered sixty-three, with many thousands of soldiers and seamen. The English had lost of ships not one, and of men less than a hundred; but after the return to port a great epidemic of typhus broke out, which killed hundreds of seamen, and was only stayed by paying off the majority of the crews.

The Armada campaign was decisive of the whole future course of the war. Never again was Philip II. able to send a great force against the English coast, and for the next fifteen years the record is a tale of English raids on the Spanish ports or colonies, and attacks on Spanish commerce. Some of these were successful, many were not, for

the Spaniards became increasingly cunning in defensive measures, staying their treasure fleets and removing their wealth inland at the least alarm. They also fortified the West Indian seaports, and against land batteries the best ships of that day could do little.

The chief incidents of the war, subsequent to 1588, were as follows. In 1589 an expedition was sent to Portugal under Drake and Sir John Norreys. It failed to capture Lisbon, and returned after losing several thousand men. In 1591 Lord Thomas Howard sailed with a squadron of the Queen's ships to the Azores to intercept the treasure fleet. In this he was unsuccessful, and the expedition is mainly notable for the famous fight of Sir Richard Grenville in the *Revenge* against overwhelming odds. In the following year, a Portuguese carrack from the East was captured at the same place, and her cargo was found to be so valuable that English merchants began to think of joining in the same trade themselves. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins together led a fleet to the West Indies, hoping to repeat the success of ten years before. But both commanders died at sea, and the expedition came home, having accomplished nothing of importance. The next expedition was a brilliant success. Fearing that Philip was collecting another Armada, Elizabeth despatched Howard, Raleigh and Essex in 1596 to destroy the shipping in Cadiz as Drake had done in 1587. Essex landed and stormed the town, and the Spaniards burned their own ships and cargoes to the value of 12 million ducats to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English. After this the war languished, and only minor operations took place until peace was signed in 1604, after the accession of James I. During all these latter years, the privateers had been increasingly venturesome, although the great profits of early times were no longer made. This was for the simple reason that the streams of Spanish wealth were drying up, and the commerce of the country had well-nigh been bled to death.

(iv) *The Virginia Colony*

Mention has been made of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's unhappy attempt to plant a colony in North America. After his death, his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, determined to carry on his work. On March 25th, 1584, Raleigh obtained from the Queen a patent empowering him to take possession of any heathen lands not actually in the occupation of a Christian prince. The region best suited for the founding of a colony was judged to be that lying south of Newfoundland and north of the peninsula of Florida. Northward of this stretch the cold of winter was too intense, and southward of it were the Spanish territories of Mexico and the West Indies. To the whole of this coast, now forming the eastern sea-board of the United States, three names were successively applied in the sixteenth century. First, Francis I. of France, on the strength of a coasting voyage made by an Italian captain in his employ, had annexed it and named it New France. Then the name of Florida had come into favour for the entire coast-line, not only for the peninsula now so called. And finally, the Elizabethans of Raleigh's day christened it Virginia in honour of their Queen. Thus the name Virginia originally covered a much wider area than it does to-day; Raleigh's operations, in fact, were all outside the boundary of the modern state of that name.

Although the French were the first to lay claim to this vast territory, they had made only one attempt at actual occupation. In 1562 a Huguenot settlement was founded. After three years, the Spaniards raided it and massacred the settlers. Thenceforward, until 1584, Europe took no interest in the country. In that year Raleigh, having obtained his patent, despatched two captains, Amadas and Barlow, on a voyage of exploration. They made a good passage to the coast of what is now North Carolina, and examined the islands adjacent to it. They gave such a glowing report of the advantages of the land that

Sir Walter Raleigh's colonising projects.

it was determined to despatch a colony in the following year.

Raleigh himself, eager though he was, could not obtain the Queen's permission to leave England, and the fleet was accordingly commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Sailing with seven ships from Plymouth on April 9th, 1585, he made his passage out by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies, arriving at the island of Roanoke, the chosen site for the colony, at the end of June. Grenville's part was merely to see the colony founded and then to lead the ships home. The permanent governor was to be Ralph Lane, an officer who had served in the Irish wars. The settlement was planted at the appointed place, while Grenville passed over to the mainland and made some explorations, in the course of which he picked a quarrel with the Indians. This had a bad effect on the subsequent fortunes of the colony. He finally sailed for England on August 25th, leaving Lane with 107 colonists behind. They did not greatly regret his departure, for they had been offended by his haughtiness and severity to all concerned in the venture. Grenville's conduct of the expedition has always been reckoned discreditable to him on this account, but those who judge him harshly should remember—what doubtless he himself never forgot—that Gilbert had failed two years before because he took too mild a tone and would not exert his authority over his unruly crews.

The colonists were at first loud in praises of their new territory, and set to work with a will to make the venture a success. But ere long their relations with the natives became bad, a serious matter in view of their scanty numbers. Grenville had promised to return with supplies and reinforcements in the following spring. He had not put in an appearance when, on June 8th, 1586, a great fleet was reported to be approaching the coast. It was Sir Francis Drake returning from his successful ravaging of the West Indies and paying a visit to Raleigh's colony on his way home. Drake generously

Sir Richard Grenville plants the first colony, 1585.

Drake relieves the colony.

offered the colonists anything with which it was in his power to supply them. They accepted from him a bark named the *Francis*, of 70 tons, and six smaller boats, also provisions and ammunition. Lane's intention was to remain until August, and then to sail for England if no reinforcements had by that time appeared. But while the supplies were being landed, a storm arose which drove the *Francis* out to sea. As she did not return, Drake made offer of a larger ship to the colonists. They, however, had grown faint-hearted. Their harbour was unsafe for a large vessel, and they dreaded the idea of being left without means of escape, especially as they were now at open war with the Indians. They therefore asked Drake to take them home on board his fleet. On June 19th, 1586, the first Virginia colony was abandoned. A fortnight later Grenville arrived with three relief ships, and was much enraged to find the enterprise at an end. He left fifteen volunteers behind on the island of Roanoke, with provisions to last for a year; but these bold pioneers were never heard of again.

Raleigh did not lose heart, and began preparations for a second attempt. Again he wished to lead it in person, but the Queen would not let him go. This time **The second plantation, 1587,** he appointed Captain John White to the command, and despatched him with three ships and 150 colonists in addition to the crews. The new settlement was planted on the island of Roanoke, but had the same bad fortune as the old one in its relations with the natives. Supplies also beginning to run short, Governor White sailed for England at the end of August to obtain more. He left the majority of the colonists behind him, to the number of 108, seventeen of these being women and two children. Like Grenville's fifteen, left at the same place in 1586, these persons all disappeared into the unknown, and no certain news of their fate was ever obtained. Probably they were massacred by the Indians, but there is also a possibility that they migrated to the mainland and joined forces with a tribe of friendly natives. The

chief ground for this belief is that to the present day there exists an Indian tribe lighter in complexion than the average, skilled with the bow, and speaking an English dialect which embodies several Elizabethan phrases and tricks of speech. These Indians have been claimed to be the descendants of the lost colonists.

Governor White did not return with supplies as he had promised. The threatened Spanish invasion caused the Government to retain all ocean-going ships in home waters. An exception was made in favour of two merchantmen which should have visited the colony, but they engaged in privateering by the way, and never arrived. It was not until 1590 that White was able to reach Roanoke, only to find the planters gone.

In 1589 Raleigh, who, by his own account, had expended £40,000 on these attempts, assigned his rights to a company. The latter, however, did nothing worth recording during the remainder of the reign, and Virginia was not permanently colonised until 1607. Raleigh in 1595 made a voyage in person up the Orinoco, and on his return attempted, without much success, to interest his countrymen in the exploitation of that region.

(v) *The East India Company*

Among the merchants of London who were gifted with imagination and foresight, the riches of Asia had never ceased to be a subject of the keenest interest.

It was in search of them that most of the explorers of the Tudor period had set out—the Cabots, Rut, Willoughby, Frobisher and Davis. And it was now evident that there was no immediate prospect of reaching the Orient by either a North-West or a North-East Passage. The other two routes which presented themselves were those by the Straits of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope. The former had been discovered by Spain and traversed by Drake and Cavendish, but it was so perilous as to be impracticable

The Far East
the goal of
most six-
teenth century
explorers.

for a regular trade ; the latter had been discovered by the Portuguese, who had jealously refused leave to any other nation to make use of it.

But between the state of affairs at the beginning and at the end of Elizabeth's reign there was a vast difference. In 1558 England had appeared weak, liable to conquest by France, and dependent for her existence upon the goodwill of Philip II. In reality things were not so bad as this, but such was the view taken by Englishmen of the time. In these circumstances, to force a trade to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope would have been a task quite beyond the power of the country to perform. But forty years later the balance of naval power had entirely changed. England was now invincible at sea ; Spain, and with her Portugal, had suffered humiliating defeats. National pride had so risen that Englishmen could believe nothing impossible to them, and English merchants could no longer be held back from engaging in the most profitable trade in the world.

Two circumstances contributed to the decision. Drake in 1579 had opened up friendly relations with the Sultan of Ternate in the spice-bearing Moluccas ; and the capture of the great Portuguese carrack in 1592 had furnished an object-lesson in the riches of the East. She contained 537 tons of spices, besides diamonds, pearls, amber, musk, silks, tapestries and satins. After many of the choicest goods had been plundered by the sailors who captured her, the remainder were found to be worth £141,000 in the money of the time, or three-quarters of a million in our own.

In 1599, therefore, an influential body of capitalists began to concert plans for the formation of a company to exploit this trade. Political considerations delayed their design, but at length, on December 31st, 1600, letters patent were issued giving formal recognition to the East India Company. The members were to form a joint-stock company, and were to enjoy the English monopoly of trade with the East ; and they were to push this trade in defiance of the claims of

Foundation
of the East
India Com-
pany.

Portugal and the Bull of Alexander VI. Already the Dutch had despatched a trading fleet in the same direction. The English Company followed their example in 1601, sending four ships under the command of Sir James Lancaster. The voyage was a brilliant success. Trading posts were established, and factors left behind to collect goods. A large profit was divided among the shareholders on Lancaster's return, but as this did not take place until after Elizabeth's death, the further history of the Company must be left for treatment in a later part of this book.

Two attempts to open up the eastern trade had preceded the formation of the Company. In 1591 Captains Raymond and Lancaster had sailed with three ships. Lancaster alone returned with a few survivors after suffering great hardships. Next, in 1596, Captain Benjamin Wood had commanded three ships on a voyage intended to reach the coasts of China. The fate of this expedition remained one of the unsolved mysteries of the sea, for not one person belonging to it was ever heard of again.

SUMMARY

1. In the reign of Elizabeth English trade with Europe, although still flourishing, underwent great changes, and was eclipsed in relative importance by new oceanic trades.
2. England was determined to share the riches of the newly discovered regions of the world, and from 1558 to 1567 attempted to do so by legitimate trading in African and West Indian waters.
3. Spain and Portugal were resolute to uphold their claims to monopoly, and met English intrusion by force of arms. The massacre of San Juan d'Ulloa marks the definite adoption of this policy.
4. One section of English adventurers sought to avoid the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence by discovering a North-West Passage to Asia.
5. The other section revenged themselves for the loss of their own trade by attacking the commerce of their rivals. The war upon commerce developed into a regular warfare between England and the nations of the Peninsula.
6. The struggle was embittered by the fact that England was the leading Protestant nation, and Spain the champion of the Catholic

Church. England gave assistance to the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands.

7 The failure to find the North-West Passage caused Englishmen to attempt the colonisation of North America.

8. It also led them to an entry into East Indian trade by the only practicable route—that *via* the Cape of Good Hope.

9. The future expansion of England was rendered possible by the successes of the naval war with Spain.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1562-3. First voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies.
- 1564-5. Second voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies.
- 1567-8. Third voyage of Hawkins and massacre of San Juan d'Ulloa.
- 1569. The Merchant Adventurers leave Antwerp for Hamburg.
- 1572. Drake's voyage to Nombre de Dios.
- 1577-80. Drake's voyage round the world.
- 1576-8. Frobisher's three voyages to the North-West.
- 1581. Incorporation of the Turkey Company.
- 1583 Failure of Gilbert's attempt to colonise Newfoundland, etc.
- 1585. War declared by Spain.
Grenville plants Raleigh's first colony in Virginia.
- 1585-6. Drake's great West Indian raid.
- 1585-7. Davis' three voyages to the North-West.
- 1586-8. Thomas Cavendish's voyage round the world.
- 1587. The second Virginia colony.
Drake destroys shipping in Spanish ports.
- 1588. The Armada.
- 1589. Unsuccessful expedition of Drake and Norreys to Lisbon
- 1592. Capture of the great carrack, the *Madre de Dios*.
- 1593. Incorporation of the Levant Company.
- 1595. Last voyage of Drake and Hawkins.
- 1596. Sack of Cadiz by Howard and Essex.
- 1600. Incorporation of the East India Company.
- 1601. First voyage of the East India Company.
- 1603. Death of Elizabeth.

PART II. THE STUART PERIOD, 1603-1688

THE FIRST AGE OF PEACEFUL EXPANSION

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA, 1603-1660

(i) *Changed Conditions*

WHEN James I. succeeded to the English throne, one of his first cares was to take measures for ending the long struggle with Spain. Naval and military operations had been feebly conducted on either side for several years, and both nations were ripe for peace. The treaty signed in 1604, although it gave the English no rights of trade in Spanish waters, was nevertheless a testimony of English victory in the contest. Spain had made peace without attaining the object with which Philip II. had begun the war—the conquest and destruction of England as a naval power. On the contrary, England was more powerful than ever, the Bull of Alexander VI. was waste paper, and the future of English expansion was secure from interference by Spain and Portugal. The rivals of the coming time were to be first the Dutch and afterwards the French.

End of the
"Spanish"
period of
English
expansion.

In one respect the new era lacks the exuberant vigour of the Elizabethan age. The school of Drake was dead. One by one the great fighting captains had passed away: Grenville had been slain at the Azores in 1591, Frobisher died of a wound received at Crozon in 1594, Drake and Hawkins were buried at sea in the following year, Essex was executed

for treason in 1601. Raleigh alone remained, a prisoner in the Tower for the first thirteen years of the new reign, and only to be released for one last unhappy venture whose failure was punished by his death. But although Drake and his men were no more, their work remained. The peace-loving merchants, who had often raised protests at his broils and piracies, could pursue their way in security, thanks to the respect he had won for the English flag.

The task of the immediate future, then, was for the colonists and the great trading companies to perform. It was for them to find an outlet for the growing population and manufactures of the country. As time went on, emigration was stimulated by religious cleavage among the Protestants of England. James I. and his son adopted a

A religious element in expansion under the Stuarts.

harsh policy towards the numerous and increasing sects whose consciences forbade them to conform to the usages of the Established Church. The name of Puritans came to be applied to all these non-Anglican Protestants, and the Puritans crossed the Atlantic in considerable numbers during the Stuart period. They formed an excellent type of colonist—steadfast, brave and self-reliant—and their institutions and habits of life became firmly rooted in the New England colonies. Virginia and the more southern settlements adjoining were not populated by Puritan emigrants, and evolved a different kind of social order.

In England itself the outstanding features of the new period were the constitutional struggle between the Crown and Parliament for the control of taxation, and the growing indignation at the extreme claims of the Church of England. The reign of James I. is one long wrangle between King and Commons as to the extent of the royal prerogative. In that of his son the financial issue continues, but is soon eclipsed by the religious one, and the two combined drive King and Parliament into civil war. The effect of these disputes upon English expansion was that neither James nor Charles found leisure to pursue an active policy in

Breach between King and Parliament.

commercial or colonial affairs. Private enterprise, as before, was left to do the pioneer work. Progress was therefore slow, but probably none the less sure on that account. As will be seen in a later time, when the English empire in North America, built almost entirely by the efforts of private subjects, measured its strength with that of France, dependent for all initiative upon the central government, it was the latter and not the former which fell.

One incident of the fiscal dispute between James I. and his Commons is important. Early in his reign the question of monopolies was hotly debated, and those of the trading companies were for a time in danger of being lost. But, however unjustifiable the granting of monopolies in internal industry and manufactures might be considered, it was realised that in distant and dangerous over-sea trades they were both just and necessary. In the end, all the great merchant companies for foreign trade were able to retain their privileges, although not without modification in some cases.

(ii) *Virginia*

Since the disappearance of Raleigh's second Virginia colony in 1587, little had been done to carry out the plans which he had originated. Desultory visits had been paid to the coast in search of news of the lost colonists, but no further attempts to occupy the territory had been made. After the restoration of peace, the prospects of the colonising party became more favourable, and in 1606 James I. chartered two companies for the purpose of planting settlements on the American coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. This great extent of coast-line, which comprises the American states of the present day from Maine to North Carolina, was all included under the name of Virginia, although circumstances were presently to give the word a more restricted use. The two undertakings were known as the London and Plymouth Companies. The London Company was to take the southern section of the

Revival of
colonising
projects.

assigned area, while that of Plymouth was to develop the northern part. In the outcome the Plymouth Company did little on its own account, contenting itself with subletting its powers to more vigorous associations. It was the London Company which founded the permanent colony of Virginia, and which we may name henceforward the Virginia Company.

In one respect the terms of the Company's charter were unfortunate. It was laid down that the colony should be governed by a supreme council in London, appointing another council for administration upon the spot. This division of authority naturally produced disputes when put into practice. The Company itself was to have certain mining and trading rights for twenty-one years, and all lands were to be worked as common property for five years, after which the settlers might become individual owners of estates. The established religion of the colony was to be that of the Church of England. The first batch of colonists, 143 in number, set sail from London in December, 1606, in three ships under the command of Captain Christopher Newport.

Arriving on the Virginia coast in April, 1607, the expedition passed by the islands which had been the scene of the Elizabethan attempts, and entered Chesapeake Bay. The adventurers disembarked at a point fifty miles up a river, which they named after their King, and set about the foundation of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. The councillors who were to govern it were seven in number, the most memorable name being that of Captain John Smith, at that time under twenty-eight years of age. In spite of his youth, Smith, who had served as a soldier of fortune in wars against the Turks, and gained a reputation for common sense and hardihood, quickly proved himself to be the best man in the expedition. But for his exertions, the enterprise would certainly have collapsed in the first few months.

**Charter of
the Virginia
Company,
1606.**

**Settlement
planted at
Jamestown,
1607.**

**Captain
John Smith.**

From the outset the colonists suffered from Indian attacks and lack of food. Smith, at great personal risk, led expeditions into the interior to explore and to procure corn from the natives. In one of these he was captured, but was clever enough to secure his release by promising a ransom of two guns and a grindstone. Dissensions broke out among his comrades, some of whom had come out under the impression that gold was everywhere waiting to be picked up. Disappointment, famine and disease had killed two-thirds of their number before Captain Newport arrived once more with reinforcements. Smith's ability soon secured his election as president of the Council. During his term of office he erected fortifications against Indian attack, organised food supplies, and to some extent restored discipline. At its expiry in September, 1609, he returned to England, the government of the colony having in that year been reconstituted and placed in other hands.

The early troubles of the settlement had been due partly to the inherent difficulties of the undertaking, partly to the misconduct of the adventurers themselves. England by no means lost sight of them, for there was now no foreign war to distract public attention. In 1609 it was realised that the colony could not continue to exist in its present precarious state, and that an extensive effort must be put forth to save it. The original promoters secured the alliance of other influential persons, and a new charter of incorporation was obtained from the Crown. Under this charter the control was to be in the hands of a council in England and a Governor with supreme power upon the spot. The first Governor so appointed was Lord Delaware. Previous to the latter's departure, a fleet of nine vessels set sail in June 1609 under Captain Newport, Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates. The three chief commanders, who all sailed in the same ship, were wrecked upon the Bermuda Islands, but other vessels of the fleet arrived at the colony in time

Sufferings
of the
colonists.

England
determines to
support the
colony.

to relieve its more pressing necessities. It was after their appearance that John Smith took his departure.

In the meanwhile, Sir George Somers and his companions, who were thought to have been drowned at sea, were building two vessels at Bermuda from the timbers of their own wreck. After ten months on the island, they were able to resume the voyage to Virginia, where they arrived in May 1610. Eight months had elapsed since Smith's departure, and the best testimony to his qualities as a ruler is furnished by the deplorable state into which the colony fell under his successors. Work of all kinds had been neglected, and famine had carried off the majority of the five hundred men he had left there. Somers and Gates reluctantly decided that nothing more could be done and that Jamestown must be abandoned. They had actually left the place, and were sailing down the river with all hands, when they encountered Lord Delaware

fresh from England with three ships and 150 new settlers. Delaware's arrival marks the turning-point in the early fortunes of Virginia.

He at once assumed supreme authority, led the disheartened men back to Jamestown, and infused new vigour into the colony. Thenceforward progress, although slow, was continuous, and there was no more talk of giving up.

Lord Delaware's good work was all done in less than a year. In 1611 a breakdown of his health compelled him to return to England. He left in command

The crisis passed. Sir Thomas Dale, an old soldier of the Netherlands wars, whose four years' rule is chiefly noteworthy for the strict discipline which he enforced on the colonists. He tolerated no idleness, and crushed the beginnings of a revolt by executing eight of the ringleaders. The colony now began to spread beyond its original limits, subordinate townships being founded on the numerous rivers flowing into Chesapeake Bay. The most profitable occupation was found to be the cultivation of tobacco, the export of which increased by leaps and bounds. To such an extent did tobacco growing monopolise the energy of the colony that

the planting of corn was neglected, and a serious danger of famine had once more to be faced. The difficulty was met by forcing the neighbouring Indian tribes to pay a tribute of corn.

The next steps in the evolution of the colony were the allotment of separate estates to those who had resources to work them (1615), and the calling of an assembly elected by the freemen to exercise some share in the government (1619). The effects of Dale's stern control had been lasting, and there was now no reason for deferring the grant of the system of government normal to Englishmen in all parts of the world. Accordingly, on July 30th, 1619, Governor Yeardley, his own powers limited by a permanent council, called together an assembly composed of two burgesses chosen by each of the eleven townships which then composed the colony. The miniature parliament, in which Governor, council and assembly corresponded to King, lords and commons at home, completed the resemblance by choosing a speaker, sergeant-at-arms and clerk. Thus was inaugurated the first of the numerous offspring of the mother of parliaments.

In the meantime the liberal policy of the Virginia Company had offended King James, now hopelessly at variance with his own Commons. He determined to abolish a corporation whose conduct he denounced as seditious. The charter was declared void in 1624, and thereafter the Governor was nominated by the Crown. There is evidence that Spanish intrigues helped to bring the King to this decision. It was unjust to the shareholders to deprive them of their profits at a time when they were only beginning to recoup the losses of the earlier years; and the soundness of their rule is shown by the fact that the colonists themselves desired its continuance.

Population steadily increased, negro slaves were introduced to work on the tobacco plantations, and criminals and political offenders were also sent from England for the same purpose. These latter worked as indentured servants.

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and obtained their liberty after a fixed term of years. As the frontier advanced inland, the older parts were freed from the Indian peril, although two terrible massacres of outlying settlers took place in 1622 and 1644. Gradually a state of society similar to that of rural England of the period was developed. The great planters became an aristocracy living on their estates in dignified ease and culture. Puritanism, in spite of one or two attempts, made no headway against the Established Church.

As might be expected, the civil war between Charles I. and Parliament was regarded by the majority of the Virginians as an unjustifiable rebellion. Their royalist sympathies led them to recognise Charles II. as King on the execution of his father in 1649. But they were not prepared to fight for their convictions, and a show of force by the Commonwealth reduced them to obedience.

At the time of the restoration, the population of the colony amounted to about 40,000, including negroes and **Fifty years'** indentured servants. Eighty ships annually **progress.** carried the tobacco crop of 12,000,000 lb. to England. Five forts and a force of militia served for defence, and the spiritual welfare of the people was in the hands of forty-eight parish ministers. Truly the heart of Raleigh would have rejoiced if he had lived to see the outcome of his work.

(iii) *Maryland*

The colony of Maryland, although its foundation was preceded in point of time by that of the Puritan settlements **Lord** of New England, may conveniently be treated **Baltimore.** next to Virginia on account of its resemblance to the latter in natural and social conditions. Its origin was due to the initiative of Sir George Calvert, a secretary of state to James I., who resigned his office on becoming a Roman Catholic, but nevertheless retained the confidence of the King. Calvert was created Lord Baltimore in 1625. Like Raleigh, he was convinced that English colonisation in America should be vigorously pushed, and that it was

the duty of England's prominent men to take the lead and expend their lives and fortunes in the enterprise.

After unsuccessful efforts to plant settlers in Newfoundland and in Virginia itself, Baltimore obtained from Charles I., in 1632, a grant of the unoccupied territory immediately to the north of the settled colony of Virginia. It was by the King's own wish that the region was named Maryland in honour of his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria. Charles' own view of the duties of noblemen was curiously at variance with that of Raleigh and Baltimore: "Men of your condition and breeding," he wrote to the latter, "are fitter for other employments than the framing of new plantations, which commonly have rugged and laborious beginnings"; and he proceeded to urge his subject to give up the difficult attempt and return to a life of ease in England. Baltimore had no intention of taking his sovereign's advice, but a few days after the framing of his grant his career was cut short by death. The execution of the project then devolved upon his eldest son, the second Lord Baltimore.

The charter of Maryland differed absolutely from that under which the Virginia Company had begun its operations. In this case there was no company, and the Maryland a founder was designated proprietor of the proprietary colony. He and his heirs were to hold it on condition of fealty only to the Crown of England. They were to pay no rent, neither could the Crown levy taxes within their jurisdiction. The proprietor had further the right of making such laws as he thought fit, with the advice of the freemen of the colony. This clause foreshadowed the erection of some system of parliamentary government as in Virginia, but the framing of the future constitution lay entirely within the discretion of the proprietor. One more novel departure must be mentioned. In Maryland a policy of religious toleration was adopted fully half a century earlier than in the mother country itself. The Lords Baltimore, themselves Catholics, appointed Protestant officials indifferently with those of their own faith, and the colony was thrown open to settlers of all Christian creeds.

Maryland passed through its early critical years with far less suffering and adversity than had fallen to the lot of Virginia. The settlers themselves seem to have been of a better stamp, and the old vicious idea that fortunes could be made in a few months without any labour had now died out. The colonists of 1632 profited by the errors and experience of their predecessors, and settled down to a life of steady progress. Gradually the Virginian system of large estates worked by slave or indentured labour was evolved. Political institutions also were of gradual growth, but eventually the usual system of division of powers between Governor, council and popular assembly was established. In contrast to the early abolition of the Company's rule in Virginia, the proprietary rights of Maryland continued to be enjoyed by the Baltimore family throughout the seventeenth century, if we except a short period of suspension under the Commonwealth. By the year 1700 the Catholic element had almost disappeared, and the population of Maryland approximated very closely in character to that of Virginia and the Carolinas.

At first the Virginians were inclined to look upon the settlement on their northern frontier as an infringement of their own rights. Their original charters had given them a much wider stretch of territory than they had actually occupied, and in strict truth Lord Baltimore was taking up lands which did legally belong to Virginia. But it was also true that he had been willing at first to place his settlement under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and that the latter had cast him out. With the Dutch busily engaged in planting colonies on the American coast-line it was no time for dog-in-the-manger grievances to be listened to, and the Virginians secured scant attention to their complaints. Their claims to Maryland territory were not finally abandoned until 1656. At one time feeling ran so high between the two colonies that actual hostilities broke out, and sharp actions took place by land and sea.

The region lying to the south of Virginia had already been marked down as the scene of a further English enter-

prise. In 1629 Charles I. made a grant of it to Sir Robert Heath, who named it Carolina in honour of his sovereign. But circumstances prevented Heath from acting upon his rights, and nothing was done in this direction until the reign of Charles II. In that

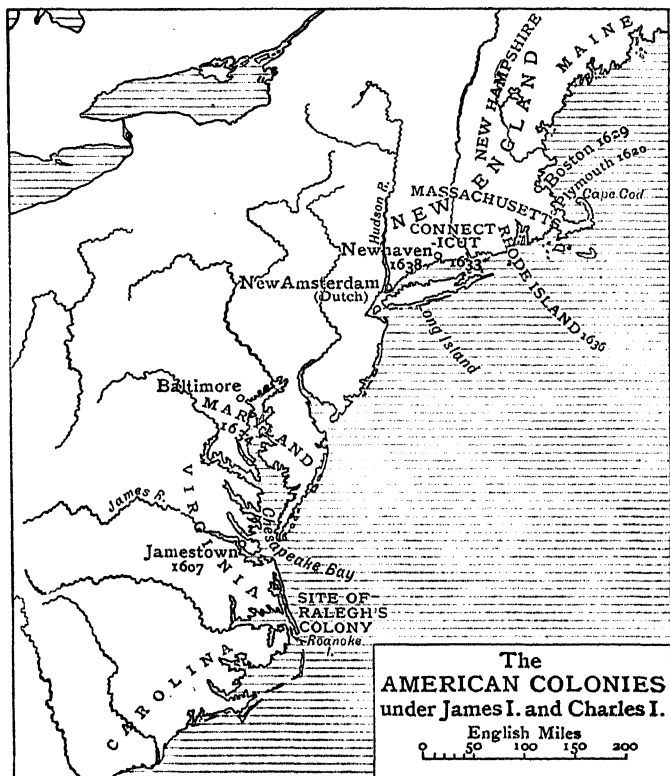


FIG. 4.

place, therefore, the colonisation of Carolina will be considered. When it was accomplished, it formed, with

Virginia and Maryland and the eighteenth century colony of Georgia, a homogeneous block of states which we may call the Southern Group, differing in very important respects from the northern or Puritan colonies to which we have now to turn our attention.

(iv) *The New England Colonies*

The incidents of English expansion which have been hitherto considered have had for their motive power either Motives for the desire to expand trade, and so to increase colonisation. the national wealth, or the ambition on the part of patriotic leaders of men to plant the English flag and portions of the English race in new regions of the earth, and so to make England a more powerful member of the civilised community than she could be if she remained confined to the natural limits of the British Isles. In one word, the motives of the Tudor merchants, of Frobisher, Raleigh, Delaware and Baltimore had been secular. Although the early advocates of colonisation, in order to appeal to as many minds as possible, had sometimes laid stress on the good work of Christianising the savages, in practice little had been done in this connection, and religion had been an entirely subordinate factor in English expansion. But towards the end of the reign of James I., colonising bands began to cross the Atlantic whose sole motive was religious, composed of men who would never have been tempted to quit their native land by any other consideration. These religious exiles founded the group of colonies between Dutch New Amsterdam and French Acadia, which came to be known as the New England Colonies.

Even before James ascended the throne, Puritanism had become a growing power in English religious life. At first The the majority of the Puritans remained within Puritans. the Anglican Church, hoping to secure their desired reforms from within. Their failure to influence the King at the Hampton Court Conference (1604) greatly prejudiced the prospects of this party, and in ever increasing

numbers they joined the ranks of the separatists, who made little pretence at outward conformity. The aim of the separatists was to worship in independent congregations, each managing its own affairs, appointing its own minister, and owing no allegiance to any bishop or outside authority. James I., sympathising entirely with the most extreme claims of the Anglican clergy, had no intention of permitting any such worship in his kingdom. For the separatists, therefore, there was the hard choice of violating their consciences by conformity, of enduring fines and imprisonment, or of quitting their native land altogether. The latter alternative was chosen by many, and it is with their fortunes that we have to deal.

The United Netherlands, fresh from their triumphant assertion of independence against Catholic Spain, offered an asylum to the exiles. Some congregations emigrated to Amsterdam, others to Leyden. In doing so, their members frequently gave up all their worldly prospects. In England they were mostly farmers and tradesmen. They could not take their means of livelihood with them, and had to begin life again as craftsmen in the busy Dutch towns. The majority of these emigrants came from the eastern counties of England, and, in particular, from Lincolnshire. After a few years' residence, the Leyden congregation became dissatisfied with the conditions of life in the Netherlands. They had, it is true, toleration, but they were a small band placed in the midst of a nation whose ways of life they did not altogether approve, and their sons showed a tendency to stray from the straight path and engage in the dissipations of town life, or to enlist in the armies of the Dutch Republic. Accordingly they came to a determination to leave Europe altogether, and seek a new home in some remote region across the Atlantic where they might work out their salvation undisturbed.

At this date (1619), before the foundation of Maryland, the rights of the London Company of Virginia extended as far north as to include the present coast of New Jersey.

The
separatists
in the
Netherlands.

The Plymouth Company, which had rights over the coast-line north of this point, had done nothing effective to develop them, although Captain John Smith had surveyed the coast in their service after quitting Virginia. The Leyden congregation decided to apply to the London Company for permission to settle in the extreme northern limits of its territories, near the mouth of the Hudson River. In 1619 the bargain was struck, and in the following year the pioneers of the scheme, known to posterity as the Pilgrim Fathers, completed the preparations for their voyage. As they were destitute of funds, they had to enter into an arrangement with some English capitalists to finance their colony on somewhat hard terms.

At length a start was made from Southampton by 102 pioneers in two small vessels, the *Mayflower* and the *Speed-Voyage of the well*. The latter sprang a leak and had to be 'Mayflower,' left at Plymouth, whence the *Mayflower* finally sailed alone on September 6th, 1620. The American coast was reached somewhat to the north of the intended destination. The master of the *Mayflower* then announced that for nautical reasons he could not take his passengers to the Hudson River. The ship was therefore turned northwards, and was finally anchored in the bay formed by the peninsula of Cape Cod. Here, in December, the Pilgrim Fathers formed their settlement on the shore of a natural harbour which they named Plymouth. Force of circumstances had placed them far to the north of the intended spot, and well out of the jurisdiction of the London Virginia Company.

The severity of the first winter proved fatal to half the little band, but the rest continued undaunted. Under The Plymouth William Bradford, chosen by themselves as Colony. Governor, the colony prospered, although it produced no such valuable crop as the tobacco of Virginia. The obligations to the English capitalists lapsed in 1627, at which time also the land, previously worked in common, was divided among the several households. At first the

Governor summoned all the heads of families to deliberate on public affairs, but as the colony extended, and fresh townships were formed, a representative assembly, elected by the freemen, came into being as in the other English colonies. An upper chamber was also evolved from the five assistants of the Governor.

Plymouth remained always a colony content with a quiet and somewhat unprogressive existence, its character permanently stamped with the patience and gentleness of its leading founders. It was soon overshadowed by the bustling energy of its younger neighbour, Massachusetts. It was finally absorbed by the latter in 1691.

Soon after the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620, the old Plymouth Company of Virginia had been reincorporated as the Council for New England with The New enlarged privileges equalling those of the Lon- England don Virginia Company. The New England Council, 1620. Council was thus the owner of the soil upon which the Pilgrim Fathers had planted their colony. In 1621 legal recognition was duly sought for and obtained by the settlers at Plymouth. During the years following the establishment of Plymouth, various small settlements were attempted on the coasts to the north of that place. All failed from one cause or another to take root, and it was not until 1628-9 that the next permanent colony was founded.

In the former year a body of influential Puritans obtained a patent from the New England Council, allowing them to make a settlement in their territory. The The Massa- leading men of this movement were Roger chusetts Bay Endicott and John Winthrop, a Suffolk squire. Company, 1628-9. It is to be noted that they were not separatists like the Plymouth men, but remained nominally members of the Church of England. They were also men of greater wealth and social position than the Pilgrim Fathers, and from the beginning managed their affairs with more energy and aggressiveness. The new patentees formed themselves into an association called the Massachusetts Bay Company, and in 1629 obtained a charter from the Crown by which

their government was to be established. The arrangements contemplated were somewhat similar to those of the Virginia Company, the shareholders at home appointing a Governor and assistants in the colony. Endicott had already gone out in 1628 at the head of sixty pioneers; 350 more followed in 1629; and before the end of the same year a novel step was resolved upon. The whole of the shareholders transferred themselves with their Governor to the other side of the Atlantic, and the company in England ceased to exist.

The result of this astute move was that the Company and the colony became one and the same thing, and the latter became at a stroke a fully self-governing community, with power to choose not only its own assembly, as in the case of Virginia, but also its own Governor and council. Massachusetts thus became for practical purposes an almost independent state, and successfully pursued a line of policy in direct opposition to that of the Stuart Kings of England.

When the transference of 1629 took place, John Winthrop was chosen Governor. On his arrival in the colony, he fixed the headquarters at Boston. Numerous other townships rapidly sprang up, populated by a continuous stream of emigrants from England. The years 1629-40 were the period of Charles I.'s personal government—the eleven years' tyranny, as his opponents called it—during which no parliament was summoned. To many it seemed that constitutional government had been abolished for ever in England, and that an absolute monarchy like that of France had been successfully erected. The wildest visionary could scarcely have dreamed that within a few more years the Parliament would return triumphant, would conquer and behead the King, and would set up a government of those very Puritans whom Strafford and Laud were now trampling under their feet. In these depressing circumstances, thousands of Puritans preferred to emigrate rather than to submit to tyranny. They carried

Massachusetts a self-governing colony from the beginning.

Extensive Puritan emigration, 1629-40.

sufficient of their wealth across the Atlantic to ensure that Massachusetts should become a thriving settlement. By the year 1640 its population had reached 20,000, a growth which eclipsed that of Virginia and left Plymouth far behind.

The men of Massachusetts had left England in a spirit of gloomy defiance of the tyranny of the Anglican Church and the King who gave it his support. They had suffered from persecution in England, but their sufferings had not imbued them with any love of toleration. The leading men of the Puritan colony proceeded at once to set up as strict a religious tyranny as Laud had done at home. The nominal adherence of the founders to the Church of England was soon lost sight of, and worship at Massachusetts became congregational in type. When a popular assembly was elected to assist the Governor in directing affairs, it was speedily enacted that no man should enjoy any political rights unless he were a member of the Church. Irreligious and dissolute persons were expelled without mercy from the colony, and minorities who differed from the general Church on minute points of Calvinistic teaching were harshly treated and frequently banished. The climax of religious tyranny was reached when certain unfortunate Quakers made their appearance. They were imprisoned, isolated as if suffering from an infectious plague, scourged and finally expelled. Four, indeed, were hanged.

**Puritan
tyranny in
Massa-
chusetts.**

In other respects Massachusetts became an admirable colony. The inhabitants were industrious, extremely businesslike, and in non-religious matters little given to agitation or discontent. Towards the strife in the mother country they adopted an attitude of neutrality. They did not, as they might have been expected to do, show any extravagant sympathy for the cause of the Parliament during the Civil War, and on the restoration of Charles II. they obtained a confirmation of their charter. A progressive educational policy was adopted. Within seven years of the colony's foundation, the college of Harvard was endowed with

public money, and public schools were established in most of the townships. In addition to agriculture, fur trading with the Indians, the sale of timber from the primeval forests, and the fisheries of the coast provided employment for the population. Ere long a brisk coasting trade sprang up with the neighbouring colonies and with the West Indies.

The rapid stream of Puritan emigration to Massachusetts soon caused the most desirable lands in that colony to be taken up. Accordingly, it was not long before pioneer bands began to wander south of parallel 42° N., the southern boundary of Massachusetts, in search of better sites for settlement. The valley of the Connecticut River had already been marked out as their own by the Dutch of New Amsterdam and Long Island, but the scattered Dutch settlers were soon ousted by the more numerous Englishmen who crowded in upon them. The first English communities on the Connecticut were founded in 1633. They remained affiliated to Massachusetts until 1638, when they declared themselves to be the separate colony of Connecticut. In the meantime, John Davenport, another Massachusetts man, had founded the settlement of New Haven further westwards along the coast in the direction of the Dutch territories. New Haven remained a separate community until 1662, when it was merged in the colony of Connecticut. These extensions of New England were modelled, in religion, government and social conditions, on the example of Massachusetts.

Of a different type was the little colony of Rhode Island, lying midway between Connecticut and Plymouth. In 1635 a young Puritan clergyman of Massachusetts, Roger Williams, found himself unable to agree with his fellow colonists on certain doctrinal points. Massachusetts Puritanism would permit no independence of teaching within its boundaries, and the intolerant majority silenced Williams by pronouncing sentence of banishment. He moved southwards with some

Connecticut
and New
Haven,
1633-8.

Rhode Island
a tolerant
colony, 1636.

adherents, and in 1636 laid the foundations of the colony of Rhode Island or, as he named it, Providence. The settlements eventually covered the island which gave its name to the colony, and also the coasts of the mainland adjacent to it. Rhode Island was unique among the New England colonies in allowing complete liberty of conscience, and in keeping politics entirely apart from religion. On this account it was treated as an outcast by its neighbours, and allowed no part in the common measures for defence against Dutch and Indians taken by the remaining New England states.

The country lying to the north of Massachusetts, and stretching as far as the French region of Acadia, was kept directly under the control of the New England Council until that body terminated its career in 1635. Various isolated and, for the most part, unsuccessful attempts had been made to settle it, and it was broadly divided into two regions known as New Hampshire and Maine. As stated above, the New England Council dissolved in 1635, granting its somewhat shadowy rights in shares to the individuals who composed it. The district of Maine fell to the share of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the most prominent members of the Council. In 1639 he strengthened his position by obtaining from Charles I. proprietary rights similar to those of Lord Baltimore in Maryland. Gorges had done little more than devise a constitution for the scattered settlements of woodcutters and fishermen already existing in Maine when the Civil War broke out in England. He expended all his energies in fighting for the King, and died in the course of the contest. The result was that the Maine settlements, together with those of New Hampshire, fell ultimately under the power of Massachusetts. New Hampshire afterwards regained its independence, but Maine was administered by Massachusetts until the colonies were separated from England in 1783.

The foundation of the several New England colonies has now been briefly traced ; it remains to say a few words as

to their peculiar characteristics. These are best illustrated by comparison with Virginia and Maryland. In New England agricultural conditions were more similar to those of the mother country than in Virginia. Consequently, farms remained comparatively small, and no large estates like those of the Virginia planters were developed. Again, in New England slavery was almost unknown; the climate was suitable for manual labour by white men, and the inhabitants remained hardy and self-reliant without the temptation to indolence which slaves provided. But it is in politics and religion that the difference between New England and Virginia is most apparent. The Virginians were loyalists with no grudge against England, supporters of the Anglican Church, and ruled mainly by a Governor appointed by the English Crown. The New Englanders, on the other hand, were dissenters who had left their homes generally on account of religious persecution. They had no great love for the King of England, his court, or his officials; and they were subject to scarcely any control by the King, because their Governors were chosen, not by the Crown, but by the colonists themselves. The tie which bound them to the mother country was evidently of the slightest, and would certainly snap if subjected to any great strain. To sum up: the southern colonies were aristocratic, secular in their government, and largely subject to home control; the New England colonies were democratic, their politics were closely intertwined with their religion, and they had almost complete self-government.

In 1643, at the suggestion of Connecticut, a federation of the four colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth and Massachusetts was formed. Its object was to provide for joint measures against the Dutch and the Indians. Rhode Island applied for admission to the league, but was refused on account of its religious toleration. The federated colonies contributed men and money in time of need in proportion to their population. Massachusetts, as the most populous,

Contrast
between New
England and
Virginia.

The New
England
Federation,
1643.

found the largest quota, and generally took the lead. Dutch aggression in the direction of Connecticut was successfully resisted, but frequently the combination was marred by the jealous manner in which each state sought to preserve its own independence.

(v) *The West Indies*

The earliest English settlements in the West Indies and the neighbouring islands were made in the period 1603-1660. The first group to be so colonised, the Bermudas, lie some 10° north of the West Indies. They were annexed by the Virginia Company after the shipwreck of Sir George Somers upon them in 1609. After a few years their exploitation was undertaken by a separate corporation, the Somers' Islands Company, which was not dissolved until 1684. Since that date the Bermudas have been a Crown Colony.

In the West Indies themselves the Spaniards had more than a century's start over all competitors from the date of Columbus' first discovery in 1492. During that period they contented themselves with taking possession of the larger islands only—Cuba, Hispaniola (Hayti), and Porto Rico. In Jamaica they had no colonists in the true sense, but only a few hunters of the wild cattle, descendants of animals originally introduced by the Spaniards themselves. These were allowed to increase into huge herds, and were then killed for their hides. The smaller West Indian islands were, therefore, open to English colonisation, although, of course, Spain still claimed the sole right to navigate these seas.

In 1605 a landing was effected in Barbados, but its active colonisation was not taken in hand until 1624. The undertaking prospered amazingly, and within a few years the population bade fair to rival that of Virginia. As in that colony, development tended towards the formation of large estates, mainly for sugar-growing; slave labour was in demand from the first, and was furnished by negroes from West Africa, and by white unfor-

tunates from England, kidnapped or sent abroad as a punishment for crime. During the civil wars and rebellions of the seventeenth century, exile to "the Barbadoes" was a favourite means of disposing of prisoners of war.

During the first half of the century several other islands of the lesser Antilles were occupied by English settlers—St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Lucia and Barbuda. In each case the general progress was similar to that of Barbados, sugar-growing by slave labour being the principal industry. At the same time, French pioneers were also at work in the West Indies, and several islands adjacent to the English ones fell to their share. During the long wars between England and France in the eighteenth century these islands repeatedly changed hands, according as one or the other combatant possessed the greater naval force. Statesmen in Europe were inclined to overrate their importance, and the policy of "filching sugar islands" often eclipsed more serious matters. A case in point was the proposal in 1763 to exchange Canada for concessions in the West Indies.

In addition to the Lesser Antilles, a beginning was made before 1660 of the occupation of the Bahama group, lying **Conquest of** to the north of Cuba. But the most important **Jamaica, 1655.** English acquisition in this region was a spoil of war. In 1654 Cromwell despatched an expedition under Admiral Penn and General Venables to attack Hispaniola, still, as in the days of Drake, the Spanish headquarters in the Indies. The expedition was an unhappy one. The commanders disagreed, the men fell sick and became mutinous, and everything went awry. A force was landed at Hispaniola, but fell into an ambush on its march to the capital, and retreated in confusion to the ships. Penn and Venables decided to abandon the undertaking, but seized Jamaica as some compensation before sailing for home (May 1655). The importance of their conquest was not at first realised, and both commanders were sent to the Tower for their incompetence. The early history of the English colony in Jamaica is a melancholy catalogue of famine and

pestilence. Several successive governors, and by far the greater number of the original settlers, died before a firm grip of the problem was obtained and the prosperity of the island established.

SUMMARY

1. The opening of the Stuart period marks the end of the struggle with Spain, and the beginning of civil strife in England between King and Parliament.

2. Virginia and Maryland were colonised by the same type of adventurers as Raleigh and the Elizabethans.

3. Harsh treatment of the Puritans under James I. and Charles I. led to the establishment of the Puritan New England colonies.

4. The New Englanders left the mother country under a sense of grievance, and had consequently little loyalty and affection for her.

5. The colonies as a whole took no active part in the Civil War, and their position was therefore not greatly influenced by the Restoration.

6. By 1660 the English had obtained a firm foothold in the West Indies.

IMPORTANT DATES

1606. Incorporation of the London and Plymouth Virginia Companies.

1607. Permanent settlement of Virginia.

1609. Sir George Somers wrecked on the Bermudas.

1619. Beginning of self-government in Virginia.

1620. The Pilgrim Fathers found the Plymouth Colony.
The New England Council.

1624. Abolition of the Virginia Company.
Colonisation of Barbados.

1625. Death of James I. Accession of Charles I.

1628-9. Foundation of Massachusetts.

1632. Foundation of Maryland.

1633-8. Foundation of Connecticut and New Haven.

1636. Foundation of Rhode Island

- 1640. The summoning of the Long Parliament checks Puritan emigration owing to the revival of their hopes in England.
- 1642. Beginning of the Civil War in England.
- 1643. The New England Federation.
- 1649. Execution of Charles I.
- 1649-53. The Commonwealth
- 1653-9. The Protectorate.
- 1655. Conquest of Jamaica.
- 1660. Restoration of Charles II.

CHAPTER II

OCEANIC TRADE AND EXPLORATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(i) *The East India Company*

The East India Company received its charter and sent forth its first expedition to the East about two years before Elizabeth's death. It must be understood that the mainland of India itself was not the goal of the early efforts of the Company. That country was considered as inferior in commercial importance to the islands forming the Eastern Archipelago—Sumatra, Java, Celebes and the Moluccas. These islands were the greatest spice-producing region in the world, and spices were then the most valuable merchandise with which a ship could be loaded. The early voyages of the East India Company were thus made to the islands, and trade with India proper was looked upon as quite a subordinate branch of the business.

Importance of
the East
Indian
Archipelago.

In the islands the earliest European power to open up trade had been Portugal, and the Portuguese naturally claimed the sole monopoly of navigating the eastern seas. This claim had already, before the appearance of the English, been challenged by the Dutch, whose East India trade dates from 1595. England, then, was the third power in order of time to enter the trade, and she found persistent enemies in both her predecessors. Portugal and the Portuguese colonies had, since 1580, been under the rule of the Kings of Spain. The long Elizabethan war had already taught them to

The Portu-
guese and the
Dutch.

respect the might of England at sea, and in the East the English were generally successful against their Portuguese rivals. With the Dutch it was different. They were the stiffest fighters and the most unscrupulous traders of their day. They were determined to be the sole owners of the Eastern Archipelago, and their government gave its entire support to the pretensions of their East India Company. The result was that in little more than twenty years they had driven the English from the islands, the majority of which are Dutch possessions to the present day. It is the history of this first period, in which the English relinquished the island trade and turned to the mainland itself, that has now to be considered.

On April 22nd, 1601, Sir James Lancaster sailed from Torbay with four ships forming the first venture of the East India Company. His largest vessel was the *Red Dragon*, of 600 tons, a private warship purchased from the Earl of Cumberland, who had built her as a destroyer of Spanish commerce. The freight of Lancaster's squadron consisted of English manufactured goods to the value of £6,860, together with £28,742 in coined silver, with which cloves and pepper were to be purchased in the islands. Thirteen months after leaving England, Lancaster arrived safely at Achin in Sumatra. There he was disappointed in obtaining pepper, the local crop having failed, but he soon afterwards fell in with a large Portuguese carrack, which he captured and despoiled of her cargo. He completed the lading of his ships at the other islands, left English factors at Bantam in Java to collect cargoes for the next voyage, and safely made the long homeward passage, arriving in England in September 1603. So valuable was every grain of his lading that the dockers who discharged the ships in the Thames were provided with special suits of clothes *without pockets* at the Company's expense.

At the time of Lancaster's return, the Company was in somewhat low water. The first voyage, it is true, yielded eventually a handsome profit—95 per cent. in all—but it

was several years before this was apparent, as the goods could only be slowly disposed of. Some difficulty was, therefore, experienced in raising money for the second expedition, which sailed in 1604. In March of that year Captain Henry Middleton sailed with four ships, with cargo and money amounting to only one-third of that carried on the first voyage. He made a prosperous trip, loaded pepper and cloves at Bantam and Amboyna, and reached England again in 1606.

This system of separate "voyages," each financed by a separate subscription of capital, continued until 1612. The third voyage, that of 1607, yielded the enormous profit of 234 per cent. The fourth, on the other hand, was an absolute failure, both the ships concerned being lost at sea. In 1609 James I. granted the Company a new charter, by which they were allowed a perpetual monopoly of the eastern trade instead of one for fifteen years as promised by Elizabeth. In spite of this, James was not always to be relied upon by the Company. In 1604 a most mischievous adventure had been entered upon by his permission. In the summer of that year Sir Edward Michelborne, an interloper, *i.e.* not a member of the Company, had sailed for the East and entered upon a career of piracy in the islands. He returned in 1606, having robbed not only Dutchmen, but also Chinese and other natives, with the result that discredit fell upon all Englishmen, and their interests were severely damaged. The Company never obtained any redress against Michelborne. For the sixth voyage, in 1610, the enormous capital of £82,000 was subscribed. The principal ship of this expedition was the *Trade's Increase*, of 1,100 tons, specially built by the Company in imitation of the huge carracks of Portugal. The great ship was unlucky, being burnt in the harbour of Bantam on her first voyage.

During all this time the Dutch had looked upon English commerce in the East with increasing jealousy. Until 1609 they could not afford to risk a quarrel with England, be-

cause their war of independence against Spain was still going on. But in that year a truce was concluded with Spain, Ambitions of and the whole energy of the Dutch nation the Dutch. was thenceforward concentrated on the founding of its eastern empire. The Dutch had these advantages in the islands : (1) by appearing there a few years in advance of England they had been able to make trade agreements with the native rulers, and to seize the principal strategic points which commanded the narrow passages of the archipelago ; (2) their ships and factors outnumbered those of England by four or five to one, for the Dutch East India Company was a national institution loyally supported by every man in the Netherlands, while that of England was a private concern, regarded with indifference by most people in the country, and with hostility by some.

After their peace with Spain in 1609, the Dutch began the contest by laying claim to the exclusive monopoly of the Moluccas, the choicest of the spice islands. The English driven from the islands. Fruitless negotiations followed, and the English factors were then expelled by force. In 1619, while pitched battles were in progress in Asiatic waters, a treaty was signed in Europe for the regulation of the trade. James I. deserted the English Company when it most needed his support, and by his orders the English negotiators agreed that the English should contribute to the cost of fortifying posts to be used by both nations, but that the fortifications should be under Dutch control. This simply meant that the English were to help to pay for the means of their own destruction. In the jointly' occupied stations the insolence of the Dutch, always in superior numbers, became unbearable. They treated the English merchants as dogs, and refused to believe an Englishman's word against that of a native. Gradually the English withdrew from one after another of the island factories.

English trade in the islands ended with a terrible tragedy, whose effects were felt for nearly a century. At Amboyna in the Banda sea, eighteen English merchants and factors

lived among some hundreds of Dutchmen. In 1623 the Dutch governor decided that the time had come to exterminate them. By torturing natives he obtained evidence upon which he based the absurd charge that these eighteen men had plotted to seize the entire station. The Englishmen were arrested and subjected to ghastly tortures by fire and water to extort confession. After days of suffering ten were executed, and the Dutch flag waved in undisputed supremacy over Amboyna. When the news reached England a storm of indignation burst forth, and the cause of the East India Company became for the first time really popular with the English people. But James I. and Charles, who succeeded him in 1625, had political reasons for being friendly with the Dutch. With true Stuart "kingcraft" they swallowed the outrage upon the nation without protest, and it was not until the days of Cromwell that reparation was obtained for the Amboyna massacre.

**The Amboyna
Massacre,
1623.**

After 1623 the Dutch had a practical monopoly of trade with the Archipelago and the remote East. Everywhere they gained the reputation of being hard and faithless, sacrificing every consideration of honour and religion to the pursuit of gain. In Japan, where Portuguese Jesuits had made many converts to Christianity, the authorities exterminated that religion by a campaign of persecution. To guard against its reintroduction, it was decided to exclude Europeans from the country unless they would perform the ceremony of trampling upon the image of Christ in order to prove that they were not Christians. The Dutch alone would consent to perform this rite, and so obtained a monopoly of Japanese trade. It was from these transactions in the East, much more than from anything which happened in Europe, that the intense hatred sprang up between England and Holland which produced three hard-fought wars in the space of twenty years.

During the years of the bitter struggle in the islands the English had been gradually establishing a hold upon the trade of India itself. Here their principal opponents

were the Portuguese, and the struggle went as decisively against the latter as it had gone against the English further The English to the East. In 1607 Captain William Hawkins was despatched to the court of the Mogul Emperor, Jehangir, with letters from James I. Jehangir's sway extended over the whole of northern India, and Hawkins obtained from him permission for an English factory to be established at Surat in the Gulf of Cambay.



FIG. 5.—THE EARLY OPERATIONS OF THE EAST INDIA CO.

The grant was temporarily revoked owing to Portuguese machinations, but the factory was nevertheless successfully founded. Before it could be regarded as permanent, a decisive victory over the Portuguese was necessary in order to prove to the Mogul's officials that the English were the stronger power. This victory was obtained in 1612.

In the previous year Sir Henry Middleton had found the entrance to Surat barred by a Portuguese naval force. In

<p>Battle of Swally Roads, 1612.</p>	<p>1612 Captain Thomas Best arrived in Swally Roads, at the mouth of the Surat river, with two ships, the <i>Red Dragon</i> and the <i>Hosiander</i>. He was opposed by four Portuguese ships and</p>
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twenty-six row-barges filled with soldiers from their headquarters at Goa further down the coast. In spite of the odds, he decided to engage them. The fighting was spread over a period of a month. On the first and second days a heavy cannonade was kept up, the English gunnery, as in the time of Drake, proving superior to that of the enemy. On the third day both sides were busy repairing damages, and on the fourth Best stood out to sea, hoping the Portuguese would follow him and fight it out where their oared vessels would be useless. The enemy, however, remained in the port, doubtless considering that they had won their point. Three weeks later Best returned to the attack, and in a two days' battle gained a decisive victory. The Portuguese retired to Goa, and the two English ships entered Surat in triumph. The natives had watched the struggle with keen interest, and hastened to reward the victor by confirming the grant of Surat and three other factories on the same coast.

It was at this time that the Company abandoned the system of raising a separate capital for each voyage, and formed instead a permanent joint stock as in a modern trading company. In 1613 the joint stock amounted to nearly half a million pounds, and Captain Nicholas Downton was despatched to India with four ships. In 1615 Downton won a victory at Swally against even heavier odds than Best had faced in 1612. In three weeks of hard fighting and manœuvring his four ships drove away eleven Portuguese sailing vessels and sixty 18-oared barges. The rival crews numbered 400 Englishmen and 2,600 Portuguese, aided by 6,000 native auxiliaries. Downton died later in the same year, but his valour had broken the back of the Portuguese empire in the East. From that time forward their decline was rapid; their carracks were captured at sea, and the English followed them even into the Persian Gulf, where the Portuguese garrison of Ormuz capitulated in 1622.

Overthrow of
Portuguese
power in
India.

In 1615, also, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador to the court of the Mogul Emperor. He negotiated a treaty by

which English privileges were maintained, and the Indian trade prospered greatly. The English at Surat were an extremely orderly community, and gained the respect of the Mogul's officers. Until 1687 Surat dominated the Company's settlements, when its place was taken by Bombay. In spite of their good reputation, the merchants at Surat experienced reverses. Famine, followed by pestilence, devastated the surrounding country, and on another occasion all Englishmen were placed under arrest owing to the piracies of "interlopers," who were permitted by the weakness of the English Government to imperil the Company.

Ere long, trading posts were obtained on other parts of the Indian coast. A factory at Masulipatam was established in 1611. This was afterwards superseded by Madras (1639). A footing in Bengal was gained at Pipli in 1633, and at Hugli on the Ganges in 1650. Charles II., by his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, obtained the cession of the island of Bombay from the Portuguese. After an unsuccessful attempt to administer it himself, he turned it over to the Company in 1668. Bombay was a difficult post to maintain. Its climate was so deadly that the average life of an Englishman there was said not to exceed three years, and it was on the border-line between the power of the Mogul Emperor and that of the Mahratta chiefs of the Deccan. In spite of these disadvantages, it ultimately displaced Surat as the Company's headquarters. The last important acquisition of the seventeenth century was that of Fort William (Calcutta) in 1696.

During this period the Company was a trading body pure and simple. It had no desire to occupy territory beyond the walls of its factories, nor to interfere with the government of the native princes. The stronger the latter proved themselves, the better the English were pleased; for their business depended on the maintenance of peace. Two factors made their appearance towards the end of the century which were destined to revolutionise this state of

affairs. The Mogul Empire showed signs of breaking up before the advance of the warlike Mahrattas; and a new competitor reached India in the shape of a French East India Company, founded by Louis XIV. in 1662. The completion of the first of these changes may be said to have been accomplished in 1707, the date of the death of the last great emperor, Aurungzebe. The French made rapid progress, fortifying Pondicherry, 100 miles south of Madras, in 1675. In the eighteenth century their policy of interfering in the disturbed native politics produced a series of wars, which entirely altered the position of Europeans in India.

A few words are necessary as to the fortunes of the East India Company at home. Throughout the whole period under discussion it experienced difficulty in maintaining its monopoly rights and preventing unauthorised persons from engaging in the trade. In addition to the "free trade" cry raised against it, another objection was put forward. This was that it paid for its eastern wares, not by exporting English goods, but mainly in specie. Thus, according to the economic ideas of the time, it drained the realm of wealth. The exponents of this theory declared that England would be better off if the Indian trade were altogether abandoned. In refutation of this argument, the Company could point to the extraordinary rise of the Dutch nation in wealth and power, based very largely on this same trade. With regard to the monopoly, it was evident that the Indian trade depended on the maintenance by the Company of ambassadors, buildings and fortifications, and it was manifestly unfair that private traders should share these advantages without contributing to their cost. But the most powerful argument for monopoly was furnished by the invariable bad conduct of the interlopers in eastern waters, whereby the whole position of Englishmen in the East was imperilled.

Cromwell reorganised the Company in 1657 after it had passed through a period of confusion under the Commonwealth. Charles II. confirmed its charter in 1661. The

The
Company's
enemies at
home.

expulsion of James II. in 1688 gave the interlopers a fresh opportunity. The old Company received little support from William III., and its rivals went so far as to found a new Company under Government patronage. The rival corporations traded side by side until 1708, when they were amalgamated as the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

(ii) *West African Companies*

Very different from the orderly progress of the East India Company is the record of African trade during the seventeenth century. In spite of numerous attempts to concentrate this branch of commerce in the hands of one large company with monopoly rights, the interlopers and private adventurers of all kinds continually flourished at the expense of the officially recognised body.

Early attempts to exploit the Guinea trade in the days of Mary and Elizabeth have already been described. During the Spanish War these efforts were relaxed, and although some merchants of Exeter made profitable voyages about the year 1588. After the restoration of peace, companies were licensed by both James I. and Charles I., but achieved no permanent success. The incorporated merchants had now to face, not only the competition of their own interloping fellow-countrymen, but also that of the Dutch. The latter inaugurated a West India Company, and busied themselves in supplying our American and West Indian planters with negro slaves.

Dutch commerce with English colonies having been to some extent suppressed by the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, a fresh attempt to regulate the African trade was made after the Restoration of Charles II. Under the patronage of the Duke of York and Prince Rupert a new body was formed, called the Royal African Company. Its patent conferred very wide privileges—exclusive trade on the whole west coast of Africa from Morocco to the Cape, with power to erect forts and factories wherever necessary. But the great extent of

the territory rendered it impossible to keep out intruders, and the Company could hardly compete successfully against free-lances who were at no expense for fortifications. The Company, with numerous reconstructions and changes of system, dragged out a miserable existence for a century and a half, not being finally dissolved until the reign of George IV. At scarcely any moment during this long period could it be said to be a paying concern. Its most memorable achievement was the establishment of permanent posts on the Gold Coast and at the mouth of the Gambia river, which have remained in English possession to the present day.

At first sight it might seem that if the East India Company could prosper in spite of foreign and domestic foes, the African Company ought to have done the same. But in reality the conditions were entirely different. In the first place, the Guinea coast was much more accessible from England than was that of India. Interlopers were, therefore, more numerous, and could work with a smaller capital. But the really fatal bar to a "well-ordered trade" was the fact that the two branches of African enterprise, slave hunting and trafficking for the produce of the country, were incompatible with one another. The merchant who desired to exchange English goods for gold, ivory and dyestuffs had to maintain a fortified factory for the storage of his wares, and had also to be on friendly terms with the natives. The slaver, on the other hand, ranged along a wide stretch of coast, frequently fought with the negroes, but more generally obtained a cargo by inciting the chiefs to make war upon one another, afterwards selling him the prisoners. All this was obviously detrimental to peaceful trade. The African Company attempted to carry on both branches of the business, but in slaving was easily outdone by the interlopers, while its permanent stations were always liable to be attacked by the Dutch, Portuguese and, latterly, the French.

The slave trade, offensive as it is to modern consciences, was essential to the foundation of English colonies in the

West Indies and the warmer parts of North America. It was for this reason that the African Company persevered in face of such misfortunes. But the western planters themselves preferred an open trade. They complained that, while a private venturer could sell them negroes at £7 a head, the Company charged as much as £20, and restricted the supply to the detriment of colonial expansion.

The slave trade continued in full vigour until the opening years of the nineteenth century, and the failure of the official Company in reality testifies to the wide extent of the illicit side of the business.

(iii) *The North-West Passage*

Reference has already been made to voyages by Sebastian Cabot, Sir Martin Frobisher, John Davis and other sixteenth century explorers in search of the North-West Passage. After Davis's third voyage in 1587, the project was abandoned for some fifteen years. But in the first three decades of the seventeenth century a remarkable series of voyages was performed in this direction, and knowledge of the Arctic regions made rapid strides.

As in the earlier period, the promoters of these expeditions had always in view the practical object of finding a shorter route to the East than the Cape of Good Hope. Motives for the search. afforded. Consequently, it is found that the merchants of England, and particularly those of the East India and Russia Companies, were usually appealed to by the explorers for financial support; and, as long as the least hope of success remained, the appeal was seldom made in vain. The London and Bristol merchant princes were men of large views, who did not shrink from expending a share of their gains in an enterprise which gave promise of such grand results.

The first of the new series of voyages was made by George Waymouth with two small vessels, the *Godspeed* and the *Waymouth*, *Discovery*. The whole equipment was provided by the East India Company, who agreed to pay the captain £500 in the event of success and nothing

in the case of failure. Waymouth sailed from the Thames on May 2nd, 1602. By the end of June he was pushing up



FIG. 6.—EARLY VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-WEST.

the west coast of Greenland, suffering hardships from storms and ice. At length the crew, instigated by Parson

Cartwright, their chaplain, broke into mutiny and refused to proceed further. Waymouth crossed over to the shore on which Frobisher had found his supposed gold mine, and then sailed southwards along the Labrador coast, failing everywhere to find the looked-for opening to the west. He arrived in England early in August after an absence of only four months. Compared with achievements which were soon to follow, Waymouth's voyage does not seem very heroic. The Company, however, exonerated him from blame for the failure, and talked of employing him again, although it does not appear that they ever did so.

In 1606 John Knight, also in the service of the East India Company, sailed to the coast of Labrador in a little vessel of 40 tons named the *Hopewell*. He Knight, 1606. encountered more than the usual share of ice, fog and storms. His end was tragic. On June 26th, he, with his mate and three other men, landed to explore an island. They marched over the brow of a hill and were never seen again. Only eight men were left in the ship, which was held fast in the ice. These were presently attacked by a swarm of Eskimos who had probably already slain the landing party. By heroic efforts the survivors beat off the attack, freed their ship, and made their way to Newfoundland. They reached England after obtaining succour from the fishermen of the Newfoundland Banks.

The next name in the series is that of Henry Hudson, the greatest of all the early explorers of the Arctic. His claim to this title rests on the fact that he made, in his four successive voyages, a systematic search for a passage to Asia in all the quarters in which search was possible—to the North, to the North-East, and to the North-West. With no financial resources of his own he was able, by the force of his personality, to induce three different sets of employers to provide means for this work.

The details of his early life are unknown. He first comes into view in 1607 as a captain in the service of the

Henry
Hudson:
his compre-
hensive
scheme.

Russia Company. Sailing on April 23rd of that year, he proceeded up the North Sea to the Shetland Islands, and thence made his way to the eastern shore of Greenland. His purpose on this voyage was to look for the Passage by sailing due north and attempting to pass over the Pole itself. In this he was stopped by the permanent ice barrier which stretches between Greenland and Spitzbergen. Skirting the ice field he arrived at Spitzbergen, discovered by the Dutch some years before. Here, also, there was no opening. After trying the ice barrier once more Hudson returned with this important negative information: that it was useless to look for the Passage anywhere between Greenland and Spitzbergen.

His first
voyage to the
North, 1607.

Hudson's second voyage was likewise financed by the Russia Company. On this occasion he made the North-East the region of his search. Leaving London in the spring of 1608, he first sailed the seas between Spitzbergen and Novaia Zemlia, failing to force a way through the ice to the north-east of the latter island. He then coasted southwards along the western shore of Novaia Zemlia, satisfied himself that no practicable channel existed there, and finally turned homewards before the close of the summer. Failing success by means of the strait between Novaia Zemlia and the mainland of Siberia, he was now fairly convinced that the North-West was the only quarter in which the Passage would be found. He had not examined the strait in question owing to the lateness of the season and lack of supplies.

Second
voyage to the
North-East,
1608.

The Russia Company had now exhausted its enthusiasm for discovery, and Hudson crossed over to Holland, where he found that the Dutch Merchants were also alive to the importance of his projects. In 1609 he set sail in their service to complete his unfinished exploration of the North-East. In the *Half Moon*, a little ship with a crew of some twenty men, he again reached Novaia

Third voyage
to the North-
East and to
the West,
1609.

Zemlia, only to find the sea everywhere blocked by ice. As in so many other voyages, the captain had a stouter heart than his men, who mutinied and forced him to turn back. Although foiled in the North-East, Hudson had already formed plans for exploring the North-West, and with his men's consent sailed over to the coast of Nova Scotia. It was not by any means certain at this time that North America was an unbroken continent, and the *Half Moon* was accordingly headed southwards from Nova Scotia in the hope that a channel might be found leading through from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This, be it remembered, was before the days of the Pilgrim Fathers and the colonisation of New England. Ranging along the American coast, Hudson discovered the noble river which still bears his name. After spending a month in exploring its course he began his return voyage, putting into Dartmouth in November 1609. At Dartmouth Hudson and the English members of the crew were detained by order of the Government, the *Half Moon* and the Dutchmen being allowed to proceed to the Netherlands. Their favourable reports of the Hudson River district resulted in the foundation there of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, afterwards New York.

It was Hudson's fame as a navigator which had caused his detention at Dartmouth. It was felt that a man of his talents should be exercising them on behalf of his own country and not in the service of its rival. Accordingly it was not long before he was again at sea in the *Discovery*, a ship fitted out at the expense of Sir Thomas Smith and two other venturers. Smith was Governor of the East India Company, but that body was not officially a patron of the expedition. Henry Hudson began his last voyage on April 17th, 1610. His purpose was to complete the semi-circle of his examination of the Arctic by entering the strait between Labrador and Frobisher's *Meta Incognita*. This strait, now named Hudson Strait, had been visited by Frobisher and other voyagers. But Hudson was the

Fourth
voyage to the
North-West,
1610-11.

first to push through it and into the great bay beyond. This proved to be the task of more than one season, and the explorers passed the winter of 1610-11 frozen fast in the ice of Hudson's Bay.

The long winter passed in discomfort and idleness bred discontent among the crew. Scarcely had the voyage been resumed in June 1611, when they broke into open mutiny. The ringleader was a certain Henry Greene, who owed everything to Hudson's kindness. At Greene's instigation Henry Hudson, his son John, and six sick men were placed in an open boat and sent adrift. Their fate was voluntarily shared by John King, the ship's carpenter, who preferred death to infamy. The doomed men drifted away and were never seen again. The mutineers then turned homewards. On the way Greene and two others were slain in a fight with Eskimos. Provisions ran short, and ere the Irish coast was reached the mate, another leader of the mutiny, had died of hunger, and few of his comrades had strength to stand. Their shameful story was soon elicited by strict questioning, but none of the survivors were severely punished.

The discovery of Hudson's Bay gave a fresh impetus to north-western voyages. Most people were beginning to realise that there was no passage through the eastern coast of North America itself, but it had yet to be seen whether Hudson's Bay communicated with the Pacific. Hudson himself had explored only the eastern side of the Bay. In 1612, therefore, Sir Thomas Button sailed with two ships to complete the discovery. He crossed over to the western shore of the Bay and wintered in the estuary of the Nelson River. Many of his men perished from the cold, but Button's good leadership prevented a mutiny. In June 1613, he got free of the ice and sailed northwards looking for an opening. After two months' search, in which he reached the latitude of 65° N. he returned to England.

In 1612 also, James Hall sailed to seek gold on the west coast of Greenland. Hall was killed by an Eskimo, and

his men then gave up the attempt. Another minor expedition was that of Captain Gibbons in 1614. He proceeded no further than the Labrador coast, where ice forced him to turn back.

In 1615 the same company which had sent out Button and Gibbons despatched William Baffin to continue the search for the Passage in the waters west of Hudson Strait. Baffin was a scientific seaman of the same stamp as John Davis and Hudson, and he had already seen much service in the Arctic. His experiences in the voyage of 1615 convinced him that the Passage would not be found by way of Hudson Strait, and in his next attempt he took a different direction.

It will be remembered that John Davis, in the time of Elizabeth, had entered the strait which now bears his name. This great waterway, separating Greenland from Labrador and Baffin Land (*Meta Incognita*), appeared to offer a passage to the North-West, but was so frequently blocked by floating ice that Davis had not been able to explore its entire length. Baffin now decided to follow and continue on the course laid down by Davis. He had with him Robert Bylot, who had been one of Hudson's mutinous crew and had served in other expeditions after Hudson's death. His ship, the *Discovery*, was also noteworthy as being the vessel in which Hudson, Button and Gibbons had made their voyages. Sailing in 1616, Baffin and Bylot made their way up the west coast of Greenland. In a remarkably short time they passed Davis's northernmost limit and discovered Baffin's Bay, second only in size to that of Hudson. At the beginning of July they reached nearly 78° of north latitude, an achievement which exceeded any other in this direction until the opening of the nineteenth century. Two channels lead westward from Baffin's Bay, but they were so choked with ice that the intrepid explorers were obliged to turn back after making one of the most remarkable voyages of their time. Baffin was never again in the Arctic. He subsequently took service with the East India

Company, and was killed in 1622 at the taking of the Portuguese settlements in the Persian Gulf.

If we except an unimportant voyage made by Captain Hawkrige in 1619, no other attempts upon the problem of the North-West took place until 1631. In **Foxe** and that year some London merchants, aided by **James, 1631**. Sir John Wolstenholme and the Brethren of Trinity House, sent out Captain Luke Foxe (or, as he called himself, North-West Foxe), to try once more for a passage by way of Hudson's Bay. Foxe has left a most entertaining account of his voyage. He passed through Hudson Strait, searched the western shore of Hudson's Bay between 55° and 65°, and then sailed northwards up Foxe's Channel to 66° 47', "Foxe his farthest." While in the Bay he encountered another English ship commanded by Captain Thomas James of Bristol, bent on the same errand. James wintered in the Bay, but accomplished no discoveries of note.

Foxe's report was to the effect that no passage was to be looked for in Hudson's Bay, and with his voyage the quest ceased for nearly a century. Although all failed in their main object, these early explorers were as truly empire builders as the East India merchants and the colonists of America. Many lost their lives in the enterprise; all suffered extreme hardships for little reward. Their efforts could not but increase the honour and prestige of England among the nations, and in their own sphere they kept burning the torch of English heroism, lighted by the great seamen of Tudor days.

(iv) *The Hudson's Bay Company*

Many years elapsed before commercial advantage was taken of the discoveries of Hudson and his contemporaries. English colonisation at the time was entirely **The French** concerned with the Atlantic seaboard of fur-traders. America. The French, however, were in a better position to appreciate the importance of the great northern sea. Since the opening of the seventeenth century the French colony of Canada had been steadily growing on the banks of the

St. Lawrence. Its principal industry was fur-trading with the Indians, and the value of its exports to Europe soon became considerable. The French had taken no part in the expeditions to the North-West, and never attempted to reach the shores of Hudson's Bay by sea ; but in 1660 two French pioneers obtained news from the Indians of a convenient route by land from Canada to the rich fur regions round the Bay. Failing to interest their own countrymen in opening up this country, they turned for help first to Massachusetts and afterwards to England.

England, during the first ten years of the reign of Charles II., experienced an unprecedented outburst of commercial energy, as is evidenced by the increased activity of the East India Company and the foundation of the Royal African Company.

The nobles and merchants of the time were eager to enrich themselves by the opening up of new trades, and the promoters of the Hudson's Bay scheme were able to obtain the patronage of Prince Rupert, the King's cousin. In 1668 the first commercial voyage into the Bay was undertaken at the expense of Rupert and his associates. Under Captain Gillam and Groseilliers, one of the Frenchmen above referred to, the expedition penetrated to the southern extremity of James Bay, the continuation of Hudson's Bay. The crew landed and constructed a log fort which they named Fort Charles. Communications were opened up with a neighbouring tribe of Indians, and at this place the whole party passed the winter. In the spring the Indians brought a quantity of furs sufficient to provide a valuable cargo, and Gillam sailed for England, leaving Groseilliers to hold the fort.

This preliminary voyage proving highly satisfactory to the adventurers, the latter petitioned the King for a monopoly grant of the trade. The charter was finally signed on May 2nd, 1670, and constituted Prince Rupert and seventeen others "The Governor and Company of Merchants Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay." The Company was given exclu-

sive rights of trade on the shores of the Bay, and was also empowered to erect forts and eject intruders. One of its professed objects was the discovery of a passage leading to the Pacific Ocean, but in actual fact it did very little in that direction. Prince Rupert continued in the office of Governor until his death in 1682.

The Company made rapid progress, extending its sphere of operations and making friends with the Indians. It gained such large profits, and diverted so much of the fur trade from the French of Canada, that the latter speedily became hostile. In spite of the good relations between England and France in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., fighting took place in North America, but without important result. After the expulsion of James II. in 1688, the position of the Hudson's Bay settlements was more seriously imperilled by the fiercely contested wars which ensued in Europe. Ultimately the Company won through all dangers, and continued to carry on a remunerative, although not very enterprising trade. It never founded colonies in the true sense, its territories being unsuitable, but confined itself to establishing trading posts and supplying the Indians with manufactured goods in exchange for furs. The land bordering on the Bay was named Rupert's Land in honour of the first Governor.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the only one of the great commercial corporations of Tudor and Stuart foundation which survives to the present day. Its exclusive rights of jurisdiction and government in Rupert's Land were surrendered to the Dominion of Canada in 1869, but it still carries on a great business as a trading company, and, in the words of Lord Strathcona, "is as inseparably bound up with the future of Western Canada as it has been with its past."

SUMMARY

1. The English were anticipated in the eastern trade by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

2. The East India Company traded at first with the islands of the East Indian Archipelago; it was driven from them by the Dutch, and then turned its attention to India itself.

3. During their first century in India the English made no attempt to conquer native territories, but confined themselves to peaceful trading.

4. The West African trade was twofold, consisting of slave hunting and bargaining for gold and ivory. Attempts to concentrate this trade in the hands of an exclusive company were unsuccessful.

5. During the first thirty years of the seventeenth century persistent attempts were made to find a North-West Passage for commercial purposes.

6. The greatest explorers of this period were Henry Hudson and William Baffin; the most important discovery was that of Hudson's Bay.

7. The foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company turned the discovery to commercial account, and was also important as producing the earliest collision between English and French colonial interests.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1601. First voyage of the East India Company.
- 1609. Establishment of English factory at Surat.
- 1610-11. Discovery of Hudson's Bay and death of Hudson.
- 1612. Captain Best's victory at Swally Roads.
- 1616. Discovery of Baffin's Bay.
- 1619-23. Expulsion of the English from the Eastern Archipelago.
- 1623. The Amboyna Massacre.
- 1631. Voyages of Foxe and James; cessation of search for North-West Passage.
- 1633. English factory at Pipli (Bengal).
- 1639. English factory at Madras.
- 1661. Cession of Bombay to Charles II. by Portugal (handed over to East India Company in 1668).
- 1662. Foundation of the Royal African Company.
- 1670. Foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company.
- 1696. English factory at Fort William (Calcutta).
- 1707. Death of Aurungzebe, the last great Mogul emperor
- 1708. Formation of the United East India Company.

CHAPTER III

THE NAVIGATION ACTS AND THE DUTCH WARS

THE Tudor sovereigns, as we have seen, had realised that the oversea interests of the country could only be defended and expanded by the possession of an adequate sea-power. They had also realised that sea-power was of two kinds, naval and mercantile, and that both were necessary, since each depended upon the other for support. Hence both Henry VII. and Henry VIII. had enforced navigation acts for the encouragement of English merchant shipping, and the same kings had laid the foundation of a regular navy by building large and well-armed warships. Under Elizabeth the navigation policy had been to some extent relaxed because Burghley, her great minister, did not believe in its efficacy, and also because the Queen's position was so weak at the opening of her reign that the Government dared not give offence to foreign nations. But in spite of Burghley's caution, the maritime spirit of England, deeply implanted by the two Henrys, had proved irrepressible. Privateering, which he hated, had flourished to an unprecedented extent; and legitimate trade, which he approved, derived fresh support from the respect for the English flag which Drake imposed upon its rivals. To cap all, the regular navy had been raised by the successes of the Spanish War to an undreamed-of pitch of efficiency.

With the opening of the Stuart period a change for the worse set in. James I. allowed the navy to decline in strength; privateering, at best only a temporary benefit,

had served its turn, and was at an end ; and commerce, although healthy and expanding, saw itself threatened by the rise of Dutch sea-power, which increased at a much more rapid rate than that of England. The threatened Dutch supremacy at sea was seen by thinking men to be a danger which England must face sooner or later, unless she were content to relapse into decay as Spain and Portugal had done. Everywhere the Dutch seamen pushed their way with incredible vigour. They planted colonies at the mouth of the Hudson River, separating New England from Virginia. They drove the East India Company from the spice islands and from the coasts of China and Japan. Their ships carried nine-tenths of the trade between England and her own colonies of Barbados and Virginia. They wrested the forts on the African coast from the feeble hands of the Portuguese, and began to monopolise the supply of slaves to the English plantations. And they competed successfully with England in the trade with Russia, in the herring fishery of the North Sea, and in the whale fishery of Spitzbergen.

The struggles of James and Charles with their parliaments, and the anarchy of the Civil War still further depressed the commerce of England. After the execution of Charles I. in 1649 a part of the navy sided with his son, and Prince Rupert successfully preyed upon English commerce at the mouth of the Channel itself. But as soon as a breathing space was obtained, the statesmen of the Commonwealth turned their attention to the question. If sea-power had been necessary in Tudor times, when only commerce required defence, it was still more so now that colonies as well were added to the list of England's responsibilities.

At first a peaceful settlement was attempted. In spite of trade rivalry there were many bonds of sympathy between the two nations ; both were Protestant, both were now republics, and the Dutch owed their very freedom in large measure to the help given by Elizabeth against Spain.

Throughout their eighty years' war of independence, numbers of English and Scottish volunteers had fought in the armies of the United Provinces. Envoys were accordingly despatched to negotiate between the two countries a close alliance, which must ultimately have involved some arrangement of maritime disputes. But the negotiations fell through, and the English representatives came home in disgust.

England's next move was practically a declaration of war. In October, 1651, Parliament passed a Navigation Act intended to transfer at one stroke the carrying trade from Dutch to English bottoms. It was laid down that no goods were to be im-

The
Navigation
Act of 1651.

ported from Asia, Africa or America, save in English ships with crews at least one-half English, and that no goods were to be imported from any European country save in a ship of that country or in an English ship. Since the Netherlands themselves produced few goods in demand in England, this amounted in effect to a prohibition of Dutch intercourse with any part of the British Empire. At the same time England revived the ancient claim to the sovereignty of the seas around her coasts, demanding that the Dutch should pay rent for the right of fishing in the North Sea, and should salute English ships when met with in home waters. The framers of this policy must have known that the result would be war, but they judged that the time had come to settle the question of the supremacy of the seas.

Fighting began in the summer of 1652. It was notable for the large numbers of ships employed by each side, many being merchantmen hastily adapted for war as in the days of the Armada. On the side it is also to be noticed that the leaders were without exception men who had begun their active careers as soldiers in the Civil War, and who were transferred in middle age to the sea service. The first encounter took place before the declaration of war. On May 18th Blake, at the head of an English fleet, met the Dutch, under

The first
Dutch war,
1652-4

Tromp, in the Channel. He demanded the salute and, failing to obtain it, fought an indecisive action.

Blake then sailed northwards to intercept a fleet of Dutch merchantmen reported to be returning from the East Indies by way of the north of Scotland. On his way he did great damage to the Dutch herring fleet in the North Sea. Tromp followed, but a storm prevented a battle, and he was dismissed from his command by his Government, who thought his conduct had been faint-hearted. In the meantime another Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, had defeated Sir George Ayscue off Plymouth. The first great battle of the war followed on September 8th, when Blake and Ayscue joined forces and defeated De Ruyter and De Witt near the mouth of the Thames. At the end of November Tromp was replaced in command, and sent to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Bordeaux. Blake attacked him off Dungeness, but was defeated owing to the misconduct of several of his captains, who refused to join closely in the battle. The English retired to their ports to repair damages.

In 1653 Blake was early at sea, with two other soldiers, Monk and Deane, associated with him in the command. Tromp was returning up the Channel with his Bordeaux convoy when the English attacked him. A running fight for three days ensued, and Tromp got the convoy through with fair success to his own coast, although he lost many of his fighting ships. On June 2nd, a still greater battle took place off Harwich, in which Monk and Deane faced Tromp. There were over a hundred ships on either side and the fighting was most furious. Deane was killed early in the action, but the Dutch were worsted, with the loss of twenty ships. The Dutch coast was now blockaded and their commerce paralysed. On July 31st Tromp and De Witt came out to fight the last and greatest battle of the war. Again victory fell to the English. Tromp, their most formidable adversary, was killed, and the Dutch lost twenty-six ships to the English two. This was really decisive, although eight months elapsed before peace was signed.

The war had revealed the serious disadvantages under which the Dutch must labour in fighting England. The whole life of the Dutch nation was dependent on the prosperity of its commerce and fisheries, for the population was much too great to exist on the products of the land itself. England, on the other hand, was as yet mainly an agricultural country, able to live on its own resources. If war destroyed its commerce its merchants were ruined, but the mass of the people were not immediately reduced to starvation, as was the case in the Netherlands. Again, with the rival fleets of nearly equal fighting power, as the war proved them to be, Dutch commerce was bound to suffer more severely than English by reason of the geographical position of the two countries. Dutch merchantmen, to reach the ocean, had to traverse either the Channel or the North Sea, in either case passing by a long stretch of English coast-line. English ships, on the other hand, could leave the southern and western ports without going near the enemy's coast. Consequently the main anxiety of Tromp had been to protect convoys first, and defeat the English navy afterwards, while Blake and his comrades were free to attack whenever they liked. The decisive battle of July 31st, 1653, brought the Dutch to the verge of ruin. Their commerce was at an end, the starving people could find no employment, and all parties craved for peace. The treaty of April 5th, 1654, gave the decision on most of the disputed points to England. The flag was to be saluted, the Navigation Act maintained, and compensation paid for the Amboyna massacre. In the North Sea the fishery was to be free to the Dutch without payment to England.

While the war had been at its height, Oliver Cromwell had made himself head of the English state. On April 23rd, 1653, he expelled the corrupt remnant of the Long Parliament, and the Commonwealth gave place to the Protectorate, the strongest monarchy which England had seen since the

Factors
unfavourable
to the Dutch.

End of the
war, 1654.

Cromwell's
imperial
policy.

death of Elizabeth. Cromwell took energetic measures to increase English sea-power, and to rescue commerce from the confusion into which the wars had thrown it. He sent Blake to teach a lesson to the Mohammedan pirates of the Mediterranean. He demanded of the King of Spain freedom of worship for Englishmen in Spain, and free navigation in the West Indies. On these demands being refused, he despatched the expedition which seized Jamaica. Blake destroyed a treasure fleet at Teneriffe, and an English army helped to capture the port of Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands. Cromwell's firm rule lasted only five years. His death in 1658 was followed by nearly two years of growing anarchy, and the fruits of his policy were only reaped when Charles II. was restored in 1660.

Although the character and court of Charles II. were utterly different from those of the Protector, the first ten

Charles II. inherits Cromwell's methods. years of the new reign witnessed a continuance of the policy of maritime expansion of which the Act of 1651 was the opening move. During these years it was fully realised that, to use

a well-worn phrase, the future of England lay upon the water. The statesmen of the time were deeply impressed with the rapid rise of the Dutch Republic, they saw also that England was free from certain fatal weaknesses to which the Dutch were exposed, and they determined to imitate the methods of their rivals. Stated briefly, the theory was this: to survive as a first-class state, the nation must

The Mercantile System. be above all things rich; national wealth was to be attained by fostering commerce with all parts of the world; a great commerce entailed

the acquisition of colonies and trading posts, the building up of a mighty fleet of English-owned merchant ships, and its protection by a sufficient force of well-armed war-ships. To these objects, then, the whole of the national energies must be devoted, and all interests interfering with them must be sacrificed. Such was the famous Mercantile System, which remained the prime policy of

English rulers until the revolt of the American colonies in 1775. It was not the invention of the seventeenth century, having been foreshadowed by the Tudors, and even earlier still. But its rigid and unswerving application may be said to date from the passing of the Navigation Act of 1651.

Colbert, the finance minister of Louis XIV., was pursuing similar plans in France, and after the decline of the Dutch, France became England's most dangerous competitor for empire. But France allowed herself to be dazzled by schemes of land conquest on the continent of Europe, and her strength in the long run proved unequal to the seizure of ascendancy by land and sea at once. Thus the wars of the next century ended in the transference of the French colonial empire to England.

Meanwhile the Dutch had still to be reckoned with, since, although defeated, they had not been crushed in the war of 1652, and had made an astonishingly rapid recovery. A series of aggressive moves on the part of England soon provoked another struggle. In 1660 a second Navigation Act was passed to supplement that of the Commonwealth. It stated that certain "enumerated" colonial goods, the list including both sugar and tobacco, were only to be exported from the colonies direct to an English port; and also that all goods entering the colonies must be sent out from England alone. Thus, if a foreign firm desired a cargo of Virginian tobacco they could obtain it only through agents in England or by purchasing from an English middleman. In either case the goods would pay duty in an English custom house. The object of this Act was to encourage still further English shipping, and to give the English merchants a preponderating share in the commerce of the colonies. It ultimately produced great harm by alienating the feelings of the colonists, whose prosperity was injured by the limitation of their markets. But its immediate effect was to increase England's sea-power at the expense of that of her rivals.

Other causes of offence to the Dutch were the establishment of the Royal African Company, and the acquisition of Bombay by the marriage treaty of Charles II. But the outburst of English energy did not stop short at these legitimate measures. Charles II. granted to his brother James, Duke of York, permission to capture and govern the Dutch settlements lying midway between New England and Maryland. The Duke despatched a fleet in 1664, which took New Amsterdam without difficulty, and converted it into the English colony of New York. This was not an act of causeless aggression, but was part of the general commercial policy of the time. The existence of a Dutch settlement so close to those of England had made it almost impossible to enforce the last Navigation Act; hence its reduction was decided upon. Fighting had already taken place on the African coast.

War was formally declared early in 1665, and, as before, was carried on wholly at sea. As in the previous war also, the honours of the actual fighting were fairly evenly divided, but the losses told far more heavily upon the Dutch than upon the English.

The second Dutch War, 1665-7. In the first great battle, that near Lowestoft on June 13th, 1665, the Duke of York inflicted a defeat upon the Dutch Admiral Opdam, who lost several ships. A year later occurred the terrible four days' battle in the Straits of Dover, in which Monk, with an inferior force, was defeated by De Ruyter. The Dutch lost 2,000 men and the English 8,000 besides seventeen ships. But, as has been explained, the English were better able to bear losses than their opponents. In two months they were at sea again, defeated their enemy off the North Foreland, and destroyed a number of Dutch merchantmen. Both sides were now inclined for peace, the Dutch for fear of losing their commerce, and the English because they had been weakened by the Fire of London and the Great Plague, both of which raged while the war was going on. While negotiations were proceeding, Charles II. paid off the crews of many of his

ships in order to save expense. For this mistake he paid dearly. De Ruyter once more gathered a fleet, entered the Thames and Medway in June 1667, and committed great damage. Peace was signed six weeks later at Breda, and England was confirmed in the possession of New York and New Jersey.

The third and last of this series of Dutch wars was due almost entirely to continental causes, and had little relation to the maritime expansion of England. It was brought on by the ambition of Louis XIV., who considered the Dutch republic to be an obstacle to his schemes of conquest in the Spanish Netherlands and elsewhere. On land France was strong, but her navy was not yet able to stand alone against that of the Dutch. Louis, therefore, induced Charles II. to unite with him in a crushing blow against the rival state. Charles had personal reasons for alliance with France, but public opinion in England was strongly opposed to it. Thinking men realised that Holland had already been so weakened that England had nothing more to fear from that direction. They also saw that France had made such rapid strides under Colbert's administration that she had become a dangerous rival. But, in defiance of the wishes of his subjects, Charles began the war in 1672, while at the same moment the French armies poured into the Republic by land.

The sea battles of the third Dutch War were similar in character to those which had occurred before. In 1672 De Ruyter attacked the combined English and French fleets in Southwold Bay. After a tremendous battle he gained the advantage, although it was not a decisive one, and then successfully convoyed a fleet of merchantmen to his own ports. In the following year the Dutch, hard pressed on land, had little money to spend on their fleets, and rested mainly on the defensive. Three drawn battles were fought off their coast, the last being that of the Texel on August 21st. While these naval encounters were proceeding, the French troops had almost succeeded in con-

quering the country. Amsterdam was only saved by the cutting of the dykes. John de Witt, the Republican President of the United Provinces, was murdered by a mob who blamed him for neglecting the national defence. In his place William of Orange, afterwards William III. of England, was appointed Stadtholder, and by his bravery succeeded in stemming the tide of French advance.

In the meantime public opinion in England clamoured ever more loudly against the war. Charles II. was at length obliged to yield to it, and peace was signed at Westminster early in 1674. The Dutch once more agreed to salute the English flag, and to pay an indemnity. The French continued the struggle by land until 1678.

The general result of the Dutch Wars was that England secured her hold upon her commerce and colonies, and was able thenceforward to apply without restriction the principles of the Mercantile System. The United Provinces, on the other hand, bravely as they had fought and gained battles, were hopelessly weakened, and sank rapidly to the position of a second-class power. In their place France appeared as a new candidate for colonial empire. It was the consciousness of this change on the part of the English people that made the third war so unpopular, and finally forced the King to discontinue it.

Results of the
Dutch Wars:
decline of
Holland and
rise of France.

restriction the principles of the Mercantile System. The United Provinces, on the other hand, bravely as they had fought and gained battles, were hopelessly weakened, and sank

SUMMARY

1. The Navigation Acts were intended to build up an English commercial empire at the expense of the Dutch.
2. The Mercantile System, of which the Acts were a part, rendered England wealthy and strong at sea. But it was afterwards interpreted in such a narrow spirit as to cause the loss of part of the Empire which had been gained by its means.
3. The Mercantile System and the Dutch Wars exhausted the strength of Holland, whose place as the leading sea power was taken by England. At the same time France also appeared as a dangerous rival at sea.

4. Louis XIV. and his successors attempted to make conquests in Europe and to seize a colonial empire at the same time. They thus exhausted the strength of France, whose sea-power ultimately fell before that of England.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1651. Navigation Act, mainly directed against Dutch carrying trade.
- 1652-4. First Dutch War.
- 1660. Navigation Act, by which England monopolised the trade of her own colonies.
- 1660-4. Outburst of English commercial activity.
- 1665-7. Second Dutch War.
- 1670. Secret treaty between Charles II. and Louis XIV.
- 1672-4. Third Dutch War.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES, 1660-1688

(i) *The Southern Group*

UNDER the restored Stuarts the colonies of Virginia and Maryland pursued a career of steady and not very eventful prosperity. In the former the Crown continued to appoint the Governors, whose powers were not limited to any great extent by that of the Assembly. In the latter the authority of the proprietors, the Lords Baltimore, remained un-abridged until the revolution of 1688.

The Virginians had been on the whole royalist in sentiment during the Civil War. It is true they had accepted Virginia the supremacy of the Commonwealth without and the serious resistance; but on the restoration of Restoration. Charles II. they hastened to profess their loyalty. The Assembly enacted that January 30th, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., should be observed as a day of prayer and fasting, and that May 29th, that of the return of his son, should be celebrated as a public holiday. The first Governor under the Restoration, Sir William Berkeley, maintained his tenure of office until 1677. He visited England in 1661 to protest against the Navigation Act of the previous year, which was extremely damaging to the trade profits of the Virginia colonists. Tobacco, one of the "enumerated articles" under the Act, was the sole export of the colony, and had now to be despatched exclusively to England. The result was that the merchants of the mother country absorbed a share of the gains which had formerly gone direct to the planters, for the use of tobacco had now become common throughout

Europe. The protest was unavailing. The maintenance of the Mercantile System was regarded in England as far superior in importance to the interests of the colonists.

Whatever may be thought of this decision—and there were at the time excellent reasons for viewing it as a wise one—another action of Charles II. was calculated to inflict absolutely needless loss upon the colonists. In 1672 he granted Virginia as a proprietary colony to Lords Arlington and Culpeper. This meant that the two Lords had the right to dispose of the lands of the settlers, however long the latter might have been established, to interfere with the tenure of the clergy, and to appoint and dismiss officials at their pleasure. In other words, the two Court favourites were to enjoy the fruits of half a century of hardship and effort on the part of thousands of other men, although they had risked not a penny of their own in the establishment of the colony. Such a monstrous example of jobbery is hard to believe, even of the corrupt rule of Charles II., and the grant was practically annulled before much harm had been done. It must, however, have considerably strained the loyalty of the Virginians.

Berkeley was recalled in 1677 on account of his inactivity in dealing with an Indian rising, and of his severity towards certain of the settlers who raised forces on their own responsibility. Four other Governors were successively appointed before 1688, and of these the last two, Lords Culpeper and Howard, were extremely distasteful to the colonists. The reasons for Culpeper's unpopularity are sufficiently explained by the events of 1672. Lord Howard was a needy fortune hunter, who had no thought of the interests of the colony, and quite openly accepted the post for the sake of the corrupt profits he could make out of it.

During this period the population and material wealth of Virginia had been steadily increasing, and if the royal policy had not done so much towards extinguishing its early loyalty, it might have become one of the most trusty

supports of the English crown. After the expulsion of James II. in 1688 there followed a long period in which the colony was left practically to manage its own affairs, the Governors appointed being men of a better stamp than those of Charles II.

Maryland, under the rule of its just and sensible proprietors, was shielded from the worst effects of the corruption which threatened Virginia. At the Revolution of 1688 it accepted the authority of William III. and Mary. At the same time the proprietors, as Catholics, lost some of their privileges, and the colony came more directly under the control of the Crown.

It will be remembered that the region to the south of Virginia had been the scene of Raleigh's original experiments in colonisation, and had afterwards been granted to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I. From that monarch it had received its name of Carolina, but nothing had been done to occupy it with colonists. The exploitation of Carolina was energetically taken in hand soon after the Restoration. In 1663 eight proprietors, prominent at Court and in English politics, obtained the grant of the whole coast-line between Virginia and the Spanish territory of Florida. In extent this was the largest block of land yet granted to any single group of promoters, but in population and wealth the settlements formed long remained inferior to their northern neighbours. This slow growth was due to the effects of the climate, much warmer and more enervating than that of Virginia.

Unlike the other colonies, Carolina was not settled mainly by emigrants from England. Virginia, Massachusetts and Barbados contributed the bulk of the pioneers, and two distinct settlements were eventually formed. That on the Albemarle River became known as North Carolina, and the later one centring round the harbour of Charleston became the nucleus of South Carolina. The northern colony, the first to be formed, was for half a century extremely backward and unsuccessful. The country was unhealthy and produced few commodities

of value for export. The settlers were shiftless and quarrelsome; many were men who had been failures in the other colonies, and they were in a chronic state of sedition and discontent.

The southern settlement was established by the proprietors in 1670, and speedily became superior in every way to the one just described. Its natural advantage lay in the fact that Charleston was a first-class harbour. The settlers in this case came partly from England and partly from the West Indies, and speedily set up a system of large rice- and cotton-growing estates worked by slave labour on the West Indian model. The social order differed in one respect from that of Virginia; the planters, instead of residing on their estates, passed most of their time at Charleston, which thus became a city of some wealth and importance. Although a more enterprising colony than North Carolina, the growth of South Carolina was slow as compared with Virginia. By the end of the century there were about 10,000 inhabitants, the vast majority being negro slaves. The rule of the proprietors was thrown off by the colonists of the South in 1719, and they resigned their rights in the North in 1729. Thenceforward the government of the Carolinas resembled that of Virginia, consisting of a Governor appointed by the Crown, a Council, and an Assembly elected by the freemen.

Although lying outside the limits of the seventeenth century, the foundation of Georgia may conveniently be described here. It was the last colony to be planted under English rule, and it completes the southern group, of which Virginia was the pioneer. The founder, General James Oglethorpe, was inspired by philanthropic motives. He had interested himself in the conditions of English prisons, and came to the conclusion that many unfortunate men might do well if given a chance to begin life afresh in a colony beyond the sea. In 1732 he and his associates obtained a grant of the land lying between South Carolina and Florida. With a few settlers

they ascended the River Savannah and founded the town of that name in a good military position on its southern bank. Other townships were similarly founded, somewhat to the disgust of the Spaniards in Florida. Ten years after the original plantation a Spanish attempt at conquest was successfully beaten off.

In spite of the unpromising class of men which Oglethorpe took out to Georgia, the colony gradually made its way to success. The founder had been opposed to slavery, but the warmth of the climate caused his objection to be overridden. In 1752 he surrendered his proprietary rights and Georgia became a Crown Colony.

(ii) *The Middle Colonies*

The term "Middle Colonies" comprises New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, covering between them the whole of the territory separating the southern group from New England. All these colonies were acquired by conquest or settlement during the reign of Charles II.

Henry Hudson, in his third voyage of discovery—the only one which he made in Dutch service—had discovered the course of the Hudson River. The prospect of establishing there a valuable fur trade led the Dutch West India Company to secure from its Government the right of planting settlements in the basin of the Hudson and on the adjoining coasts, and also upon Long Island, which lies close to the mouth of that river. The Dutch settlements were rather of the nature of trading posts than of a genuine colony after the New England model. They were established in 1626 and the following years, and before long were engaged in boundary disputes with the growing English colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. A little later, in 1638, Sweden planted a settlement further to the south on the estuary of the Delaware River. The Swedes were conquered in 1655 by a Dutch expedition from New Amsterdam, their headquarters at the mouth of the Hudson.

The Dutch now occupied the whole coast-line between

Connecticut and Maryland, but their posts were weakly held, and the Dutch nation took little interest in them. Cromwell contemplated their conquest in 1654, but the peace of that year stayed his hand. The opening years of Charles II.'s reign, as we have seen, were a time of exceptional maritime activity, in which the fruits of Cromwell's policy were gathered in. The operation of the new Navigation Act of 1660, which dealt with the trade of the colonies, was nullified by the presence of the Dutch on the American coast. The English colonists carried on an extensive trade in Dutch bottoms in defiance of the Act; and Clarendon, the prime minister at the time, resolved upon the expulsion of the Dutch.

In 1664 the Duke of York was granted proprietary rights over the whole territory, and despatched an expedition to effect the conquest. The force was under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, and consisted of four armed ships with less than five hundred soldiers. Small as it was, the Dutch were unable to make any resistance. Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Amsterdam, hauled down his flag on August 29th, 1664, and the colony passed under English rule without the spilling of a drop of blood. It was at once renamed New York. The new proprietor thus easily became possessed of the most valuable stretch of North American territory. Perhaps without realising the importance of his act, he at once granted the southern portion of his conquest to two of his personal favourites, Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. Their territory stretched from the mouth of the Hudson to that of the Delaware, and received the name of New Jersey.

Colonel Nicolls at once proceeded to consolidate the English hold upon New York. His measures were at once firm and conciliatory, and prove him to have been a statesman of the highest type. The government which he established granted religious liberty to all Christians, and left the Dutch settlers in full possession of their property. At the same time the

Conquest of
New Amsterdam,
1664.

Reorganisa-
tion of
New York.

smallness of their numbers allowed plenty of room for English emigrants from New England. The majority of the Dutch, including Governor Stuyvesant himself, decided to remain in the colony, and swore allegiance to the English Government. Four years after the conquest, Nicolls returned to England. He was killed by a cannon ball at his patron's side at the battle of Southwold Bay in 1672.

The acquisition of New York was destined to have a future importance which perhaps its original captors failed to realise. Reference to a physical map of the region will show that the Hudson River valley leads due northwards from the coast in the direction of Canada. Within a few miles of the head waters of the Hudson is the southern end of Lake Champlain, connected with the St. Lawrence by the navigable River Richelieu. Thus a good military route extended from New York into the heart of Canada. If the Hudson had not fallen into English hands, the French, in the wars of the eighteenth century, would very possibly have been able to conquer New England by its means. At least their own position in Canada would have been immeasurably strengthened. When the news of Nicolls's success reached the French they were thunderstruck, and a French officer in prophetic phrase remarked that "the King of England did grasp at all America." England increased the value of the conquest by an alliance with the Iroquois or Five Nations, the strong Indian tribe which held the frontier regions between the French and English colonies.

In the meantime Carteret and Berkeley had been supervising the settlement of New Jersey. Their holdings were at first governed separately as East and West Jersey. After many changes and disputes both proprietors disposed of their rights to other persons, and ultimately the two colonies fell mainly into the hands of Quaker settlers. Among the purchasers was William Penn, who later founded a larger colony of his own. Both New Jersey and New York were temporarily

reconquered by a Dutch fleet in 1673, but at the Treaty of Westminster in the following year they were restored to England. The inhabitants showed no eagerness to return to Dutch allegiance. The eastern and western sections of New Jersey were ultimately united into one colony in 1702, when the proprietors surrendered their rights to the Crown.

William Penn the Quaker was the son of that Admiral Penn who had conquered Jamaica for Cromwell, and who had afterwards helped to bring about the Restoration of Charles II. For services performed Charles owed the admiral a sum of £16,000, which he never paid during his creditor's lifetime. William Penn inherited the claim, and, anxious to found a Quaker colony where his ideas of government might have greater scope than in New Jersey, accepted in lieu of the money a grant of unoccupied land on the western bank of the River Delaware. Penn's patent of proprietorship was made out in 1681. The boundaries of his colony were Maryland on the south, New Jersey and New York on the east, and the vaguely known forest country stretching towards the Great Lakes on the north and west. Its outlet to the sea was provided by the navigable estuary of the Delaware. The first band of settlers, many of whom were Welsh, went out in 1682, and commenced the laying out of their capital city of Philadelphia. They were for the most part Quakers, but no Christian sect was excluded. During the succeeding years the colony was joined by many Germans, Frenchmen, Scots and Anglo-Irish.

Unlike other promoters of plantation, Penn sought no profit from his enterprise. In addition to the £16,000 which the King owed him, and which he probably had little chance of receiving in any case, he expended £6,000 more on the settlement of the colony. His reward was that its success from the outset was unprecedented. In two years Philadelphia contained over three hundred houses, and a flourishing trade in furs and timber sprang

up with Europe and the other colonies. Agriculture prospered, and outlying farmers might work at clearing the forests untroubled by any dread of Indian attack. In his dealings with the Indians, Penn's principles were seen at their highest. He refused to allow his colonists to occupy land which the natives had not formally surrendered on fair terms, and for seventy years the most perfect amity reigned between white man and red.

Faulty geographical knowledge had led to the definition of Pennsylvania's boundaries in such a manner that they Penn and the overlapped those of the neighbouring colonies. Duke of York. The Duke of York governed the southern side of the Delaware estuary, (the present state of Delaware) as a dependency of New York. But between the Catholic heir to the throne and the Quaker Penn there were ever feelings of the liveliest friendship and respect. The Duke made over his Delaware territories without demur, and they were incorporated in Pennsylvania. With Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, there was on the contrary a tedious boundary dispute which it took many years to settle.

Penn had devised a somewhat over-elaborate constitution for his colony, consisting of a Council of seventy-two members and an Assembly of 200. This was Characteris-
tics of the unworkable in practice, since there were not a colony. sufficient number of men with political experience to fill all the places. The two houses were soon reduced to much more manageable proportions. Penn returned to England for the last time in 1701. Considering all that he had done for them, the colonists exhibited some lack of gratitude towards him in his later years. After his withdrawal the chief characteristics of Pennsylvania showed that his influence at least persisted. They may be summed up as : sober and orderly progress, enlightened legal and educational policy, humane treatment of the Indians, and strong dislike of war. The latter trait of the Pennsylvanians caused some irritation to their neighbours during the struggles against the French and the War of

Independence in the eighteenth century. The New Englanders complained that the Quakers did not do their share of the fighting, although they necessarily profited by its results.

(iii) *New England*

The early effects of the Restoration in New England were to produce settlements of certain outstanding disputes which had been neglected while the home government was in an unstable condition. The little colony of New Haven was absorbed by Connecticut. The hold of Massachusetts upon Maine was made permanent; but New Hampshire, also claimed by Massachusetts, was made into a separate colony with the usual machinery of government. The charter of Massachusetts was confirmed, with the proviso that there were to be no religious disabilities to citizenship.

Consolidation
of New
England.

The Navigation Acts, with their insistence upon the exclusive employment of English shipping, were as objectionable to New England as to Virginia. The New Englanders freely disregarded them, and also carried on trade with the other colonies without paying the duties prescribed for such traffic. To remedy this a strong body of customs officials were sent from England to enforce the laws, and their methods aroused the keen dislike of the colonists. This remained a standing grievance until the colonies passed out of British control.

Another misfortune of this period was an Indian war in 1674-6. The natives, under a chief named Philip, committed savage onslaughts on the frontier regions, and many outlying settlers were massacred. Philip's forces were finally dispersed, and he himself was killed. The New Englanders, in contrast to their broader-minded neighbours in the South, were always guilty of unsympathetic treatment of the natives; and this war was one which would probably have been avoided by the policy employed in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Later on, in the days of the struggle

New England
and the
Indians.

with France, New England suffered greatly by the hostility of the Indians, who almost invariably sided with the French.

Towards the end of the reign of Charles II. the English Government became seriously alarmed at the independent spirit of New England. A scheme was accordingly formed to abolish popular government in those colonies, and also in New York and New Jersey. The whole of the seven provinces concerned were to be brought under the control of a single governor, and no provision was made for his powers to be limited by local assemblies. This plan was evidently due to the Duke of York, and when he ascended the throne as James II. in 1685 he vigorously pushed it to completion. A beginning was made in 1684 with the annulment of the charter of Massachusetts. Those of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Plymouth were next dealt with in a similar manner, after most lively protests by the inhabitants. In New York the same course was followed almost without eliciting a single complaint. James appointed Sir Edmund Andros, an honest but somewhat unintelligent man, as Governor of the consolidated territory.

Massachusetts, as the strongest of the injured colonies, naturally made the stiffest resistance. Agitation continued throughout the short reign of James II. and was only prevented by its sudden close from developing into armed conflict. In the spring of 1689 rumours began to circulate that William of Orange had landed at Torbay, had expelled James II., and had been appointed King in his place. The power of Andros at once collapsed; armed bands arrested him and dispersed his troops, and the rule of the Stuarts ended as suddenly and bloodlessly in New England as in Old. When the confusion of the Revolution had subsided, Connecticut and Rhode Island recovered their charters unchanged. That of Massachusetts was also restored in 1691, with safeguards against religious tyranny, but henceforward her governors were to be appointed by the Crown and not by local election as formerly. At this time also Plymouth

ceased to be an independent unit, and was merged in Massachusetts.

(iv) *The French Colonies*

The interest of the French in North America began, like that of the English, with voyages of discovery and unsuccessful experiments in colonisation in the sixteenth century. The most notable of the early French explorers was Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, who in 1534 and the following years examined and charted the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the surrounding coasts. Attempts to found colonies later in the century were generally on too small a scale, and failed on that account and from lack of experience. They nevertheless served to point out Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Canada as the destined sphere of French efforts in the time to come.

French expansion in the sixteenth century.

In 1608 Samuel de Champlain planted the first permanent colony at Quebec; and in the succeeding years he thoroughly surveyed the great network of rivers and lakes of which the St. Lawrence formed the outlet to the Atlantic. The French had at this time no desire to found an agricultural colony like those of New England. Their merchants who financed the expeditions aimed rather at developing a fur trade, employing the Indians as their agents instead of expelling them, as the English were doing. Thus the early status of Quebec and other settlements was that of trading posts.

Champlain in Canada.

The enterprise was consolidated in 1627 by the establishment of the Company of New France, the work of Cardinal Richelieu. With a fine disregard of English achievements and claims, its charter granted it exclusive rights of trade and colonisation from Florida to the Arctic circle. In practice, however, it did not interfere with the English colonies. A few years earlier James I. had licensed Sir William Alexander to take possession of the peninsula of Acadia and the mainland adjoining. This grant was the origin of the name of Nova

The Company of New France, 1627.

Scotia now applied to that region. In Nova Scotia there were already a few French posts, and Alexander never effected a serious settlement. In Newfoundland the fishermen of both countries had stations on the coast, and shared the island between them throughout the seventeenth century; but here again attempts at a true agricultural colony failed. For the present the only practical outcome of English claims was the despatch of an expedition which captured Quebec in 1629. It was restored by the Treaty of St. Germain in 1632. Had it been retained, the history of North America would have been very different.

Under the Company of New France the progress of the Canadian colony was slow. The Company was unenterprising and not very profitable, and it did little to encourage emigration. Its career was terminated in 1664, at which time the inhabitants of its colony numbered only 2,500. This, for over fifty years of effort, compares very badly with Massachusetts, which reached 20,000 in twelve years.

The place of the original company was taken by the Company of the West, chartered by Louis XIV. under Colbert's advice. This body was granted the monopoly not only of Canada, but also of the French West Indies and Guiana. After ten years' existence it was abolished in 1674, and the colonies were thenceforward administered directly by the French Government.

From this time onward advance was more rapid. The Jesuits pushed fearlessly westwards, exploring and converting the Indians, many of them losing their lives in the process. Lake Superior was discovered, and in 1682 La Salle struck southwards to the headwaters of the Mississippi, which he navigated to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. This great achievement led to the plan of colonising the delta of the Mississippi and linking it up with Canada by a line of military posts. The new colony received the name of Louisiana, and was at first a failure. It was established permanently, though on a small scale, in 1698.

Colbert died in 1683, but the prosperity of Canada continued under its able Governor, Frontenac. From 1672 onwards he worked hard to develop the resources of the colony. His ability showed itself principally in military affairs and in the management of the Indians. Under his rule the English were almost expelled from Newfoundland, and the Hudson's Bay Company suffered from his encroachments. Although the population of Canada was largely increased at this period it was still mainly devoted to hunting. Agriculture was subsidiary, and was barely sufficient to provide the colony with food. The agricultural districts were close to the banks of the St. Lawrence and in the neighbourhood of the fortified posts. All else was uncleared forest.

SUMMARY

1. Virginia continued to prosper after the Restoration, but was rather badly treated by Charles II. and James II.

2. The Southern Colonies were completed by the foundation of North and South Carolina and Georgia.

3. The conquest of the Dutch settlements led to the foundation of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania—the Middle Colonies. The whole coast of North America between Nova Scotia and Florida was now in English hands.

4. New England became increasingly restive under Stuart rule. An attempt was made to abolish local self-government by placing the whole coast from New Jersey to Maine under a single absolute governor appointed by the Crown. This would have led to armed rebellion but for the English Revolution of 1688. The old system was restored after that date.

5. The French colonised Nova Scotia and the basin of the St. Lawrence during the seventeenth century. They also explored the Mississippi, and planted a settlement at its mouth. These advances rendered a conflict between English and French inevitable.

IMPORTANT DATES

1660. Restoration of Charles II.

The Second Navigation Act, greatly affecting colonial trade

- 1663. Foundation of North Carolina.
- 1664. Conquest of New York and New Jersey from the Dutch.
- 1670. Foundation of South Carolina.
- 1674. Canada, etc., taken over by the French Crown.
- 1682. Foundation of Pennsylvania.
- 1684. Annulment of the charter of Massachusetts.
- 1685. Death of Charles II. Accession of James II.
Sir Edmund Andros appointed Governor of New York, New Jersey and New England.
- 1685-8. Rebellious spirit in New England.
- 1688-9. The English Revolution. Expulsion of James II. Accession of William III. Restoration of charters to the New England colonies.
- 1732. Foundation of Georgia.

PART III. THE GREAT WARS, 1689-1815

THE AGE OF GAIN AND LOSS BY CONQUEST

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD¹

THE English Revolution of 1688-9 was contemporary with, and formed part of, a general uprising of Europe against the overbearing power of Louis XIV. The English people had been increasingly uneasy at the rapid strides made by France in commerce, colonisation and naval power. No sooner had the Dutch been humbled than a new rival appeared with ambitions yet more dangerous to England, because based upon incalculably greater resources. For a time the inevitable contest had been postponed. Charles II. and James II., the one a secret, the other an openly professed Catholic, had been at heart desirous of restoring Catholicism in England, and at the same time converting its government into an absolute monarchy like that of their cousin, the French King. For this reason they had accepted money and promises of armed support from Louis, and had subordinated their foreign policy to that of France in defiance of the growing indignation of their own subjects.

¹ No attempt is here made to consider the European aspect of these wars. It is assumed that the period has been studied in a general history of England, and that the student has some acquaintance with the careers of Louis XIV., Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, and with the events of the French Revolution.

To this indignation other factors had contributed. In 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, the law which gave religious liberty to the Protestants of France. A persecution began which drove thousands of the Huguenots from their own country, many of them coming in great misery to reside in England. At this moment James II. mounted the throne and commenced a systematic violation of the laws which forbade Catholics to hold public offices. The common mind saw in this an understanding between the two kings for the extermination of Protestantism; and James's Declaration of Indulgence for all religions, in itself a reasonable measure, was suspected to be yet one more step to the same end. But James was no longer young, and people took comfort from the fact that the throne would not long be tenanted by a Catholic, for both his daughters, Mary and Anne, were Protestants. The climax was therefore reached when a son was born to him. This boy would certainly be brought up in the Catholic faith, and the Catholic regime would thus continue indefinitely. The story was spread that the child was not really the King's son, but was a pretender smuggled into the palace; and an invitation was despatched to William of Orange, the husband of James's elder daughter, Mary, to come to England and overthrow his father-in-law.

William was at the time expecting the opening of the continental war between France and the League of Augsburg, a coalition of Holland, Spain and the German princes, of which he was the most energetic member. His whole life had been spent in resisting the aggressions of France, and he snatched at the opportunity of gaining control of England and so drawing her into the League. If James had retained the throne, England would have remained neutral, or would have assisted France. William, therefore, accepted the invitation, sailed with a strong fleet and army, and landed at Torbay. The forces of James melted before his advance, refusing to fight for him, and deserting in masses to the invader. After a bloodless campaign, William entered

The English
Revolution
causes war
with France.

London, and James fled in despair to France, taking with him his wife and infant son, known henceforward to the English as the Pretender. In February, 1689, the Crown was offered to and accepted by William and his wife Mary as joint sovereigns of England.

England thus joined the European coalition against France, and the first war of a long series was entered upon. Its causes, as we have seen, were mainly continental and religious, and it had no great effects on the colonial possessions of the two countries. Nevertheless, the resources of France proved unequal to the maintenance of a great fleet and army at the same time. Louis elected to sacrifice the fleet, and the naval predominance of England was thus assured for many years to come. So far as England was concerned, fighting opened in Ireland and in the Channel. On June 30th, 1690, the combined English and Dutch fleets were defeated off Beachy Head by the French Admiral, De Tourville. Next day William himself decided the fate of Ireland at the Battle of the Boyne. James, who had entered Ireland in the previous year, fled to France once more, and in 1691 the remnant of his supporters laid down their arms by the Capitulation of Limerick. Beachy Head was avenged and the command of the sea secured by the victory of the English fleet at La Hogue in 1692. A series of hard-fought campaigns in the Netherlands and on the other land frontiers of France continued until 1697, when peace was signed at Ryswick. By this treaty Louis acknowledged William III. as King of England, but in other respects little was decided. The Treaty of Ryswick was a truce rather than a peace, and no one expected it to endure. The war had, however, established the inferiority of France at sea, and much of the careful work of Colbert was undone. The Mercantile System of England, on the contrary, was more firmly rooted than before.

War of the
Grand
Alliance,
1689-1697.

The ambition of Louis XIV., foiled but not routed at Ryswick, again plunged Europe into war in 1702. The

occasion this time was the death of the King of Spain without an heir. The event had been foreseen and the disposal of his vast dominions had been arranged for by Partition Treaties promoted mainly by William III. The "Sea Powers"—England and Holland—could not stand by and see Spain, Central and South America, the Spanish Netherlands and the greater part of Italy fall under the sway of France. This great transference was threatened by the fact that Louis XIV. himself claimed to be the rightful successor of the dying king. The Partition Treaties, which Louis himself agreed to, would have avoided such a result by a division of the Spanish Empire. But at the last moment the Spanish King made a will leaving all his dominions to Louis' grandson, Philip of Anjou. Louis decided to throw over the treaties and claim the whole inheritance. Thus began the War of the Spanish Succession, which raged by land and sea until 1713.

The interests for which the contending parties fought were world-wide, and not merely continental, as in the previous war. On the side of France was Spain, which preferred accepting a Bourbon king to seeing its empire split up. Against these two powers were England, Holland, the Emperor, Prussia and Portugal. The adhesion of the latter to the coalition was secured by the Methuen Treaty (1703), by which England obtained considerable control of Portuguese trade and also the right to use her ports as a base for naval operations. William III. died before the opening of the first campaign, and his place as leader of the English armies was taken by the Duke of Marlborough.

Although great maritime and colonial interests were at stake, the decisive events all took place in Europe. On land Marlborough and Prince Eugene saved Austria from invasion by the victory of Blenheim in 1704, and in the following years Marlborough drove the French from the Netherlands by the successive battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. In Spain the Archduke Charles,

son of the Emperor Leopold I., attempted with English help to seize the crown in opposition to the Bourbon claimant. After some preliminary successes his hopes were decisively destroyed at the battles of Almanza (1707) and Brihuega (1710). Thenceforward Louis' grandson remained firmly seated on the throne as Philip V. Severe fighting in which England took no part occurred in northern Italy, where Eugene's victory at Turin (1706) was almost as great a blow as Blenheim to Louis XIV. On the sea England was easily master of the situation. Gibraltar was captured in 1704, and Minorca, with its first-class harbour of Port Mahon, in 1709. Backed by irresistible fleets, English commerce increased by leaps and bounds in spite of the depredations of French privateers. The latter did considerable damage, but England was well able to afford it.

Twelve years of incessant strife gave Europe more than its fill of bloodshed. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, effected a partition of the spoils which sound statesmanship on the part of Louis XIV. might have obtained at the outset. The Bourbon Philip V. retained Spain and its American possessions. The Spanish Netherlands, which England and Holland particularly dreaded to see under French control, were handed over to Austria; and Spain likewise lost most of her Italian provinces. In North America England made solid acquisitions. France gave up all claims to Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The latter had always hitherto been a French possession; the two former had been bitterly disputed by French and English pioneers. Thus the fringes of the French empire of Canada came into English hands. With Spain also an advantageous treaty was negotiated. Gibraltar and Minorca were confirmed to England, and by the Assiento agreement she obtained the right to supply slaves to all the Spanish colonies, and to send one ship yearly to the Spanish Indies for general trading purposes.

The general result of the war was to leave France,

Treaty of
Utrecht, 1713:
English
colonial gains.

exhausted and England much strengthened in her hold upon the ocean commerce of the world. The English flag waved unchallenged over every sea, and during the long peace which followed the advantages secured at Utrecht were developed to the utmost. Holland had borne her share in the fighting, but failed to profit by its results except by securing freedom from French aggression by land. Her commerce and sea power sank lower and lower in comparison with those of England.

The War of the Spanish Succession was followed by twenty-six years of peace in Western Europe. During **Long period of peace, 1713-39.** this long peace England and France worked hard to establish their colonial and commercial interests. In North America both countries developed their settlements, the French in Canada looking forward to the day when the English provinces should be surrounded by a military chain stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi, and thus ultimately crowded out of the continent; the English, on the other hand, intent on extending the acquisitions gained at Utrecht. In India, also, the peace gave scope to the rival East India Companies of the two nations to obtain a firmer grip upon the native princes, whose power was disorganised by the decay of the Mogul Empire. In one respect England was subject to a new disadvantage in the race for world power. During the seventeenth century Spain and France had always been enemies. Now Spain was ruled by a branch of the Bourbon dynasty, and its alliance with the parent stock in France united the two countries against England on three separate occasions in the new period. This alliance is known as the Family Compact.

The peace signed at Utrecht was thus obviously destined to be broken as soon as the colonies in America and the **Renewed wars in prospect.** Companies in the East had extended their scope sufficiently to come fairly face to face with one another. It would not have endured so long as it did but for the fact that both England and France fell under the guidance of peace-loving ministers

—Sir Robert Walpole and Cardinal Fleuri. Walpole became head of the English Government in 1721. He owed his elevation to the national conviction that he alone of English politicians had behaved honestly in the matter of the South Sea Bubble, and he maintained his sway until 1742. His policy was to meddle as little as possible in European affairs, and to give the country a period of rest in which commerce might develop to the uttermost ; for he was a firm adherent of the Mercantile System in its less aggressive aspect. His fall was due to his failure to recognise the results of his own policy. The increase of trade brought England into conflict with the reviving prosperity of the Bourbon powers, but Walpole clung obstinately to peace and, when driven to it, made war in a half-hearted fashion, thus losing the confidence of the country.

The cause which precipitated the new struggle was a series of commercial disputes with Spain. The Spaniards complained that England was abusing the Trade with Spanish colonies. limited rights of trade with their colonies granted by the Assiento. The ships which brought slaves also carried other merchandise ; it was asserted that the single vessel allowed to trade annually in general produce at Porto Bello was simply a warehouse, its hold being replenished over and over again from other vessels as fast as its original cargoes were sold ; and in addition, a host of unlicensed traders ran cargoes into every unwatched port in open defiance of the treaties. Thus the conditions in which John Hawkins had attempted to force a trade nearly two centuries before were again reproduced, and the story of an outrage corresponding to that of San Juan d'Ulloa occasioned a fresh outburst of warlike spirit in England. An English captain named Jenkins complained that while peaceably sailing in West Indian waters he had been seized by Spanish coastguards and hanged at his own yardarm. He was let down while still alive, and his captors then proceeded to cut off his ear and tell him to take it as a present to the King of

England. The truth of Jenkins' story has been found to be extremely doubtful, but it was believed at the time, and served as the pretext for beginning a contest whose real causes were infinitely wider and deeper.

War was declared in 1739. Its sphere was entirely naval, and it produced no decisive results. It is principally memorable for the voyage of Commodore Anson round the world, a voyage in which he repeated the exploits of Drake and Cavendish by rounding Cape Horn, raiding the Spanish colonies on the west coast of America, and capturing a rich galleon in the Pacific. The extraordinary hardships which he suffered and surmounted are to be read at length in the account of the voyage written by the chaplain of his ship. They supply a grim picture of life at sea in the eighteenth century.

In the meantime a European war had independently arisen over the question of the Austrian Succession. England and France at first took part as auxiliaries only, but formally declared war against one another in 1744. The hard-fought battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and the Jacobite rising in Scotland in 1745 were European incidents of the struggle, but more important were the successes of the French in India under Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. The English Company lost Madras to the latter, and saw their hold upon the country well-nigh extinguished. In America a force of New Englanders captured the French fortress of Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The final decision of the great colonial question was postponed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. France restored Madras, and England Louisbourg, leaving matters in the same position as before the war. An impression was now universal that a decisive conflict must soon come, and the eight years of nominal peace which followed Aix-la-Chapelle are scarcely worthy of the name, for fighting went on unchecked both in America and India.

In the latter country Dupleix continued his system of gaining control of the native princes by his political ability, and then turning their forces against the English. But, although matchless in intrigue, he lacked military skill, and his successful career was checked by the genius of Clive in 1751. Before he could recover the lost ground he was recalled by his own Directors in France, who were indignant that he thought more of conquest than of commercial profits. After his departure India enjoyed three years' peace before feeling the effects of the Seven Years' War.

In North America there was no such peaceful interval. The French authorities in Canada pushed forward their scheme of linking up that country with Louisiana by means of a series of fortified posts along the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The most notable of these was Fort Duquesne, lying to the west of Pennsylvania. By this policy the English pioneers were prevented from expanding west of the Alleghany Mountains, and the colonists took up arms on their own responsibility while peace still endured in Europe. In Nova Scotia also the boundary was unsettled, and French emissaries worked unceasingly in stirring up sedition among the inhabitants, of whom the vast majority were of French origin. The English Governor was ultimately obliged to deport several thousands of these people, distributing them among the older English colonies.

A colonial attempt on Fort Duquesne failed in 1754, and both England and France sent out strong reinforcements in the following year. In 1755 also they captured each other's shipping on a large scale at sea, so that the war may really be said to have begun then. It was thus, properly speaking, an eight years' war so far as England was concerned, although it has received its name of the Seven Years' War from the fact that the contemporary struggle upon the continent of Europe did not break out until the summer of 1756.

The opening years of this world-contest were disastrous to England. In 1755 General Braddock with a force of British regulars and colonials was ambushed on his way to attack Fort Duquesne. He himself was killed and his troops routed. The years 1756 and 1757 were also unfortunate in America. The English forces, under an incompetent general, effected nothing, and the colonial frontiers suffered hideous atrocities at the hands of Indians in the French service. In 1756 also England lost the island of Minorca, in those days the key of the Mediterranean. In India Suraj-u-Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, took the English factory at Calcutta and perpetrated the outrage of the Black Hole. Some at least of these disasters were due to the incompetence of the Home Government, presided over by the Duke of Newcastle. The latter was an adept at bribery and corruption and political manoeuvres of all kinds, but had none of the organizing ability necessary for the conduct of a war. But in William Pitt the nation possessed just the type of statesman necessary for the emergency. Pitt enjoyed a short term of office in 1756, but was turned out by Newcastle's corrupt influence before he had time to effect reforms. A deadlock ensued; Pitt enjoyed the confidence of the country; Newcastle wielded the power of the political machine. A solution was found by the formation of a joint ministry in which Pitt managed the war while Newcastle controlled domestic affairs.

As soon as Pitt was fairly in the saddle the reverses suffered by the British arms ceased. His grand merit was that he appointed capable leaders without respect to favouritism and political jobbery; and, having appointed them, he backed them wholeheartedly to the utmost extent of his resources. English soldiers and seamen all over the world felt the grip of a master hand, and they responded to it by efforts of which they would have been incapable under the hesitating incompetence of Newcastle. In America the year 1758 saw the beginning of an advance upon the French in three different

directions. The fortress of Louisbourg surrendered to Amherst and Wolfe; Fort Duquesne fell to Forbes; only in the central advance, by way of Lake Champlain, were the English unsuccessful. In that quarter the Marquis de Montcalm, commander-in-chief in Canada, inflicted a bloody repulse at Ticonderoga upon General Abercrombie.

The next year, 1759, was known as "the year of victories." The entrance to the St. Lawrence had been laid open by the capture of Louisbourg. A British expedition sailed up that river under Wolfe to besiege Quebec. The French concentrated their forces for its defence, abandoning their outlying posts on Lake Champlain. On September 13th Wolfe won the decisive battle before the walls of Quebec. Although he fell at the moment of victory, the town surrendered five days later. Montreal capitulated in 1760, and the French flag disappeared finally from North America. While Wolfe was deciding the fate of Canada, France was making an effort to obtain the command of the Channel preparatory to an invasion of England itself. This plan was frustrated by the annihilation of the French fleet by Lord Hawke in Quiberon Bay (November 20th, 1759).

In India matters took a similar course. The Comte de Lally arrived at Pondicherry in 1758 with a force intended to drive the English from the country. His plans failed one after the other. He was obliged to raise the siege of Madras (1759), was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote in a pitched battle at Wandewash (1760), and finally surrendered the fortress of Pondicherry and the remnants of his army in 1761. Before Lally's arrival in the Carnatic, Clive had sailed for Bengal to avenge the tragedy of Calcutta. His victory of Plassey (June 23rd, 1757), ultimately caused the whole province of Bengal to fall into the hands of the East India Company. The French factory of Chandernagore on the Ganges was destroyed. Thus the French lost their empire in India

Conquest of
Canada,
1759-60.

Conquest of
Pondicherry
and Bengal.

as decisively as in America. Spain, with singular lack of wisdom, chose this moment to renew the Family Compact and enter the struggle against an England flushed with unprecedented triumphs. Her temerity was punished by the capture of the Philippines by an expedition from India, and of Havana, the capital of Cuba, by a fleet from England. Several French West Indian islands fell at the same time into English hands.

The successes of the Seven Years' War were due to the statesmanship of Pitt; and he would undoubtedly have closed it by a treaty securing the full fruits of Paris, 1763. victory to England. But he was driven from office in 1761 by the machinations of George III., who had succeeded his grandfather in the previous year. The new King was jealous of Pitt's renown, and determined to entrust the Government to the Marquis of Bute, a favourite of his own. It was Bute, therefore, who was responsible for the Treaty of Paris, which ended the war in 1763. By it England obtained from France the whole of Canada and its dependencies, four West Indian islands and the island of Minorca; and from Spain the peninsula of Florida. In their haste to conclude peace, George III. and Bute restored Cuba and the Philippines to Spain, and Pondicherry to France, and these needless concessions involved the favourite in such a storm of unpopularity that he was glad to retire from political life soon afterwards. Pitt would certainly have done better, but even as it was the colonial supremacy of England was secured. The menace to the American colonies was removed, and the East India Company had little to fear from French rivalry in the future. The French, it is true, recovered Pondicherry and its dependent stations, but only as commercial factories and not as fortresses. The acquisition of Bengal inclined the balance of power decisively in favour of England, and her enemy never again made any conquests of Indian territory.

The close of the Seven Years' War marks the highest point attained by the British Empire in the eighteenth

century, and it was followed within twenty years by a crushing reverse, the loss of the American colonies. The completeness of the success bred over-con-
 fidence. Statesmen occupied their whole energies in sordid domestic wrangles, to the neglect of imperial interests. The quarrel with the colonies was allowed to grow to uncontrollable proportions by men who scarcely realised that it existed. And at the same time the steady rebuilding of the French navy, foreboding a future Bourbon revenge for the Treaty of Paris, passed almost unnoticed. Thus the outbreak of war in New England in 1775 found the fleets and armies of England in a far different state of efficiency from that of 1763.

The War of Independence was waged by the American colonists alone until 1778. At the outset the fighting was confined to New England, where the first great battle, that of Bunker's Hill, was fought for the possession of Boston. The struggle in New England came to an end with the surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga in the autumn of 1777. Burgoyne had marched southwards from Canada by the Lake Champlain route, intending to join hands with a force coming northwards from New York, and then to crush the New Englanders. His failure had the military result of freeing New England and the political result of deciding the Bourbon powers to join in the war.

France declared war in 1778, and Spain in 1779. Their primary motives were avowedly revenge for the humiliations suffered in the past, and a desire to recover some of their lost colonies. There was no fighting on the soil of Europe itself except at Gibraltar. Hence the contest has been given the name of the Maritime War. The most important operations took place in the West Indies and on the American coast.

After the disaster of Saratoga the English commanders left New England alone and set themselves to reduce the middle and southern states. Here there was a considerable number of loyalists, particularly in New York, which

remained the English headquarters until the end of the war. In 1780 Lord Cornwallis carried on a successful campaign in the southern states, almost reducing Georgia and the Carolinas to obedience. He was opposed by Washington, who was now assisted by considerable numbers of French troops. In 1781 Cornwallis arrived, with his army much reduced, at Yorktown on the coast of Virginia.

Yorktown, He intended to entrench himself there and
1781. await reinforcements by sea from New York.

Washington followed him to Yorktown and saw a chance of winning a great success. He sent an urgent message to De Grasse, the commander of the French fleet in the West Indies, to make sail at once for the Virginia coast. De Grasse complied, and anchored off Yorktown. Cornwallis thus found himself blockaded by land and sea, and cut off from New York. The English fleet from that place made a half-hearted attempt to raise the blockade, but it was inferior in force and retired unsuccessful. After a gallant resistance Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army.

The disaster of Yorktown decided the War of Independence, and England acknowledged the separation of the United States from the Empire at the end of 1782. The Maritime War still provided some events of importance. The three years' siege of Gibraltar by France and Spain ended in 1782, when a great final attack was beaten off with heavy loss. In the same year the Bourbon forces captured Minorca and some West Indian Islands. But their West Indian successes were decisively reversed by the victory of Rodney over De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints. The French admiral was taken with five ships of the line, and the islands were then at the mercy of England. In India the native princes of the centre and south were stirred up against England by French intrigues. The ability of Warren Hastings and Sir Eyre Coote weathered the storm, and English power remained unimpaired, although for a time the settlements in the Carnatic were in great danger.

A series of treaties signed at Versailles in 1783 brought the struggle to a close. That between England and France practically repeated the Treaty of Paris, for the conquests on either side, unimportant in scope, were for the most part restored. Spain obtained from England the restoration of Minorca and Florida, but failed to secure Gibraltar, the principal object of her efforts. Thus the only extensive gainers by the war were the Americans, for they alone secured in full the objects for which they fought. England had lost her oldest and richest colonies, and a fatal blow had been dealt at the Mercantile System, which based itself on a monopoly of colonial trade. Her sea-power seemed to be shattered and her empire on the point of breaking up. Yet the next generation saw her maritime supremacy more decisive than ever, and new colonies rapidly rising to take the place of the old. The greatest losers were, in fact, the Bourbon powers. They had indeed obtained their revenge at Yorktown, but they had obtained nothing more. France in particular was so loaded with debt that she drifted ever deeper and deeper into difficulties, until the old monarchy and the old social order were engulfed in the Revolution. Spain was in little better case. By promoting a war of independence on the part of colonists she had set a fatal example to her own vast possessions. Forty years later the whole of the Spanish colonies on the mainland revolted and became the Central and South American republics of the present day.

The War of Independence and the Maritime War were the last strictly colonial contests which this period produced. There remained the Revolutionary War (1793-1802) and the Napoleonic War (1803-15), but these struggles, like that which followed the expulsion of James II., were mainly European in their causes. For the purpose of this survey they may be considered as one, for they were divided by a truce of less than twelve months' duration.

Treaty of
Versailles,
1783.

Effects of the
war.

The Revolu-
tionary and
Napoleonic
Wars, 1793-
1815.

The British fleets soon asserted their superiority over the disorganised navy of France, but the latter secured England's naval supremacy at different times the services of the Spanish, Dutch and Danish squadrons. All these were successively destroyed by England, which by a series of victories swept all hostile flags from the seas. The chief steps in this process were Lord Howe's victory of the First of June, 1794, over the French; the defeats of the Spanish fleet at St. Vincent, and of the Dutch at Camperdown in 1797; the Battle of the Nile, 1798, in which Nelson annihilated the French power in the Mediterranean; the Battle of Copenhagen, 1801, in which the Danish fleet was destroyed; and finally the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805, in which the combined French and Spanish fleets were overwhelmed by Nelson. After Trafalgar there were no more great naval battles, for Napoleon was never again able to send a formed fleet to sea.

During the remainder of the war England established a practical monopoly of ocean-borne trade, and also acquired some colonial possessions of importance. Holland had become part of Napoleon's empire, and her colonies were therefore open to attack. In this way the Cape of Good Hope, the nucleus of the present great South African State, fell into English hands, as also did the island of Ceylon. This war also brought the possession of Malta and Mauritius, islands of great strategic importance. In 1812 the United States declared war upon England. The Americans were irritated at the English claim to the right of search of neutral U.S., 1812-15. ships, and also they hoped to conquer Canada while England's armies were fully occupied in Europe. The war of 1812 was bitterly contested and inconclusive; it ended in 1815 without any territory changing hands, and without settling the question of neutral rights. In India, the same period saw a great extension of the territories of the East India Company, mainly acquired under the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Wellesley. British rule became supreme in the South of India and

made great advances in the North-West. In the centre the military sway of the Mahrattas was broken, and they gradually ceased to be a menace to the peace of the country. During all the turmoil and bloodshed which agitated the rest of the world from 1793 to 1815, the development of the Australian colonies went on in undisturbed tranquillity. The first settlement had been made at Sydney in 1788.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 put an end to the period of the great wars. The century following that date was a period in which the expansion of the British Empire was in the main peaceful. It gave rise, indeed, to numerous colonial wars of minor importance, but until 1914 it was not the cause of a struggle with any European nation.

SUMMARY OF THE GREAT WARS¹

1. War of the Grand Alliance, 1689-1697.

1692. Battle of La Hogue.

1697. Treaty of Ryswick ; restoration of colonial conquests.

2. War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.

1704. Capture of Gibraltar.

1711. Failure of New England expedition against Quebec.

1713. Treaty of Utrecht ; England gains Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay, Gibraltar, Minorca and trading rights with Spanish America.

3. Jenkins' Ear War, 1739-48, and War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48.

1740-4. Anson's voyage.

1745. Capture of Louisbourg by New Englanders.

1746. Capture of Madras by the French.

1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ; restoration of conquests.

¹The dates of the several wars, and the names of the treaties concluding them, should be committed to memory before proceeding to the next chapter

4. Unofficial War in India and North America, 1749-55.
 - 1749-50. Dupleix obtains control of the Carnatic.
 1751. Clive's capture and defence of Arcot.
 1752. Establishment of Fort Duquesne.
 1754. Recall of Dupleix.
 1755. Braddock's disaster near Fort Duquesne
5. Seven Years' War, 1756-63.
 1756. Black Hole of Calcutta.
 1757. Battle of Plassey and conquest of Bengal.
 1758. Capture of Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne.
 1759. Capture of Quebec. Battle of Quiberon Bay.
 1760. Battle of Wandewash.
Capture of Montreal and conquest of Canada.
 1761. Capture of Pondicherry.
 1762. Capture of Cuba, the Philippines and the French West Indies.
 1763. Treaty of Paris; England retains Canada, some West Indian islands, Florida and Minorca; and restores Pondicherry, some French West Indian islands, Cuba and the Philippines.
6. War of American Independence, 1775-82, and the Maritime War, 1778-83.
 1775. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill (New England).
 1777. Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.
 1778. France declares war.
 1779. Spain declares war.
 - 1779-82. Siege of Gibraltar.
 1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (Virginia).
 1782. Rodney's naval victory in West Indies.
 1783. Treaty of Versailles; United States acknowledged to be independent; restoration of conquests by France and England; restoration of Minorca and Florida to Spain.
7. Revolutionary War, 1793-1802.
 1794. Howe's victory of the First of June.
 1796. Capture of British Guiana from the Dutch.
 1797. Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown.
 1798. Battle of the Nile.
 1799. Conquest of Mysore.

- 1800. Capture of Malta.
- 1801. Battle of Copenhagen.
- 1802. Treaty of Amiens; England restores conquests from European powers, except Ceylon, Trinidad and Malta.
- 8. Napoleonic War, 1803-15, and War with United States, 1812-15.
 - 1803. Defeats of the Mahrattas.
 - 1805. Battle of Trafalgar.
 - 1806. Capture of the Cape of Good Hope.
 - 1810. Capture of Mauritius.
 - 1814-15. Treaties of Paris and Congress of Vienna; England retains Malta, Tobago, St. Lucia, Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and British Guiana.

CHAPTER II.

THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE IN INDIA, 1744-63

DURING the first forty years of the eighteenth century, the East India Companies of England and France were content to pursue the time-honoured policy of avoiding entanglement in native politics, and limiting themselves strictly to legitimate trade within the spheres of influence of their respective factories. The wars of William III. and Anne were thus scarcely felt in the East, and the period of strife did not begin until after the entry of the two countries as principals into the War of the Austrian Succession in 1744.

At that date the three principal British settlements were at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, each having subordinate posts dependent upon it. The French headquarters in India was at Pondicherry, some eighty miles south of Madras on the Coromandel Coast. They had also a post in Bengal at Chandernagore, near Calcutta, and an unimportant station upon the Malabar or southwestern coast of the peninsula. The Dutch and the Portuguese still maintained trading posts at various points, but their presence had little effect upon the Anglo-French struggle. When that struggle opened the European pioneers had barely touched the fringe of the great country whose fate was to be decided; there was still plenty of room for peaceful expansion; and the contest was precipitated by the restless enterprise of one man, Joseph François Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry.

Dupleix was born at Landrecies in 1697, and made his first voyage in the French Company's service in 1715.

His ability being recognised, he was made Governor of Chandernagore in 1730. During eleven years' service there he increased the value of its commerce in such a striking fashion that, on a vacancy arising, the Directors of the Company appointed him to the Governorship of Pondicherry and the supreme control of all their affairs in India. He was forty-four years of age when he received this promotion, and had spent the greater part of his life in the East. He had studied the customs, the languages, and above all the politics, of the native races, and had formed a very original and far-reaching plan for converting the whole of India into a great French empire, from which European rivals were to be altogether excluded. It was his misfortune that he never succeeded in bringing his employers and the French Government to an understanding of his point of view, and he had thus to struggle continually against their disapproval as well as against his natural enemies, the English.

Dupléix's plan was based upon the political state of India resulting from the decay of the Mogul Empire. Since the death of Aurungzebe in 1707 the control of the emperors over their outlying dependencies had been reduced to a mere shadow. Such power as they retained was limited to the district surrounding their capital of Delhi, far remote from any part of the coast-line. The princes, on the other hand, who had been vassals to the emperors in former days, had now become practically independent, and were frequently at war with one another. Few of their thrones were stable, and the decease of a ruler was often the signal for civil wars over a disputed succession, and for innumerable plots and counterplots. Dupléix had observed that Indian soldiers led by Europeans made excellent fighting material, and his design was to interfere in native politics, and so to gain control of one or two states by placing their rulers under obligations to him for military assistance. Then he proposed to turn the forces of these

His policy
based on the
state of
politics in
India.

states against others, and thus ultimately to penetrate the entire country with French influence. He was convinced that in its disunited condition India would fall captive to the energy and valour of a few hundred Frenchmen. The districts in which he determined to begin his operations were the Carnatic, covering the whole south-eastern coast and containing both Madras and Pondicherry; and the Deccan, the great inland province covering, at its largest extent, the whole south-central plateau of India. North of the Deccan the country, almost up to the gates of Delhi, was subject to the military power of the Mahratta chieftains, whose raids frequently extended as far as the Carnatic.

Dupleix had not yet found an opportunity of entering upon his great scheme when the news of war between Great Britain and France arrived in the East. La Bourdonnais The island of Mauritius was then in French hands, and from it Admiral La Bourdonnais set takes Madras, 1746. sail in 1746 for Pondicherry. After fighting an English squadron on the way he reached that port with his fleet containing over 3,000 men. This was a reinforcement which gave the French a decisive advantage in the Carnatic, where the numbers of European fighting men were generally reckoned by hundreds rather than thousands. Concerting his measures with Dupleix, La Bourdonnais proceeded to attack Madras. The defences of the town were in a feeble state, and it surrendered on September 21st, 1746, after a siege of a few days' duration. La Bourdonnais, in common with most of his countrymen, entirely failed to sympathise with the vast schemes of Dupleix, and he accordingly agreed to a capitulation by which Madras was to be restored to England on payment of a ransom. Dupleix was furious at this generosity, and a violent quarrel broke out between himself and the Admiral. In defiance of the capitulation, Dupleix refused to restore the town, and La Bourdonnais was forced to quit the coast by the approach of the stormy season.

Among the prisoners taken at Madras was Robert Clive, at that time a writer in the East India Company's service. He and other prisoners had given their parole not to escape, but considered themselves absolved from this promise by

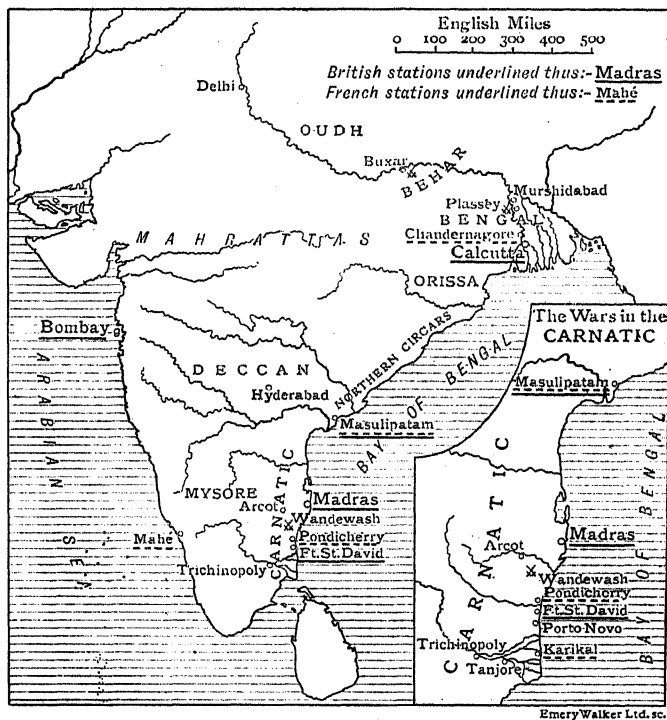


FIG. 7.—INDIA IN THE TIME OF CLIVE.

the fact that the French on their side had violated the capitulation. Accordingly Clive made his way secretly out of Madras and succeeded in reaching Fort St. David, a small dependent factory on the coast some eighteen miles south of Pondicherry. Fort St. David was now the only place in the

Defence of
Fort St.
David.

Carnatic still remaining in English hands. Dupleix immediately set about besieging it in order to complete the expulsion of the English from that part of India. Fort St. David, however, made a good defence, and obtained some help from the Nawab of Arcot, the native ruler of the province. It was finally saved by the arrival of a British fleet under Admiral Boscawen in the spring of 1747. During the siege of Fort St. David Clive had obtained a commission in the army. At the time when fortune thus put it in his way to begin his real work in the world he was twenty-one years of age.

The Nawab now definitely sided with the English, and confused fighting took place during the remainder of 1747.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, In addition to the reinforcements brought by Boscawen, others were obtained from Bombay, 1748.

and in August 1748 the English felt themselves strong enough to undertake the siege of Pondicherry itself. They failed, however, to take it, and shortly afterwards there arrived the news of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In accordance with the treaty, Dupleix, much against his will, was obliged to restore Madras to the English, and the war for the moment came to an end. Its general effect had undoubtedly been to raise the prestige of France and to depress that of England in the eyes of the natives.

During the few months in which Clive had served in the army he had filled only a subordinate position. Even so, he had on more than one occasion showed that he was possessed of exceptional courage, and before long circumstances were to arise which would give his talents of leadership full scope. Perhaps the most characteristic example of his hardihood is furnished by the following incident: Soon after arriving at Fort St. David he lost some money at cards to another officer. He accused his opponent of cheating, and refused to pay. A duel with pistols followed. Clive fired first, and missed his antagonist. The latter advanced and held his pistol to Clive's head, demanding that he should ask for his life

and withdraw the accusation of cheating. Clive consented to ask for his life, but as to the cheating he exclaimed, "Fire, and be d—d. I said you cheated; I say so still, and I will never pay you." The other threw down the pistol and walked away.

The events which immediately followed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle gave Dupleix an opportunity of realising his great scheme for the conquest of Southern India. In 1748-9 the deaths took place of the Nizam of the Deccan and of his vassal the Nawab of the Carnatic. In each province there was a disputed succession, and the rival candidates appealed to the French and the English respectively for assistance. Dupleix threw himself eagerly into the contest. He despatched the celebrated Marquis de Bussy, a most gifted soldier, to the Deccan. The French candidate was successfully established there, and the province became a French dependency from which Dupleix might hope to extend his system indefinitely when once the English in the Carnatic had been disposed of.

For a time the chances of the survival of English power seemed very small. The French candidate for the throne of the Carnatic, Chunda Sahib, was a brave soldier who ably seconded the efforts of his allies. The claimant favoured by the English, Mohammed Ali, lost ground continually, and was finally blockaded in Trichinopoly, the sole town remaining to him. Dupleix was now at the height of his power. He assumed the style of a conqueror and absolute ruler. The princes who owed their thrones to him granted him large revenues and did nothing without his advice. His continued successes filled the native mind with admiration for the French and a corresponding contempt for the English. The latter were now so reduced that they scarcely dared to stir beyond the walls of Madras and Fort St. David.

Such was the state of affairs at the opening of the year 1751. The French only needed to take Trichinopoly to complete the conquest of the Carnatic in the interest of

Chunda Sahib. To understand what followed it is essential to fix in the mind the salient features of the map of **Importance of** this part of India, and the positions of the **Trichinopoly.** following important towns: Madras, Pondicherry and Fort St. David upon the coast; Arcot, the native capital of the Carnatic, lying inland 70 miles west of Madras, and Trichinopoly, far to the south-west, 100 miles from Pondicherry and nearly twice that distance from Madras. It will be seen that Trichinopoly, the critical point, in which the English candidate was beleaguered, was very difficult to relieve from Madras, because the road to it passed close to Pondicherry, and the strongholds of the country were all in French hands. Arcot, on the other hand, was within striking distance of Madras.

Clive had been to Trichinopoly with a small reinforcement, and on his return to Madras convinced the authorities **Clive's** that some energetic step must be taken to save **opportunity.** the place. Relief by a direct advance was impracticable, but Clive proposed a plan which ultimately solved the problem. Taking all the available troops in Madras, he proposed to make a surprise attack on Arcot, trusting that Chunda Sahib would immediately draw off from the siege of Trichinopoly in order to save his capital.

Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, consented. On August 26th, 1751, Clive led out from the town a force **Seizure and** of 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoy with eight **defence of** officers, of whom four, like Clive, had been **Arcot, 1751.** transferred to the army from the civil service of the Company. The garrisons left to guard Madras and Fort St. David numbered less than 150 men. After a five days' march Clive reached Arcot, whose native defenders, seized with panic, fled without striking a blow. But it was the retention, not the capture, of the place which was to test the heroism of Clive and his little band. As he had calculated, Chunda Sahib detached 4000 men from the siege of Trichinopoly and sent them under his son Rajah Sahib, to retake Arcot. By continual fighting Clive's force was soon reduced to 320 men, and these were

beleaguered by an army which ultimately numbered 10,000. For fifty days the siege continued. At length, on November 14th, Rajah Sahib determined to storm the place. For over an hour his best troops continued to assault the exhausted defenders at several different points. All his attempts failed, and he drew off with the loss of 400 men. On the following night he found his troops so discouraged that he abandoned the siege and marched away from the capital which his greatest efforts could not take. Clive's defence of Arcot entirely altered the position of affairs in the Carnatic. The natives conceived a respect which they had never had before for the fighting powers of the English. A band of Mahrattas immediately came to join him, and by their aid he defeated another French-Indian force from Pondicherry. The fall of several strongholds held in the French interest followed, and before long the English were in a position to relieve Trichinopoly itself.

Early in 1752 a strong force set out from Madras under Major Lawrence, with Clive as his second-in-command. After many exciting combats, it was successful in relieving Trichinopoly and inflicting a crushing blow upon the policy of Dupleix. Not only was Mohammed Ali saved, but a number of French officers and men in the besieging force were captured. Chunda Sahib also fell into the hands of his native enemies, and was put to death without the knowledge of the English. It was at this crisis that Dupleix's lack of military training had been fatal to him. From his cabinet at Pondicherry he had sent urgent messages to Monsieur Law, his commander at Trichinopoly, to storm the place before the arrival of the English. Law was sluggish and incompetent, and Dupleix was not, like Clive, the man to set the example by mounting the breach, sword in hand. Thus Trichinopoly became for him an irretrievable disaster.

When the news arrived in France it was determined to recall him. Both Companies were weary of fighting,

which extinguished their trading profits. A treaty of peace was therefore signed in Europe, and in 1754 Dupleix's successor arrived at Pondicherry with orders to send him home by the first ship sailing for France. It cannot be denied that the French home authorities were most short-sighted in neglecting to support their brilliant governor in the East. Within two years of Dupleix's recall the rivals were again at war, but this time the odds were heavily in favour of England, and the result was the total ruin of French prospects in India. If Dupleix had remained at Pondicherry the outcome might have been very different.

Hitherto, as we have seen, the struggle for supremacy had been confined to Southern India. During the Seven Years' War the rich province of Bengal was also involved, and English rule became paramount in this region while at the same time the remnants of French power were being extinguished in the Carnatic.

It will be convenient first to consider the events in Bengal. A crisis was precipitated in that province by the death of the reigning Nawab, a firm and just prince under whose rule the English factory at Fort William (Calcutta) had enjoyed great prosperity. His successor was a weak and vicious youth named Suraj-u-Dowlah. The new Nawab conceived a violent hatred for the English, and in 1756 made a sudden attack upon Calcutta. The English garrison and residents at that place had not been inured to warfare like those in the Carnatic. They behaved badly, and many fled in panic to the shipping in the river, by which they made their escape. The Nawab easily possessed himself of the town, in which he took prisoner 146 English who had not been able to get away. After summoning the prisoners before him, he promised them their lives, and retired to rest. His guards thrust them into a small prison for the night. Packed into a tiny space in the hottest season of the year, and deprived of ventilation and water, the majority of the wretched captives died

raving in this horrible den before morning brought release to the survivors. Only twenty-two men and one woman came out alive. This is known in history as the outrage of the Black Hole of Calcutta. The Nawab expressed no regret for what had occurred, and made no attempt to punish the murderers. Fancying that he had disposed of the English for all time, he retired to his capital of Murshedabad, and gave no more thought to the affair.¹

In due time the news arrived at Madras. It was at once determined to send an expedition to recover Calcutta and avenge the murders. Clive had just returned from a two years' visit to England, and was naturally selected to command the force. He was instructed to do his work as rapidly as possible, because it was known that war had broken out again between England and France, and the Madras authorities wanted all their troops for defence against an expected French attack.

On October 16th, 1756, Clive sailed from Madras, his army being conveyed by the fleet of Admiral Watson. He had with him 900 English soldiers and Clive recovers 1,500 sepoys. With these troops he proceeded Calcutta. to the invasion of a country more populous than France. Arriving in the Hugli in December he advanced on Calcutta. The town was taken with slight resistance on January 2nd, 1757. The Nawab now professed himself desirous of peace, and Clive, knowing that if his absence were prolonged the French might take Madras, attempted to negotiate an enduring treaty by which the situation in Bengal should be restored to its former peaceful state. Some months of tedious haggling followed. The Nawab was not really in earnest in his wish for peace. He merely wished to gain time for the French to come to his aid. While waiting for a decision, Clive and Watson attacked and took the French factory of Chandernagore, above Calcutta, on the Hugli. At length, despairing of a genuine settlement, Clive entered into a secret arrangement

¹ His ignorance of his real situation may be gauged from the fact that he believed there were not 10,000 men in the whole of Europe.

with Mir Jaffier, the general of the Nawab's army. It was agreed that on a resumption of hostilities Mir Jaffier was to betray his master and receive the throne of Bengal from English hands as his reward.

When all was ready, Clive marched forward with his little army, now numbering about 3,000 men. Suraj-u-Battle of Dowlah's host, estimated at 50,000, was encountered at Plassey on the road to Murshedabad. Plassey, 1757. The odds were so great that Clive for the moment hesitated. He called a council of war, which advised retreat. He then passed an hour in solitary thought, and returned with his mind made up. He gave orders for battle on the following day. The Battle of Plassey (June 23rd, 1757), opened with a cannonade in which considerable execution was done upon the crowded masses of the Nawab's army. Noting their confusion, at the critical moment Clive gave the order to advance. At the sight of his compact regiments charging down upon them, the enemy were seized with panic. They fled in wild disorder, the Nawab on a swift camel at their head. While the issue was yet in doubt, Mir Jaffier and his friends held aloof. After the victory they came to offer their congratulations to the English.

Mir Jaffier was led to Murshedabad and duly installed as Nawab. The miserable Suraj-u-Dowlah was captured a few days later and put to death by the new Conquest of Bengal. ruler's officers. A most favourable treaty was concluded for the restoration of the Company's position in Bengal, and it was now hoped that the English forces might return to the Carnatic, where their presence was urgently needed. But it was soon evident that Mir Jaffier's throne could not hope to stand without English support. The East India Company's officers had practically conquered Bengal, and they must remain to administer their conquest. Clive, indeed, detached as many men as he could spare to return to Madras, and he also sent Colonel Forde into the Northern Circars, the coast province lying between Bengal and the Carnatic, to uproot French in-

fluence in that region ; but he himself was obliged to remain at Mir Jaffier's right hand. His position was soon regularised by his appointment as Governor of the Company's possessions in Bengal. While holding this office he repulsed an invasion attempted by Shah Alam, the son of the Mogul of Delhi, with a mixed force of military adventurers. He also defeated a Dutch armament which tried to force its way up the Hugli to Chinsura, the Dutch factory on that river. Chinsura was captured and deprived of its military defences. Thenceforward the English were supreme throughout the province. Clive was liberally rewarded by Mir Jaffier for his services. He returned to England in 1760.

While Clive was engaged in Bengal, decisive events were taking place in the Carnatic. On the outbreak of the war the French Government began preparations for an expedition intended to destroy the English power in Southern India. The commander appointed was the Comte de Lally, the son of an Irish gentleman who had fought for James II. and had passed the remainder of his days in exile after the ruin of the Stuart cause. Many circumstances combined to delay the expedition, which did not leave the shores of France until the summer of 1757. The passage to India occupied nearly twelve months more. It was not until April 28th, 1758, that Lally arrived off the English settlement of Fort St. David. His keen eye noted signs of confusion in the place, and he determined to lay siege to it immediately. Pushing on to Pondicherry, he disembarked on the same day, hurried ashore without listening to the address of welcome prepared by the Governor and Council, and ordered all the troops he could find to march at once on Fort St. David. Nothing was ready for a campaign ; there were no provisions, transport or supplies of money. But Lally's tempestuous energy overcame all obstacles, and Fort St. David, reckoned to be the strongest place in India, surrendered a month after his arrival.

Lally in the
Carnatic :
capture of
Fort St.
David, 1758.

Lally's early proceedings afford the keynote to his character and his ultimate downfall. He was a brave and active soldier, but he was utterly devoid of tact or political ability. He despised all natives of India, and made no attempt to understand their prejudices. He was convinced before ever he landed that the Company's servants at Pondicherry were a set of dishonest rogues, and his subsequent experience of them confirmed that impression. He was soon on such terms with them that they rejoiced openly when the English defeated him. He had made up his mind that Dupleix's policy of native alliances was a false one, and he determined that the English must be conquered by the force of French arms alone. To that end he recalled Bussy from the Deccan, and thus abandoned the only remaining fragment of the edifice which Dupleix had built up. A fiery leader in the storm of battle, and a strict disciplinarian, Lally might have made a great name in the wars of Europe. It was his misfortune that in sending him to India his Government imposed upon him a task for which his character and understanding were wholly unfitted.

The capture of Fort St. David was Lally's only success. Already he began to feel the lack of money and munitions of war, a lack which was intensified by the ill-will of the officials at Pondicherry. He was, however, still superior in numbers to the English, and he decided to besiege Madras at the end of 1758. Everything went badly with this undertaking from the very first, and Lally, by his angry recriminations, offended some of his best officers. At length the appearance of an English fleet rendered the siege hopeless, and he marched back to Pondicherry amid the open jeers of its inhabitants.

On receiving the news of Bussy's evacuation of the Deccan, Clive in Bengal had despatched Colonel Forde into the Northern Circars to conquer the French posts there. Forde defeated Confans, the French commander, at Masulipatam in 1759, and the Circars then fell under English

control. The Nizam of the Deccan read the signs of the times correctly, and hastened to side with the winning party. His adhesion to the English alliance deprived the French of all influence outside the bounds of the Carnatic.

In that province a decisive struggle was now approaching. Clive had been sending from Bengal such reinforcements as he could spare, and the English army was now under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, an officer who had fought at Plassey. Battle of
Wandewash,
1760.

In 1760 Lally attempted to take the offensive once more. His army encountered that of Coote at Wandewash, about equidistant from Pondicherry and Madras. There on a level plain the decisive battle was fought out. It was exceptional from the fact that native troops took little part on either side. Lally, exposing himself with reckless courage, was outmanœuvred by Coote. As a French historian remarks, he played the soldier too much and the general too little. Bussy, his ablest subordinate, was taken prisoner, and the French retreated in disorder to Pondicherry.

Coote methodically completed their destruction. He swept up their outlying garrisons, and then advanced relentlessly to the blockade of the famous stronghold. He attempted neither bombardment nor assault; he simply fortified his Surrender of
Pondicherry,
1761.

lines around the doomed town and sat down to await the inevitable result. The English fleet cruised off the coast and cut off all succour by sea. Lally's last days within the town were days of torment. He raved and abused, blaming everyone, good or bad, for his misfortunes. The Company's servants openly mocked and derided him, and refused point-blank to obey his orders. His evil genius, a Jesuit priest named Lavaur, to whom he confided his troubles, treacherously repeated his complaints to the persons concerned, and poisoned all minds against him. At length hunger and disunion did their work. On January 18th, 1761, Pondicherry surrendered, and Lally went as a prisoner to Madras.

The capture of Pondicherry was the last act in the Anglo-French struggle in India. The Treaty of Paris, two years later, restored to France the towns English she had held in 1749, including Pondicherry power established in India. and Chandernagore; but they were to remain unfortified and were to be used as trading-posts only. The events of the Seven Years' War, on the other hand, had left the English virtual rulers of the Carnatic, the Circars and Bengal. The undefended French towns were thus surrounded by English territory, and in subsequent wars they fell into our hands on very easy terms. The policy of Dupleix was for ever at an end, or perhaps it would be more true to say that henceforth it was adopted by the English, and continuously applied until it resulted in the subjugation of the whole Indian peninsula.

The men who served France in these wars were badly treated by their country. La Bourdonnais, the captor of Madras in 1746, passed many years in the Bastille on his return. Dupleix was sent home to France in disgrace, his fortune was to a large extent confiscated, and a lengthy lawsuit brought him no redress. He died poor and forgotten in 1763, having lived long enough to see his dream of an eastern empire cast away by his successors. For Lally was reserved a yet more unjust fate. Whatever his faults, he had at least been brave and honest, yet his enemies pursued him unceasingly with charges of treachery, alleging that he had sold Pondicherry to England. He was convicted of treason, and beheaded in 1766. England rewarded her great men in similar fashion. Clive was driven to suicide by the accusations of men who hated him only because he had put down their own dishonesty with a firm hand. Warren Hastings, his successor, was nearly ruined by *doctrinaire* politicians who placed their theories of government above the practical safeguarding of the empire which the men of action had won.

SUMMARY

1. India was not affected by the earlier wars of the eighteenth century.
2. Dupleix commenced a new era with his policy of gaining control of native states.
3. Both the French and the English Companies desired to continue a peaceful trade. Dupleix was unsupported from home.
4. A single disaster, that of Trichinopoly, was therefore sufficient to ensure his recall.
5. The English invaded and conquered Bengal against their own wishes, being compelled to do so by the misgovernment of the Nawab.
6. The French lost their hold upon India as the result of Lally's campaigns in the Carnatic. The decisive battle was that of Wandewash, won by Sir Eyre Coote.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1746. Capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais.
- 1748. Restoration of Madras by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1749-51. Successes of Dupleix in the Carnatic and the Deccan.
- 1751. Clive's defence of Arcot.
- 1752. French disaster at Trichinopoly.
- 1754. Recall of Dupleix.
- 1756. The Black Hole of Calcutta. Beginning of Seven Years' War.
- 1757. Battle of Plassey and conquest of Bengal.
- 1758. Lally invades the Carnatic.
- 1760. Battle of Wandewash.
- 1761. Fall of Pondicherry.
- 1763. Treaty of Paris.

CHAPTER III

THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE IN NORTH AMERICA

IN spite of the friendship between the Stuarts and Louis XIV. there was one part of the world in which French and English were fiercely at war before the Revolution of 1688. This was in Hudson's Bay, where the establishment by the English Company of a successful trade had greatly prejudiced the interests of the French in Canada. The forts on the shores of the Bay and those on the banks of the St. Lawrence were, it is true, separated by a wide tract of unsettled country. But the French had been in the habit of procuring furs from the Indian tribes to the north of Canada, and these tribes now found it more convenient to sell their wares to the English factors in the Hudson's Bay forts. Accordingly, the French were very indignant at the intrusion into what had hitherto been their monopoly. They refused to recognise the rights of the English Company, and laid claim to all lands, discovered or undiscovered, north of the St. Lawrence. From 1682 onwards French expeditions entered the Bay and seized some of the posts in it. Before the end of James II.'s reign they had taken seven ships and six factories belonging to the Company.

With the commencement of regular warfare against France in 1689, the struggle in Hudson's Bay was intensified. Severe fighting took place both by land and sea, and the general results were in favour of the French, who firmly established their position. While the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) was in process of negotiation, the important post known as Fort Nelson was captured by the French.

It was the most valuable trading station in the Bay, and the effect of the treaty was to leave it in French hands. In the other American possessions of the two countries, the war had produced no important effects.

The Hudson's Bay Company's hopes of regaining its lost ground were revived by the fresh outbreak of war in 1702. An attack on Fort Albany by a French force marching overland from Canada was beaten off with heavy loss, and the French found great difficulty in maintaining themselves in Fort Nelson and the other positions they had won. The reasons for the decline of the French in the Bay are to be looked for elsewhere. Their sea-power was being steadily extinguished by the growing supremacy of the English navy, and they found it more and more difficult to keep up communications with their distant colonies. The New Englanders also were taking an active share in the war. Their attacks upon Canada and Nova Scotia rendered it impossible to send French reinforcements to the North. The warfare between New England and Canada led to other important results. The New England frontiers suffered terribly from Indian raids instigated, and often led, by Canadians. In retaliation, expeditions were organised against the French colonies. In 1710 Port Royal in Nova Scotia fell into English hands, and the conquest of the province followed. In the next year a bold attempt to capture Quebec itself ended in failure. In Newfoundland also there had been confused fighting. Although all this American warfare produced no very decisive victories, the French defeats in Europe ensured substantial gains to England at the peace.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, France surrendered all claims to Hudson's Bay, which became thenceforward the private property of the English Company. She also resigned to England the island of Newfoundland, with the reservation of some fishing rights upon its coast; and the peninsula of Nova Scotia with a portion of the mainland adjoining.

War of the
Spanish
Succession.

English gains
by the Treaty
of Utrecht,
1713.

The boundary of this region was undetermined, and remained a fruitful source of future disputes.

The surrender of Nova Scotia had not involved that of Cape Breton Island, which adjoins it. At Louisbourg **Fighting in America, 1744-8.** on the eastern shore of this island the French proceeded to build a strong fortress which defended a good natural harbour. Louisbourg was of twofold value; it served as an outpost to Canada, defending the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and it was also a base from which naval attacks might be made upon Nova Scotia and New England. Therefore, when the War of the Austrian Succession afforded an opportunity, the New Englanders organised an expedition for its capture. In 1745 a force of colonial militia, 4,000 strong, appeared before the fortress, whose isolation was completed by an English fleet cruising off the coast. After a five weeks' siege the garrison surrendered, and the colonials returned home in triumph leaving the British flag flying over Louisbourg. They were bitterly disappointed when the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored their conquest to France in exchange for Madras.

The War of the Austrian Succession had arisen from purely European causes. Colonial disputes were not yet ripe for settlement, and therefore the war had no effect upon the positions of English and French in America. But no sooner had peace been signed than the American question began rapidly to develop. Ere long, an unofficial war broke out similar to that in India, and leading in process of time to the decisive contest known as the Seven Years' War.

It had long been realised by far-seeing men that British and French ambitions in North America were incompatible with one another, and that the claims of one nation must inevitably give way before those of its opponent. The reasons for this lay in the fact that the French claimed the whole basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries by right of discovery. They had already planted the colony of Louis-

French and British claims in conflict.

THE RIVAL NATIONS

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iana at its mouth, and their Canadian outposts on the great lakes extended to the neighbourhood of its head



FIG. 8.—THE FRANCO-BRITISH STRUGGLE FOR NORTH AMERICA.

waters and those of the Ohio. The English colonies on the other hand asserted their right to extend westwards right across the continent to the Pacific shore if need were. When the Austrian Succession War came to an

end their pioneers were already crossing the Alleghany Mountains and entering the valley of the Ohio. The Governor of Canada determined to expel the English from this region at any cost. Canada itself was sparsely populated, and had no surplus colonists to send into the Ohio basin. A military occupation was therefore decided upon in order to exclude the English until such time as Frenchmen should be found to take up the vacant lands. Fortified posts were established on the Mississippi and the Ohio. Of these, the nearest to the English border was Fort Duquesne on the latter river, soon destined to be the scene of sanguinary fighting. In dealing with the Indians the French had an advantage. They wished only to hunt and trade and purchase skins from the red men, while they were able to point out that the English settlers, in order to cultivate the land, invariably cut down the forests and drove away the game.

While events were thus presaging trouble in the West, determined efforts were being made to undermine British rule in Nova Scotia. The inhabitants were almost exclusively of French stock and, being Catholics, owed spiritual allegiance to the Bishop of Quebec. French agents and priests were unceasing in their efforts to stir up discontent. They were so far successful that by 1755 the country was in a state of revolt, and bloodshed was of daily occurrence. When a new war with France was seen to be inevitable, it was decided to deport *en masse* the disaffected population. Eight thousand Nova Scotians were distributed among the older colonies, and their places were taken by British settlers. The establishment of the town of Halifax dates from this period.

In the Ohio valley the aggressive claims of the French were not allowed to pass unchallenged. In 1753 and 1754 the colony of Virginia, urged on by its able Governor, Dinwiddie, despatched small forces into the disputed area. In each case they were driven back by superior numbers of French and

The Nova
Scotia
question.

Fighting on
the Ohio,
1753-4.

Indians. It was in command of these expeditions that George Washington gained his first experience of warfare.

The weak ministry which now governed England was at last awakened to the importance of the proceedings in America. Early in 1755 General Braddock ^{Braddock's} was despatched with two British regiments ^{defeat, 1755.} to Virginia. With these as a nucleus he hoped to raise a strong colonial force and drive the French from the Ohio. But with few exceptions the colonial leaders were narrow and selfish in their views. Each colony feared to be saddled with an unfair share of the expenses, and so great were their mutual jealousies that concerted action was impossible. Only in New England was there any strong military spirit, and New England was remote from the western theatre of war. At length, Braddock set out on his march from Virginia to the attack of Fort Duquesne. He had to traverse rugged hilly country and dense forests. The Indians were almost all in sympathy with the French. By their means Braddock's approach was observed, and his force fell into an ambush within a few miles of its destination. The fight that ensued resembled some of those between British and Boers in South Africa. Braddock's regulars advanced in the close, well-disciplined array, which was the only method of fighting known to them. The French woodsmen and their Indian allies remained scattered and invisible behind trees and ridges. From all sides they poured in a destructive rifle fire to which the volleys of the regulars, who saw no solid target to aim at, were an ineffective reply. Braddock himself, three-fourths of his officers, and more than half of his men, were struck down before the survivors quitted the field. The disorganised fugitives streaming back to Virginia were but the precursors of a savage horde of Indians who fell upon the thinly populated frontier districts, and committed horrible atrocities upon the defenceless settlers.

Before entering upon a description of the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, which may be said to have opened

with this fatal day at Fort Duquesne, it will be convenient to survey the positions of the opposing nations and their resources for the contest. The French hold settlements upon Canada depended upon the maintenance of a strong series of fortresses stretching from Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, to Quebec at the point where the estuary narrows to a river, Montreal 150 miles higher up than Quebec, Fort Frontenac where the river flows out of Lake Ontario, Fort Niagara commanding the isthmus between Lakes Ontario and Erie, and finally Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, which formed the extreme right of the French line. From Lake Ontario to the sea, the Canadian frontier marched with those of New York and New England. Between the settled regions on either side was a wooded watershed inhabited by the Five Nations. Through this difficult country there was one passage to the neighbourhood of Montreal practicable for armies. It was formed by the long and narrow Lake Champlain, from whose northern end flowed the Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence. A similar waterway to Lake Ontario was provided by the Mohawk River, a tributary of the Hudson. This led to Fort Oswego, the sole English station on the lakes. The approach to Canada by Lake Champlain was defended by the French fort of Ticonderoga. Near the southern end of the lake were the English Forts Edward and William Henry, intended to stop an invasion of New York by the same route.

In military force the French were everywhere superior at the opening of the struggle. Every Canadian hunter prided himself on being a more efficient fighter than the regular soldiers, and of the latter large reinforcements had arrived from France at the time of Braddock's defeat. The absolute authority exercised by the Governor of Canada was also more suited to successful warfare than the divided counsels of the rival English states. But two factors were destined to tell terribly against the French. When the war had once been declared, the superiority of the British fleets interrupted

communications with France and prevented the sending of reinforcements; and in population the British colonies immeasurably outweighed the French. It was reckoned that there were at this period more than 1,000,000 British and less than 80,000 French in North America. Even if the French had gained the most decisive military successes this fact alone renders it improbable that they would have permanently conquered the British colonies.

The war itself may be divided into two periods: first, that from 1755 to 1757, in which the English were uniformly unsuccessful; and second, that from 1758 to 1760, in which they were victorious in all quarters. The change from defeat to victory was simultaneous with the transference of the control of the war from the Duke of Newcastle to William Pitt.

Early in 1756 Lord Loudon was despatched to New York as commander-in-chief, and at the same time the Marquis de Montcalm sailed for Canada in a similar capacity. Loudon was a timid and unenterprising general; during the two years in which he held his command Montcalm was able to outwit him at all points. The campaign of 1756 opened with the terrible onslaughts upon the middle and southern colonies which have already been described. Then Montcalm, immediately upon his arrival, attacked and took Oswego, the English fort on the shore of Lake Ontario. Loudon contented himself with preparations for an advance on Canada by the Lake Champlain route. Next year he abandoned this plan, and undertook instead the capture of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. He conveyed all his available troops by sea to Halifax, the new naval base in Nova Scotia. At that place valuable time was wasted in uncertainty while attempts were being made to ascertain the strength of Louisbourg. Then at length news came which convinced Loudon that the place was too strong to be attacked. A council of war agreed with him, and the whole expedition sailed back to New York without striking a blow. Montcalm had taken advantage of his

absence from the Canada–New York frontier to capture Fort William Henry, and so to lay open the valley of the Hudson and New York itself to attack. A number of the unfortunate defenders of Fort William Henry were massacred by Montcalm's Indians after they had surrendered.

During this season of misfortune and mismanagement a change was taking place in England destined to alter the whole aspect of the war. On June 29th, 1757, William Pitt was made Secretary of State, and assumed practical control of all the nation's affairs. He had been in office for a few months earlier in the year, but had been dismissed owing to the dislike of the King and the parliamentary influence of the Duke of Newcastle. But the nation was resolved that Pitt should be called to the head of affairs; it was fascinated by his honest and fearless character, and believed him implicitly when he said: "I know that I can save the country, and I know no other man can." George II. was convinced against his will, and Newcastle, recognising his own weakness, consented to an arrangement by which he should retain the management of parliament and the distribution of patronage, while his gifted rival controlled foreign policy and the war. As a contemporary observer remarked: "Mr Pitt does everything, and the Duke gives everything. So long as they agree in this partition they may do as they please." The joint ministry in fact endured for four years, until the crisis of the war had passed.

Pitt took office too late to influence the campaign of 1757, but he determined that things should be differently managed in the following year. He cast about for capable leaders, and when he found them he appointed them to commands without the least reference to wealth, seniority or political influence. When he judged a man worthy of confidence he trusted him entirely, and such a man was doubly strengthened by the knowledge that the minister would back him to the utmost of his power. Some of his new commanders were colonials of proved ability; two

were sent out from England—Amherst, who had been serving in Germany, and Wolfe, who had fought at Dettingen at the age of sixteen, had commanded a regiment at twenty-two, and was now at thirty to enter upon the two brilliant years which concluded his career.

Three main operations were planned for 1758. Amherst and Wolfe were to take Louisbourg; Abercrombie, who had served under Loudon, was to clear Lake Champlain of the French and advance upon Montreal; and Forbes was to lead yet another army out of Virginia to the assault of Fort Duquesne. Of these undertakings the first and the last were successful. Amherst and Wolfe, supported by Boscawen's fleet, triumphed over all difficulties, and took Louisbourg. The stronghold was much more formidable than it had been in 1745, and when it yielded 240 guns and nearly 6,000 men fell into English hands. Its fall opened the way for the advance of a fleet up the St. Lawrence and an attack upon Quebec by sea and land.

In the centre, Abercrombie's move was a disastrous failure. With a great force of regulars and colonists, conveyed in a thousand boats, he advanced up Lake Champlain. Montcalm in person awaited him at Ticonderoga. He had constructed an entrenchment and a stockade of logs on rising ground, the approach being guarded by an entanglement of pointed stakes and branches of trees. Abercrombie had no need to assault this position, for he was quite able to bombard or starve out the French. But he disembarked and attacked without even waiting for his guns. He sustained a bloody repulse. No valour could penetrate the intricate man-traps and entanglements; and after some of his regiments had lost half their numbers Abercrombie withdrew to the southern end of the lake, and the invasion of Canada was abandoned for that year. He was superseded by Amherst after the fall of Louisbourg.

On the Ohio, Brigadier Forbes at last succeeded where Braddock and Washington had failed. After making

careful preparations he advanced over the forest-clad hills late in the year. The woods seemed full of enemies, and his advanced guard was repulsed as Braddock had been. But he pushed resolutely on without listening to timid counsels of retreat. The end was unexpectedly easy, for when at length the English arrived before the famous stronghold they found it a burnt and deserted ruin.¹ The French had abandoned the Ohio and retired to Canada.

The outposts of the French at either extremity of their long line had now fallen. It remained to strike the final blow at the heart of their colony, the basin of the St. Lawrence and the cities of Quebec and Montreal. In 1759, as in the previous year, the attack was to fall on three separate points. Wolfe, with a fleet and army from England, was to sail up the St. Lawrence and besiege Quebec; Amherst, taking Abercrombie's place, was to advance on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu; and a third force was to take Fort Niagara and so cut off the enemy from the western lakes.

Wolfe arrived at Quebec in June, and realised that the French boasts of its impregnability were well founded. The city stood on a high promontory on the north bank of the river. On either side the shore was precipitous for several miles; and Montcalm, besides the garrison of the city, had a field army entrenched for six miles along the river bank, its flank guarded by the tributary Montmorency. For several weeks Wolfe wrestled with the toughest problem that ever confronted a British general. He established batteries on the southern bank, and bombarded the city. He was repulsed in a desperate attempt to storm the earthworks at the mouth of the Montmorency. Finally he resolved to attempt an escalade by night of the Heights of Abraham, the cliffs on the west of the town. Marching part of his army several miles up the southern bank, he contrived to puzzle Montcalm as to his intentions. Then, embarking in a flotilla of boats, he dropped

¹It was re-named Pittsburg.

down stream in the dead of night, scaled a narrow path from the shore to the heights, and stood with his army on the following morning on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm, hearing the news, gallantly led out the garrison to repel the invaders. The struggle was short and decisive. Two terrible volleys and a bayonet charge drove the French headlong into the city, both generals falling mortally wounded as they led on their men. Four days later Quebec surrendered, and the French field army outside the walls, abandoning their entrenchments, retreated to Montreal.

While the capital of Canada was falling, a small British force took Fort Niagara, and Amherst made slow and painful progress towards Montreal. He was un-

able to reach it, however, before the approach of winter put an end to the campaign of 1759.

Last
struggles of
the French.

Montreal was now the last surviving stronghold of Canada, and all the remnants of the French armies were concentrated there. Its commander found that his troops greatly outnumbered the defenders of Quebec, and he made an attempt to recapture that town before the break-up of the ice should permit reinforcements to arrive from England. Advancing along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, the French defeated Murray, the commander of Quebec, and began the siege. A time of suspense followed. The ice broke up at the beginning of May. All now depended on the nationality of the ships which should first come up the river. The approaching fleet proved to be British, and Quebec was saved. If a French squadron had arrived first the city would undoubtedly have been lost.

The last act of the great drama was now played. From three sides—from Quebec, from Lake Champlain and from Lake Ontario—converging armies closed in upon Montreal. De Vaudreuil, the Governor, had only his regular troops left, for the militia and the Indians had dispersed, realising that the game was up. Resistance being useless, a capitulation was signed on September 8th, 1760, by which the French flag disappeared from Canada. The whole of the French

Completion
of the con-
quest, 1760.

territories in North America, with the exception of Louisiana, passed to Great Britain. Louisiana itself was transferred to Spain after the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

SUMMARY AND DATES

1. The operations of the Hudson's Bay Company excited the enmity of the French before 1688. For a time the posts in the Bay were in danger, but the attack was ultimately repulsed.

2. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) confirmed England in the possession of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

3. The French determined to link up Canada and Louisiana by a chain of military posts on the Ohio and Mississippi, thus excluding the English colonies from expansion to the west.

4. Fighting began in the Ohio region and on the Nova Scotian border. It became general after Braddock's defeat in 1755.

5. The campaigns of 1756 and 1757 were unfavourable to England.

6. The accession of Pitt to power changed the face of affairs and inaugurated a period of English success.

7. Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne fell in 1758, Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760. The English conquests were confirmed by the Treaty of Paris, 1763.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1763-83 THE BOURBON REVENGE, 1778-83

THE victorious ending of the Seven Years' War seemed to have ensured for all time the incorporation of the whole of North America in the British Empire. Yet ^{The twenty} within twenty years of the signing of the ^{years after} Peace of Paris the oldest and richest part of ^{1763.}

this great dominion was irrevocably severed from its allegiance, and became an independent nation under the name of the United States of America. The causes of this unlooked-for sequel to the Anglo-Saxon conquest of the continent have now to be examined. They lay partly in Europe and partly in America and may be grouped under three heads: (1) The latent spirit of disaffection always from their foundation existent in the New England colonies, and the irritation in all the colonies inspired by the working of the Mercantile System. (2) The new era in English government and politics introduced with the accession of George III. in 1760, and due to his personal influence. (3) The secret determination of France and Spain to be revenged for their humiliations in the Seven Years' War.

Turning to the first of these causes, it will be remembered that the New England colonies had been founded by men who, for the most part, had no desire to leave ^{The New} the mother country, and who laboured under ^{England} a sense of grievance in having been driven ^{spirit.} forth by religious persecution. They had created new homes across the Atlantic at the cost of great suffering and hardship, and they bequeathed to their descendants

a narrow, intolerant and pugnacious spirit which prepared them to resist stubbornly any interference with the rights of full self-government which they considered to be their due. Once already they had been ripe for revolt in the time of James II., and it was the timely expulsion of that monarch from the English throne which in all probability postponed the War of Independence for nearly a century. From that date until the accession of George III. New England was left to manage its own affairs, and the British Government was content with a lax enforcement of the trading laws which upheld the Mercantile System.

These laws—the famous Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century—still remained theoretically in full force; but in practice the customs officials winked at their infraction, and a huge volume of illicit trade sprang up between the American colonies and the West Indies, and even with European countries. The existence of this trade provided material for an acute quarrel whenever the home government should elect to enforce the laws more strictly.

The Middle and Southern Colonies had no historical grievance against Great Britain. They were prosperous and, unlike New England, easy-going in matters of religion. But if they had no hostile feeling to the mother country, they had also no strong sense of gratitude or enthusiasm in her behalf. The governors she had sent to them had been sometimes good, more often indifferent, and some had been corrupt and tyrannical in the extreme. Yet it may safely be asserted that these colonies would never of their own initiative have revolted without the vigorous leadership of Massachusetts and her neighbours.

The events of the Seven Years' War itself had altered profoundly the position of the colonies, and had removed a menace which had hitherto given pause to dreams of separation amongst even the most advanced democrats of New England. So long as the military power of France had hovered restless

and ambitious on their northern and western frontiers the colonies could not hope to stand alone. That power was formidable enough, and to contemporary observers had seemed much more so than it really was. Now it had disappeared, and with it the chief obstacle to an independent Anglo-Saxon America had been removed.

The colonists themselves had shared in the triumph. They had fought side by side with British regulars, and their experiences had not been such as to strengthen altogether their respect for British power. They had seen much bad generalship and incompetence in the earlier stages of the struggle, and they realised that the disciplined European soldier was not at his best in primitive unsettled regions devoid of roads for the transport of his guns and stores. Braddock's disaster had been an object-lesson in the powers of the irregular rifleman when opposed to the close formations and cumbrous manœuvres of the time. Thus, while giving vent to superficial cordiality and fraternal rejoicings in victory, the American fighting man acquired an increased confidence in his prospects of success if ever he should be pitted against his kinsmen from home. The population of the colonies in the opening years of George III.'s reign was from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 millions, or a little less than a quarter of that of the mother country.

Such being the position of affairs in America, it is evident that a time had come when wise guidance was needed at the head of the British Government if the great empire was to be consolidated which Pitt's genius for victory had won. Yet the occasion found the man lacking, and the years succeeding the conquest saw British statesmanship at its worst. George III. mounted the throne in the autumn of 1760 as a young man with a fixed determination to "Be King" in fact as well as in name. He was of a type which has often met with disaster when seated on a throne, of obstinate will and feeble understanding, incapable of ruling yet resolute not to be ruled. He saw in such a minister as

British and
Colonial
methods of
fighting.

George III.
and British
politics.

Pitt a natural enemy, and made it his first business to supplant him by the Marquis of Bute, a creature of his own. The King and Bute then made haste to conclude the war, Pitt's war, which they knew themselves to be incapable of conducting successfully. The easy terms granted to the Bourbon powers in the Treaty of Paris, and the numerous restorations of conquered territory, evoked a storm of disapproval from the nation. Bute lacked courage to face unpopularity, and disappeared from political life, leaving the King to pursue his plans alone.

George III. found the task of gathering the reins of power into his own hands a formidable one. For fifty years England had been governed by the great Whig party, whose leaders had absorbed all patronage and control of Parliament, while the first two Hanoverian sovereigns had taken little interest in the internal affairs of the nation. The Whigs, owing to long success, had now grown factious and disunited, and George, taught by the failure of his first experiment with a minister of his own choosing, began systematically to widen the rifts amongst them while at the same time building up a "King's Party" subservient to his own will. During the first ten years of the reign no less than six ministries were appointed and dismissed by the King. The Whig leaders were in turn discredited and deposed until in 1770 a "King's Minister," Lord North, was once more in power, backed this time by the parliamentary support which Bute had lacked. In such circumstances colonial affairs received less attention than they deserved. Successive ministers, absorbed in the struggle to maintain their positions, adopted measures irritating to the colonists, and were swept away without a chance of remedying their mistakes. In a word, there was no continuity of policy, and a great crisis sprang up before the country realised that trouble existed.

The first breach with America arose from the need for new taxation to meet the debt left over from the Seven Years' War. On the fall of Bute in 1763, George Gren-

ville took the lead of a Whig administration, acting at the same time as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Arguing that the late war had been waged partly in the interests of the American colonists, he came to the conclusion that they ought to bear a share of the increased taxation it had rendered necessary. He therefore gave notice of his intention to impose a tax on certain legal documents and transactions in the colonies by enforcing the use of official paper bearing stamps of varying values. At the same time he reinforced the customs officials, and instructed them to put the Navigation Acts into strict operation to the suppression of the illicit colonial trade which has already been described. The colonists, having warning of the intended tax, were vigorous in their protests, and some of their spokesmen took up the position that the Home Government had no legal right to impose taxes in the colonies, other than the customs dues at the ports. The question was one upon which lawyers differed, but the fact remains that such an attempt had never been made before. Grenville, however, disregarded all protests. He shared some of the narrow-minded obstinacy of his sovereign, and was determined to carry out his scheme without regard to the indignation it aroused. The Stamp Act was passed in March, 1765, by an almost unanimous vote in the House of Commons.

Grenville:
the Stamp
Act, 1765.

It remained practically a dead letter in the colonies. In New England, Pennsylvania and New York riots took place, in face of which the officials were powerless. Nine of the thirteen colonies sent a formal protest to Parliament. The Assembly of Virginia declared the whole principle of taxation by the British Government to be legally invalid. Meanwhile the political struggle at home engrossed the entire attention of English statesmen with few exceptions. Prominent among the latter were Pitt and Edmund Burke, who sided with the colonists. But both were out of office and their warnings obtained no hearing.

Resistance to
the Stamp
Act.

Affairs remained at this stage when Grenville resigned owing to lack of support from the King. His place was taken by the Marquis of Rockingham, who was more inclined to conciliation. **Rockingham:** **Repeal of the Stamp Act,** his secretary, and was thus more able to make his influence felt. The Stamp Act was therefore repealed in 1766 after a great speech by Pitt in favour of the colonists. Although the obnoxious tax was cancelled, the Government nevertheless passed a Declaratory Act asserting their right to impose taxes in the colonies. Benjamin Franklin, the colonial agent in England, was examined before Parliament, and gave it as his view that such taxes were illegal. The conflict of principle was thus left undetermined, and it was impossible to return to the old state of feeling before the passing of the fatal Act. The whole incident had led both parties to a formulation of views only vaguely entertained before, and had thus placed them in positions from which it was difficult to withdraw. Shortly after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the King dismissed the Rockingham ministry, which had held office for little more than a year.

Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was the nominal head of the new administration. But he was no longer the man **Pitt, now Earl of Chatham.** he had been. Chronic illness was sapping his physical and mental powers, and his acceptance of a title alienated many of his former admirers in the country, by whom he had been revered as "the Great Commoner." His disease increased after his return to power, and during the whole period of his nominal Premiership he was so incapacitated that he was unable to transact business, and his colleagues followed their own courses without consulting him. The practical control of the Government fell first to Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a friend of Grenville's; and after his death to Lord North, whom the King introduced into the ministry in his stead.

In 1767 Townshend passed the American Import Duties Bill imposing increased dues upon tea and certain manu-

factured goods entering the colonies. Such a measure was in direct conflict with the views of Chatham, who had said, with reference to the Stamp Act, "In my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies . . . I rejoice that America has resisted." Massachusetts again headed the resistance of New England, and violent scenes were enacted in many of the seaports. Chatham, on temporarily recovering his health, strongly disapproved of what had been done in his name, and resigned, leaving the administration to be carried on by Grafton and North.

Grafton was willing to forgo the new taxes, but his colleague insisted on the retention of the tea duty. Grafton resigned in 1770, and Lord North then entered upon a term of office as Premier which was to endure for the next twelve years. It is at this point that George III.'s personal responsibility for our colonial policy becomes more strongly marked. Lord North was essentially the King's Minister, the product of the years of intrigue which had succeeded the fall of Bute. His policy was the King's policy, and he held office only on condition of rendering full obedience to his sovereign, for he relied for parliamentary support upon the party known as the "King's Friends" whose votes were bought by the distribution of royal patronage. From now onwards, therefore, George III. took charge of the American dispute. His failure may be summed up by saying that, while he determined on repression rather than conciliation, he took no steps to see that a proper armed force was on the spot to cope with the resistance his measures produced.

During these years of political confusion in England the spirit of the colonies had become more and more hostile. In 1763 the idea of separation had been entertained by only a few irresponsible dreamers. Now it was promoted, especially in Massachusetts, by an energetic body of practical politicians, bent upon exploiting every mistake

Lord North
and the King's
personal rule.

Spread of
desire for
separation in
the colonies.

of the Government to the increase of bitterness and bad feeling. Petty incidents multiplied from year to year which a little generosity and genuine desire for reconciliation would have rendered unimportant, but which, handled as they were, served only to raise the temper of the colonists to boiling point.

The climax followed upon an alteration of the trade laws which was by no means prejudicial to America. The East India Company was permitted to send tea direct to the colonies without paying duty in England. Such tea could consequently be sold at a lower price on reaching its destination. With strange wrongheadedness this was proclaimed as a fresh grievance. At no colonial port were the tea ships allowed to land their cargoes. At Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, the agitation went further. On December 16th, 1773, a mob, with the connivance of the chief men of the town, disguised themselves as Indians, boarded the ships, and threw the whole of the cargoes into the water.

When news of the outrage reached England the King's Government decided that the time for strong measures had arrived. Lord North introduced four Bills into Parliament, subsequently known as the "Intolerable Acts," 1774. The first declared the port of Boston to be closed to traffic, and removed its custom house to Salem. The second annulled the constitution of Massachusetts, depriving that colony of its rights of self-government. The third, the Transportation Act, laid down that British officers accused of murder might be transported to England for trial. This was intended to strengthen the hands of the military in dealing with mobs. The last, the Quebec Act, gave freedom of worship to Roman Catholics in Canada. Its significance lay in the fact that it offended the religious prejudices of New England and ensured the loyalty of the French Canadians in the struggle which was now inevitable. Although they could as yet have no great love for England,

they had more to fear from the dominance of their narrow-minded neighbours.

There is no doubt that the English nation as a whole approved these measures. Public opinion was densely ignorant as to the real state of affairs in Chatham's America, and Chatham's was almost the only protest. voice raised in protest. He advised that the four Acts should be repealed and a representative assembly convoked in the colonies to discuss the question of taxation. But all chance of conciliation was now at an end, and his appeal was disregarded. It may be doubted whether his proposals would not have been too late even had they been adopted.

In the meanwhile all the important colonies took up the cause of Massachusetts. Measures were concerted for common resistance, and the first American Congress met at Philadelphia in 1774. Georgia was the only colony which sent no delegates. The Congress sent an address to the King, embodying the old claim of self-taxation and condemning the treatment of Massachusetts. Although it ended with a profession of loyalty it showed unmistakably that the colonists did not intend to give way. Moderate members like Washington still hoped for a peaceful solution, but Massachusetts was determined on war. The militia was called out, and arms and ammunition were collected.

When the crisis was becoming acute four British regiments had been sent to Boston under General Gage, and the first serious fighting accordingly took place between these troops and the inhabitants of Massachusetts. In April, 1775, Gage dispatched part of his forces to destroy some military stores which the colonists were collecting at Concord. Although they accomplished their object, the British suffered heavy loss in engagements with the American militia both going from and returning to Boston. This opening conflict of the war is known as the Battle of Lexington. Thenceforward the British were not strong enough to venture

out of Boston, and contented themselves with holding that port in expectation of reinforcements.

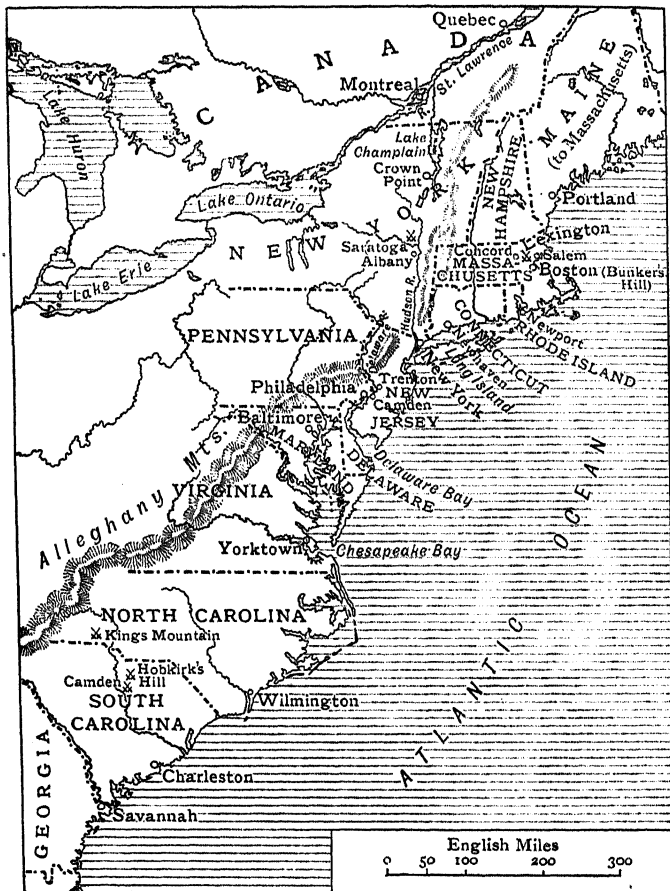


FIG. 9.—THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Everything now depended upon the speed with which the opposing nations could bring new forces into the field

of action. New England was in complete revolt, and British rule in this region was entirely at an end except at Boston, still held by Gage's nucleus of regular troops. The Middle Colonies were so far inactive; New York at least contained a majority of loyalists ready to support the British forces when they should arrive. The Southern Colonies, with the exception of Georgia, were everywhere preparing for rebellion. Virginia took the lead in raising troops, and Lord Dunmore, the last British Governor, was obliged to abandon the colony in the course of the summer. Generally speaking, it may be said that the loyalists, although everywhere numerous, were unwilling to act, while the revolutionaries, although often in a minority, were extremely energetic, and so were able to carry with them the vast mass of the waverers and indifferent. The same phenomena have been observed in most of the great revolutions in History.

While the opening military moves of the struggle were taking place a second American Congress assembled at Philadelphia. It rejected some belated proposals of conciliation despatched by Lord North, and sent a statement to the King, since called the Olive Branch Petition, offering in effect to return to the position of affairs in 1763. This, coming from subjects already in open rebellion, was naturally rejected. George III. was determined to be satisfied with nothing less than complete submission. While carrying on this hollow negotiation, Congress took steps to organise the various colonial militias into a national army. George Washington of Virginia was selected as its commander-in-chief, both on account of his character and military record and because his influence was likely to bring the Southern Colonies into line with the more forward elements in New England. Washington's acceptance of the command marked the conviction of the more responsible leaders that fighting was now the only course. He and his friends had been unwilling to take up arms so long as a chance remained of a peaceful settlement.

Second Congress, 1775:
George Washington.

As late as 1774 he had disclaimed all desire for separation both on his own behalf and on that of "all thinking men in North America." The die was now irrevocably cast.

The deliberations of Congress did not cause any slackening in the active policy of the New England leaders. **Bunker's Hill**, The news of the fight at Lexington caused 1775. large numbers of recruits to join the state militias, and a force was soon collected with which it was thought feasible to begin operations against Boston. Sir William Howe arrived in that port in May with reinforcements bringing the British strength up to 10,000 men. The town itself stood on a peninsula, the isthmus of which was well guarded by the garrison. But it was partially overlooked by Bunker's Hill, an eminence occupying another peninsula to the north. The American leaders sent a force to seize this hill, from which they would have been able to cause considerable annoyance to the town. Howe shipped about a quarter of his garrison across the bay to drive the enemy off the hill, and the first stand-up fight of the war ensued. Two British attacks were driven off with heavy loss. The third was more successful. The Americans were running short of ammunition, and were forced to withdraw. They retreated to the mainland in good order, having inflicted greater losses than they had themselves suffered. The British remained masters of the position, but the moral victory lay with their foes, who had shown much greater fighting power than had been anticipated.

Another American venture of the latter part of 1775 ended in complete failure. Soon after Lexington a small American colonial force had been able to surprise the invasion of forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Canada, 1775. Lake Champlain. The military importance of the route from New York to Canada formed by the Hudson Valley, Lake Champlain, and the River Richelieu has already been explained in a previous chapter. Having secured the forts upon the lake the Americans decided to use them as the starting-point for an invasion of Canada,

in the hope of overwhelming the small local forces in that colony.

The main body started from Ticonderoga under General Montgomery, a former British officer who had now taken the American side. A smaller force under General Arnold of New York advanced at the same time by a forest track to co-operate with Montgomery. General Carleton, the British Governor of Canada, took active steps to meet the invasion. He evacuated Montreal and concentrated his troops at Quebec, a town which the English knew by hard experience was a difficult one to attack. The American armies arrived before Quebec much reduced by sickness and desertion, and by the necessity of leaving detachments behind to guard their communications. An attack was nevertheless made, and was completely beaten off. Montgomery was killed. Arnold hovered in the neighbourhood until the following summer, when he withdrew on the arrival of a British fleet in the St. Lawrence. This failure decided the fate of Canada. Thenceforward the Americans had no hope of detaching it from the Empire.

Canada pre-
served to the
Empire.

During the winter of 1775-6, Washington was hard at work organising his army. In the spring of the latter year he was able to advance to the attack of Boston. He pressed it so vigorously that Howe was obliged to evacuate the town, and withdrew his army on board a British fleet to Halifax. Howe's chief hope was now to secure New York and the Middle Colonies, where feeling was more favourable to England. In August the fleet transported him from Halifax to the new scene of operations, whither Washington had gone to await him. After severe fighting the American army was driven out of Long Island, which covered the approach to New York from the sea. A month later the British crossed to the mainland and occupied the city. Howe's success did not take him much further. He expelled Washington's forces from the neighbourhood of New York, but failed to capture

The British
evacuate
Boston and
capture New
York, 1776.

Philadelphia or clear the State of New Jersey, which with more energy he might possibly have accomplished.

During the summer of 1776 a third Congress sat at Philadelphia. It took a long delayed step which the course of events had now rendered inevitable.

**Third
Congress:
Declaration
of Independ-
ence, 1776.**

On July 4 it issued the Declaration of Independence, by which the thirteen colonies formally threw off their allegiance and became the United States of America. By so doing they renounced all chance of a peaceable settlement with the mother country, but secured the advantage of being able to negotiate alliances as a sovereign power. This soon became of practical importance. France, with a reconstructed navy and a more efficient administration, had already a watchful eye on the events in America, and in conjunction with Spain, the other Bourbon power, was certain to lose no opportunity of taking vengeance for the losses of the Seven Years' War. French and American diplomatists were ere long conferring on plans for joint action against Great Britain.

During the winter of 1776-7 Washington was hard put to it to keep his dispirited army together. He suffered from shortage of all military necessities, but his courage and patience triumphed over difficulties to which a meaner general would have succumbed. No important movements took place in 1777 until the summer was far advanced. At length in August, Howe took the offensive, defeated Washington in a pitched battle on the Brandywine River, and took Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania.

While Howe was thus consolidating his hold on the Middle Colonies, a far-reaching plan was put into operation which, if it had succeeded, would have led to the suppression of the revolt before the Bourbon powers could intervene. General Burgoyne arrived with a strong British force in Canada. Thence, undeterred by the failure of the corresponding American attempt two years before, he set out to traverse the difficult

Lake Champlain and Hudson route, with the intention of isolating New England from Washington's aid, and so conquering in detail the most energetic of the disaffected states.

The passage of Lake Champlain was successfully effected. Ticonderoga was captured and the retreating Americans severely handled. Then the land march down the Valley of the Hudson was commenced. It brought nothing but disaster. The irregular American riflemen harassed the advance and cut off the flanking parties thrown out from the main body. Many of Burgoyne's troops were Hessian mercenaries, ignorant of the country and the language. They made an easy mark for men who knew every inch of the woods and could gain information from the inhabitants. Burgoyne struggled on until his communications were cut behind him and famine stared him in the face. A force which should have advanced from the south to support him failed to appear. At length he was obliged to surrender his whole army at Saratoga on October 16, 1777. His overthrow was largely due to the rapidity with which American armies seemed to grow out of nothing. At the outset his force appeared amply sufficient. But the news of his approach caused every able-bodied New Englander to leave his homestead and join the colours. When he surrendered it was to an army which many times out-numbered his own.

**Burgoyne's
surrender at
Saratoga,
1777.**

The Saratoga disaster was a serious one to Great Britain, but in a strictly military sense it was not irretrievable. Its paramount importance lay in its political results. Since the beginning of the revolt France had been giving sympathy and secret aid to the colonists, and was now contemplating an open alliance. The news of Burgoyne's surrender was decisive. It became known in Europe before the end of the year, and in February, 1778, the alliance was signed by which France became a party to the war. Spain had good reasons for following the French

**The Bourbon
Powers support
America:
beginning of
the Maritime
War, 1778-9.**

lead, but hesitated to give open support to rebellious colonists for fear of the moral effects of their success in the vast Spanish dominions of Central and South America. At length these scruples were overcome, and the second Bourbon power joined the coalition against England in 1779. From the fact that no fighting took place on the mainland of Europe the struggle is known as the Maritime War. It proceeded in all parts of the globe concurrently with the War of Independence, and its events deprived Great Britain of all chance of subduing the colonies. To that extent the Bourbon revenge was successful. In practically all other respects it failed, and Britain emerged from the struggle relatively stronger than before.

The Franco-American alliance was soon in active operation. The Marquis de Lafayette took command of a French land force which co-operated with Washington, and a French fleet under the Comte d'Estaing sailed early in 1778 for the American coast. At the same time Sir William Howe was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton as the English commander-in-chief in the colonies. Clinton evacuated Philadelphia and retired to New York, which he made his headquarters during the remainder of the war. His policy was now to consolidate his position in the Middle Colonies and to strain every effort to restore British power in the south. No further serious attempts were made to reduce New England. In the South, particularly in Georgia, the loyalists were numerous, and for a time it seemed as if the revolt in that region might be suppressed. In 1778 the British took Savannah, the capital of Georgia, and held it against a determined attempt at its recapture. In the following year active operations were carried on by small detachments without decisive result, but in 1780 Clinton scored another great success by the capture of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. He then returned to New York leaving Lord Cornwallis, his best subordinate, in command.

French forces
arrive: Sir
Henry Clin-
ton's policy.

Lord Cornwallis carried on two hard-fought campaigns in the Carolinas in 1780 and 1781. Severe actions were fought against Lafayette and the American generals, and on the whole the English made good progress. Cornwallis faced great difficulties. His enemies when defeated scattered only to reform anew; and all points gained had to be held with garrisons from his field army, which was thus weakened by its own successes. Yet he was slowly but surely wearing down resistance. The American troops lost heart, became mutinous, and deserted, and Congress was hard pressed for money with which to pay and supply them.

The turning point came with unlooked-for suddenness. In the summer of 1781 Cornwallis marched northwards into Virginia to meet reinforcements which Clinton was despatching from New York. He entrenched himself in a strong position at Yorktown between two estuaries opening into Chesapeake Bay. Washington saw his opportunity for a brilliant combination of the land and sea power of America and France, a combination which had never hitherto proved effective in this war. Concentrating all his available troops against the Yorktown position, he sent a despatch to the French admiral in the West Indies begging him to lead his fleet instantly to the blockade of the English by sea.

The Comte de Grasse, the French admiral, loyally complied. He sailed secretly and in full strength to the Chesapeake, taking with him a military force drawn from the French West Indies. Washington also had skilfully concealed his movements so that the English might be left in doubt whether New York or Yorktown was the intended point of attack. The plan succeeded admirably. Sir Henry Clinton, fearing for New York, dared not support Cornwallis. De Grasse anchored in Chesapeake Bay, and the British garrison was besieged by land and sea. All now depended on the maintenance of the blockade. An inferior British fleet under Admiral Graves attacked De Grasse, was beaten off, and

retired to New York to refit. Cornwallis fought hard to break out by land, but his troops were outnumbered and suffering from want. An attack by the French and Americans destroyed his outlying defences, four hundred guns swept his camp, and he surrendered his whole army on October 19th, 1781, after a most gallant and honourable defence.

The surrender of Yorktown was the virtual end of the colonial war. All that had been gained in the south was irrecoverably lost, and England had no resources for beginning the struggle afresh. And this decisive result affords an object-lesson in the importance of sea-power to the world-wide British Empire, for it could not have been attained without the intervention of the powerful French fleet. On this point a great American historian is emphatic. He says: "The alliance with France, and subsequently with Spain, brought to the Americans that which they above all needed—a sea-power to counterbalance that of England. Will it be too much for American pride to admit that, had France refused to contest the control of the sea with England, the latter would have been able to reduce the Atlantic seaboard? Let us not kick down the ladder by which we mounted, nor refuse to acknowledge what our fathers felt in their hour of trial."

The course of the Maritime War in other parts of the world was more comforting to Great Britain, although the combined fleets of France and Spain were superior in numbers to our own. Nor were they so deficient in equipment and training as they had been in the Seven Years' War. France in particular had taken to heart the lessons of that struggle. Her navy now contained ships of first-class design, manned by well-drilled crews and commanded by capable officers. Yet, although they did much better than ever before, the French were still at heart afraid of the formidable fighting powers of the British seamen. The action of De Grasse in blockading Yorktown was the one outstanding

exception to the general practice of the French admirals of shirking a decisive battle even when great advantages were in prospect. For this they were not entirely to blame, for the French Government constantly enjoined them not to risk their ships, and without risk a great success can seldom be won.

The Maritime War opened with a drawn battle off Cape Ushant in 1778, after which both fleets returned to port. Next year Spain joined in, and the united Bourbon navies appeared in the Channel overwhelming force. An invasion of England seemed imminent, but the Spaniards as usual wasted time, a terrible epidemic broke out among the crews, and the scheme came to nothing. At the same time Spain laid siege to Gibraltar,¹ and the Bourbon powers bound themselves to make no peace until the stronghold should be recovered by its former masters. Lord Rodney sailed early in 1780 to revictual the place, and found a Spanish fleet of eleven sail-of-the-line awaiting him off Cape St. Vincent. They attempted to escape on seeing that they had warships instead of supply-ships to deal with. But Rodney dashed at them, and in the course of a stormy night captured or destroyed seven of the eleven.

The war in European waters: siege of Gibraltar.

Rodney proved himself the most capable of the British admirals in this war. It was most unfortunate that he was not present on the American coast when Yorktown was besieged. He had at that time just returned to Europe after fighting indecisive actions with the French in the West Indies. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, Rodney was again sent to the West Indies, where the French were improving their success by capturing the English islands. Grenada, Dominica, and St. Christopher had already fallen, and an attack upon Jamaica was in prospect.

Rodney.

After preliminary manœuvres, battle was fairly joined between Rodney and De Grasse on April 12th, 1782. It

¹ Captured by Sir George Rooke in 1704.

is remarkable for an innovation in tactics which led to great changes in sea fighting. Naval actions in the eighteenth century had tended to become indecisive because both fleets were content to sail past each other in a regular line ahead, keeping up a heavy cannonade, but rarely coming to close quarters. The present battle began in the same manner, but while the British line was defiling past the French, Rodney suddenly steered his flagship diagonally through the French line, and continued his course on the other side of it. The ships behind him imitated his manœuvre with the result that the French fleet was cut in two and the rearmost part overwhelmed by superior force. Five battleships were captured, De Grasse himself being among the prisoners. "Breaking the line" became subsequently a favourite manœuvre among English admirals, and accounted in after days for the crowning victory of Trafalgar.

The victory in the West Indies put a stop to the French successes in that quarter, where British power had been in danger of complete extinction. Nearer home the siege of Gibraltar continued. The fortress was again revictualled by an English fleet, and its assailants realised that they must carry it by storm or not at all. Preparations for a great bombardment were accordingly made, after which it was judged that the garrison would be able to make no resistance to the assaulting troops. Guns were placed in position on the isthmus connecting the Rock with the mainland of Spain. But the chief effect was expected from a number of floating batteries specially prepared for the occasion. They were hulks without rigging, carrying heavy guns and covered by fire- and shot-resisting roofs. When ready they were towed into position and the bombardment began. For a time the issue was doubtful. Then the red-hot shot from the fortress overcame the protection of the hulks. One after another they took fire or sank, and at the end of the day Gibraltar had once

Decisive
victory in the
West Indies,
1782.

Gibraltar
beats off its
assailants,
1782.

more proved itself impregnable. The siege was raised after enduring for three years. General Eliot, who commanded the defence, received a peerage and the well-deserved thanks of his country.

Two other events of the Maritime War deserve mention. The northern nations, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, annoyed at the frequency with which England searched and detained neutral shipping, formed a league known as the Armed Neutrality to safeguard their rights. This league did not actually come to blows with Great Britain, but its existence was a distinct threat. With Holland, on the other hand, for similar reasons, war was declared in 1780. Its only incident of importance was a stubborn fight near the Dogger Bank in the following year. Thus Britain, without an ally, was facing practically the whole maritime power of the world. It is not surprising that America was lost; the wonder is that the rest of the Empire did not go with it.

Although England was at bay, the Bourbon powers were exhausted. The failure at Gibraltar took the heart out of them. Lord North had resigned on the receipt of the news of Yorktown, and the consequent end of the King's personal direction of affairs left the way open for peace. The Independence of the United States was formally acknowledged in 1782, and reaffirmed in the general treaty signed at Versailles in the following year. By this treaty France and England mutually restored their conquests, thus returning to the position of 1763. England gave up Minorca and Florida to Spain, but retained Gibraltar, the most coveted prize of all. A separate treaty adjusted the dispute with Holland.

The British Empire had thus to acknowledge a serious loss, the whole circumstances of which make a page of history of painful reading. But the situation was honestly faced at length, and its lessons acted upon. The Empire was thereafter consolidated on sounder lines, the old ideas, which had largely outlived

The Armed
Neutrality.

American
independence
acknowledged:
Treaty of Versailles, 1783.

Results of the
war.

their utility, being thrown over in favour of a more enlightened colonial policy. The War of Independence may be considered as marking the end of the great days of the Mercantile System. What remained of it disappeared piece by piece until in the nineteenth century a generation arose which knew it no more. The publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, and the accession to power as Prime Minister in 1783 of the younger Pitt, whose ideas were moulded by Smith, did much to hasten the change.

SUMMARY AND DATES

1. The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 with the expulsion of the French from North America.

2. At the same time a series of disputes arose with the inhabitants of the original English colonies. These disputes were due to the colonists' impatience of control, and the unsettled state of English politics, leading to the adoption of an unwise colonial policy. They were keenly watched by the Bourbon powers.

3. The spirit of discontent was most widespread in the New England colonies. The Middle and Southern colonies felt less keenly with regard to the subjects in dispute.

4. George III. took measures to ensure his personal ascendancy in the British Government. He must, therefore, be regarded as largely responsible for the unhappy ending of the quarrel.

5. The Stamp Act was passed in 1765 and repealed in 1766. Increased duties on tea and other goods were imposed in 1767.

6. The Boston Tea Outrage (1773) was the climax of a series of violent acts on the part of the colonists.

7. Retaliatory measures (the Intolerable Acts) by the British Government led the colonies to band together and begin the War of Independence.

8. The first period of the war (1775-7) is notable for the Battle of Bunker's Hill and the American invasion of Canada, 1775; the Declaration of Independence, 1776; and the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, 1777.

9. The second period opened with the alliance between America and the Bourbon powers, 1778-9. It practically closed with the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, 1781.

10. The Maritime War between England and the Bourbon powers produced the siege of Gibraltar, 1779-82; the projected invasion of England, 1779; and Rodney's victory in the West Indies, 1782.

11. By the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, England acknowledged the Independence of the United States. France and Spain obtained no substantial advantages and were much exhausted by the struggle.

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH INDIA, 1763-1805

THE loss which the British Empire suffered in the West by the War of Independence was counterbalanced by a great expansion of the dominions of the East India Company in the East. We have already traced the failure of the French plans to conquer India, and their expulsion from all but a few factories on the coast of the peninsula. The confused condition of native politics which had given the French their opportunity still continued, and was the cause of the extension of British rule in the period now to be considered. This increase of responsibility was not desired by the Company; it took place against the wishes of English statesmen at home; it was practically forced upon the Company's officials in India by the fact that the country had to be ruled by someone, and they alone were competent to undertake the task.

The affairs of Bengal, which first demand notice, illustrate this truth very forcibly. After the victory of Plassey, **Disorders in Bengal.** Clive remained in Bengal to restore order and re-establish the Company's trade. Mir Jaffier, whom he had placed upon the throne, ruled the country subject to English advice, and a dual system of government, half native, half English, was thus set up. Clive returned to England in 1760. After his departure serious troubles developed. The ill-paid servants of the Company regarded the province as a treasure-ground pure and simple. By every kind of injustice and extortion they brought their employers into disrepute, thinking only of enriching themselves. Mir Jaffier was deposed, and his son-in-law, Mir

Cossim, was made Nawab in his place. Mir Cossim, a man of pugnacious temperament, was soon goaded into revolt. He began by massacring the English agent and merchants at Patna, but was soon overthrown, and Mir Jaffier was once more placed on the throne. Mir Cossim fled to Oudh, formed an alliance with the Vizier and with the Mogul at Delhi, and marched into Bengal at the head of a powerful force. But he and his friends were defeated at the Battle of Buxar, and the Mogul remained a prisoner in English hands.

In the meanwhile the Company was becoming seriously alarmed at the situation in Bengal, and the Directors requested Clive to go out once more to restore order in the province he had won. Although personally unwilling to quit the life of ease to which his achievements had entitled him, he felt that duty called, and so gave his consent. He arrived in Bengal in 1765 in time to deal with the results of the victory at Buxar. By the Treaty of Allahabad the Mogul, as nominal overlord of all India, surrendered to the Company the practical control of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The native Nawabs were retained as figure-heads without real power, and the native laws and courts of justice were also continued in operation.

Clive then proceeded to put down with a firm hand the unjust practices of the Company's officials. Both from soldiers and civilians he met with great opposition. His unswerving severity raised up bitter enemies, who returned to England and tormented him with their accusations to the end of his life. He left India for the last time in 1767. The undeserved persecution by the men whose misconduct he had punished preyed upon his mind, and he committed suicide in 1774. In this manner England lost, at the opening of the American War, the one general who might perhaps have been able to put a successful end to that struggle.

The series of wars and conquests which filled the middle years of the eighteenth century had entirely transformed

the position of the East India merchants. At the outset they were a purely trading company, desirous of nothing but peaceful commerce under the protection of the native rulers. Circumstances had now forced them to take over the task of governing large areas of territory, and it was felt that the whole British nation was responsible that this task should be properly carried out. For this reason, Lord North passed the Regulating Act of 1773. It promoted the Governor of Bengal to be Governor-General of all the Company's possessions in India, the Governors of Madras and Bombay being made subordinate to him. The Governor-General was to rule with the aid of a Council of Four, and his political acts were to be supervised by the British Government at home. A Supreme Court of Judicature was also set up at Calcutta to bring the Company's servants under the control of English law. Under this act Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General.

Hastings had served with credit as a civilian official during the period of the French wars. A year before the passing of the Act he had been appointed Governor of Bengal. From the outset the Regulating Act showed serious defects in working owing to (1) the undue limitation of the Governor-General's powers by the Council, and (2) the undefined authority of the Supreme Court. The Council was no doubt designed to assist the Governor-General, but in practice three of its four members were violently hostile to him, and as he had only a single vote in its deliberations he usually found his measures vetoed by the majority. In spite of this Hastings was able to do much to improve the condition of Bengal. He curbed the rapacity of the native tax-collectors, put down oppression by the Company's traders, and set up a native court at Calcutta for the protection of the humbler classes in the country. A bold attempt to ruin him by means of forged documents led to the execution of a wealthy native named Nuncomar, whose death was afterwards

Warren
Hastings,
First
Governor-
General.

made the subject of serious charges against Hastings. The Council sympathised with Nuncomar, and relations became so strained that the Governor-General fought a duel with Philip Francis, his principal opponent. The duel was turned to good account; Francis fired and missed, Hastings took cool aim and inflicted a severe wound. On his recovery, Francis left the country, and the Council was thenceforward purged of the Governor-General's bitterest enemy.

The alliance of France with the American colonists produced a great crisis in British affairs in India. As soon as it became known that the French had declared war, Pondicherry and the other French stations restored at the Treaty of Paris were attacked and taken. But the real danger was to be feared from two native powers, the Mahrattas and the strong state of Mysore, backed, as they certainly would be, by French support. The Mahrattas were a warlike race whose military power made them supreme in Western and Central India. They were led by three great chieftains, Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsla,¹ who all owned a nominal allegiance to the Peshwa, or chief minister at Poona. They had no settled boundaries, and disturbed the country by constant raids and levying tribute on their weaker neighbours. Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, was an able Mohammedan soldier who had usurped the throne of the Hindu rajahs of the state. He took offence at the capture of the French settlements, which he considered as under his protection. At the same time the Bombay government was engaged in a dispute with the Mahrattas.

Effects of the
Maritime
War upon
India.

Hastings realised that the situation was a serious one. He dealt first with the Mahrattas. Although his forces were small he struck hard, and imbued them with such respect for his power that they hesitated to co-operate with Hyder Ali. The latter proved the more formidable enemy. In 1780 he over-ran the Carnatic with a huge army, burning and

War with the
Mahrattas and
Hyder Ali.

¹ These names were dynastic and were borne by successive members of the same family.

slaying up to the very gates of Madras. The Madras government was weak in resources and incompetent. Hastings collected every available man and placed in supreme command Sir Eyre Coote, the conqueror of Lally in 1760. In 1781 Coote defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo and saved Madras. The arrival of the French Admiral Suffren with a powerful fleet and a body of French troops again endangered the Carnatic. Suffren fought seven pitched battles with the English squadron, the result in each case being practically a draw. The death of Hyder Ali in 1782, and the Peace of Versailles in 1783 put an end to the struggle for the time being, but neither Mysore nor the Mahrattas had been conquered. Both were destined to give trouble to Hastings' successors. Indecisive though the result was, it was extremely creditable to the Governor-General. He had to rely entirely on his own resources, receiving neither men nor money from England. He saved our empire in India in circumstances to which lesser men, such as those who commanded in America, would have succumbed.

Hastings might now justly expect to be rewarded by a grateful country, but he was soon to be undeceived. **Opinion in England.** Lord North's government fell when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. The opposition came into power, and had party ends to serve by an attack upon the administration of the East India Company. Francis and others were vehement in their charges against the Governor-General. They won over Fox and Burke to their cause, and all these elements combined to raise an increasing clamour for the trial of Hastings for his alleged offences. He left India in 1785 and was impeached before the House of Lords on his arrival in England.

His principal accuser was Edmund Burke. No one will deny that Burke was an honest man; but he was one of those who, having taken up a certain view, can never be convinced by any evidence that they are in the wrong. He had no personal knowledge of India, and he was persuaded by

**Trial of
Warren
Hastings.**

Hastings' enemies that the most frightful oppression had been systematically carried on throughout the whole of the Governor-General's tenure of office. If Hastings had oppressed anyone he had oppressed the oppressors, the native princes who wrung vast sums from their miserable subjects. In some cases he had obliged them to disgorge, and by so doing had saved British rule when he was obtaining no supplies from home. To the common man his rule had been an unmixed benefit. Yet Burke declared that he had "wasted the country, destroyed the landed interests, cruelly harassed the peasants, burned their houses, seized their crops, tortured and degraded their persons, and destroyed the honour of the whole female race of that country"; in short that his acts were "the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell; and such a judge was Warren Hastings." In the end common sense prevailed, Burke's half-crazy rhetoric failed of its effect, and the trial ended in an acquittal after enduring for seven years. Hastings died at a great age in 1818.

Shortly before the close of Hastings' Governor-Generalship, the younger William Pitt became Prime Minister. It was generally realised that the Regulating Pitt's India Act of 1773, under which Hastings held office, Act, 1784. was in need of amendment on account of the difficulties which it imposed on efficient government. Pitt therefore passed his East India Act of 1784 which, with slight modifications, remained in force until the middle of the nineteenth century. By this Act a Secretary of State was appointed to deal with Indian affairs, assisted by a Board of Control. To this new department of government was given entire supervision of the military and political sections of the Company's policy. The Governor-General was to be appointed by the ministry in power in England, which also secured the right of vetoing the Company's choice of important officials. The effect of the Act was to restrict the Company's power to purely commercial matters, the Secretary of State for India being responsible, with the Governor-General, for the general policy of British India

towards native and foreign powers. The Governor-General himself became the servant of the Empire rather than of the Company.

The Governor-Generalship, thus enhanced in prestige, became a position attractive to men of the highest rank and ability in England. The first holder of the office under the new conditions was Lord Cornwallis, 1786-93. Cornwallis, the general who had done the best service in the American War prior to his disaster at Yorktown. He arrived in India in 1786, and continued the administrative reforms upon which Hastings had been engaged before the wars diverted his energies elsewhere. His name is identified with the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, a series of improvements in the police and revenue-collecting system of the country which did much to render impossible a recurrence of the scramble for wealth of the early days of British rule. Henceforward the natives were secured from oppression, living under their own system of laws impartially administered by British judges. The Permanent Settlement was honest in intention, and on the whole worked well, although, like every far-reaching change, it brought hardship in individual cases.

Although British statesmen heartily disliked the idea of further territorial conquests in India, and clauses forbidding such a policy had been inserted in the Act of 1784, Cornwallis nevertheless found himself forced into war with the restless state of Mysore. Its ruler was now Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali. He commanded a native army much more formidable than that of any neighbouring prince, and his ambition threatened the weaker states around him. In 1789 he invaded Travancore, to whose rajah the Madras government had promised assistance. Cornwallis made up his mind to redeem the pledge. He made alliances with the Mahrattas and the Nizam of the Deccan, neither of whom, however, did service of any value. Owing to his reliance upon them, Cornwallis was at first unsuccessful, but Tippoo was at last forced to submit and to surrender

one-third of his dominions. He refused to take his defeat as final, and another war some years later was necessary for his complete overthrow.

Cornwallis sailed for England in 1793. For the next five years Sir John Shore held office as Governor-General. His policy was one of non-intervention, and Sir John his rule was barren of important events. The Shore, 1793-8. increasing power and unruliness of the Mahrattas during this period gave plain indications of future trouble, but Shore left it to his successors to deal with the problem.

India received as its next ruler a man of greater talents and personal magnificence than any other who has filled that office. Lord Mornington, better known Wellesley, as the Marquis Wellesley, was recognised at 1798-1805. the time of his appointment as one likely to do great things if his abilities were given the necessary sphere of action. In English political life he had failed to find such a sphere. A friend remarked to him: "You want a wider field; you are dying of cramp." The judgment of those who selected him was to be fully vindicated by the events of his rule.

He arrived in India in 1798, at a time when the clouds of war were threatening once more to burst upon British power. The devouring energy of revolutionary France had already penetrated to the East. Napoleon Bonaparte had conquered Egypt and was dreaming of a great Asiatic dominion which, expanding by land, should drive the British out of Asia in spite of their command of the sea. Alexander the Great had led his Greeks victoriously to India, and Napoleon, an eager student of the campaigns of the past, did not doubt that he and his Frenchmen could do as much. French agents were busily working in advance at the courts of Tippoo Sultan and the Nizam. Tippoo saw his opportunity for revenge upon the English. He welcomed the French, styled himself "Citizen Tippoo," and prepared for war.

Effects of the
French
Revolution
upon India.

At this distance of time the risk of a French conquest of the East by land may seem fanciful, but Wellesley did not regard it as such. He realised that the day of non-intervention in native affairs was over. British power, in his opinion, must either crush the independent military states of the peninsula, or disappear for ever. He naturally chose the former alternative. He began first with the Nizam, a weak and vacillating ruler, offering him the choice of immediate fighting or submission. The Nizam was obliged to secure the possession of his territories by signing a treaty in which he undertook to disband his French-trained army and to receive and pay in its stead a force of sepoys commanded by British officers. In return Wellesley promised to protect him from the aggressions of the Mahrattas. This was the first of a series of "subsidiary alliances" by which the native states preserved their internal self-government but were rendered incapable of harming the British power. It was in fact the system which Dupleix had begun so successfully fifty years before.

With Tippoo Sultan, a prince of a very different temper from the Nizam, there was little hope of a peaceful settlement. He was engaged in attempts to stir up the Mahrattas and other native powers against the British, and in negotiations with the French governor of Mauritius for armed support. He was also deeply interested in the presence of Bonaparte's army in Egypt and alive to the possible consequences of its success. Wellesley offered him the same choice as he had offered to the Nizam—abandonment of the French alliance, or war. And Tippoo had no hesitation in choosing to fight.

The campaign, in comparison with the former Mysore wars, was a short one. Within the space of one month the British troops entered Mysore, inflicted bloody defeats on Tippoo's army in the field, and laid siege to his capital, the walled city of Seringapatam. The artillery quickly battered a breach in the

defences, and on April 4, 1799, the storming party took the city by assault. When the walls were lost the struggle continued within until Tippoo was shot dead by a British soldier in the confused fighting in the streets. After his fall, the resistance of his country was at an end.

Wellesley made a politic and enduring settlement. The outlying territories of Mysore were annexed by the Company, a portion also being given to the Nizam. Settlement of The remainder was placed under the rule of Mysore.

the ancient line of Hindu rajahs who had been supplanted by Hyder Ali many years before. The people as a whole were pleased with the restoration, and in a few years Mysore showed great progress and prosperity. In 1801 Arthur Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General, wrote: "The country is becoming a garden, where it is inhabited, and the inhabitants are returning fast to those parts which the last savage had forced them to quit. . . . Mysore is become a large and handsome native town, full of inhabitants; the whole country is settled and in perfect tranquillity."

The conquest of Mysore was followed by a period of peace during which Wellesley was able to turn his attention to the affairs of several native states. The Carnatic already more or less penetrated by British influence. The most important of these were Madras.

the Carnatic and Oudh, each of which were in a condition demanding urgent reform. The Carnatic, since the disappearance of French power in 1761, had been governed by its Nawabs, who lived under British protection from outside interference, but subject to no control in internal affairs. The plan had proved a failure. The Nawabs were wretched rulers, under whom oppression was rampant. They were heavily in debt to moneylenders, both native and British, and had assigned large areas of country to these creditors as security for the debts. Wellesley determined that this must come to an end. After a full investigation the Nawab was compelled to sign a treaty

in 1801 by which he abdicated all but a nominal sovereignty. The Carnatic was thenceforward under the civil and military control of the government of Madras.

In Oudh a similar problem presented itself. The country was being strangled by a horde of unscrupulous adventurers, **Settlement of the Nawab's army was an undisciplined Oudh.** rabble, and the geographical position of Oudh rendered it a gateway through which the British provinces could be invaded from the north-west. Wellesley enforced upon the Nawab a like settlement to that of the Carnatic. Unauthorised Europeans were expelled, the frontier regions of the Doab and Rohilkhand were handed over to the Company, and the Nawab gave guarantees for the good government of the remainder under British supervision. The smaller states of Tanjore and Surat also transferred their practical control to the British during the same period.

For the completion of Wellesley's task the Mahrattas alone remained to be dealt with. The great robber con- **The Mahratta Confederacy.** still a formidable military power. Its chiefs were fighting amongst themselves, and so gave an opening for British interference. In 1802 the Peshwa was defeated by Holkar, and fled to British protection. On the last day of the year he signed the Treaty of Bassein, by which he entered into a subsidiary alliance, receiving a force of the Company's troops and agreeing to be guided by its policy.

The immediate consequence was that Sindhia and **The Mahratta War: Assaye and Argaum, 1803.** Bhonsla joined to make war upon the British, rightly judging that the treaty with the Peshwa was but the first step to the curbing of their own independence. General Wellesley (afterwards the victor of Waterloo) led a British force into the Deccan to oppose them. He was a younger brother of the Governor-General, and had already distinguished himself in the conquest and settlement of Mysore. He met the Mahrattas at Assaye on September

23, 1803. In spite of the fact that the odds were ten to one, and that the foe had French officers and powerful artillery, Wellesley attacked immediately and gained a

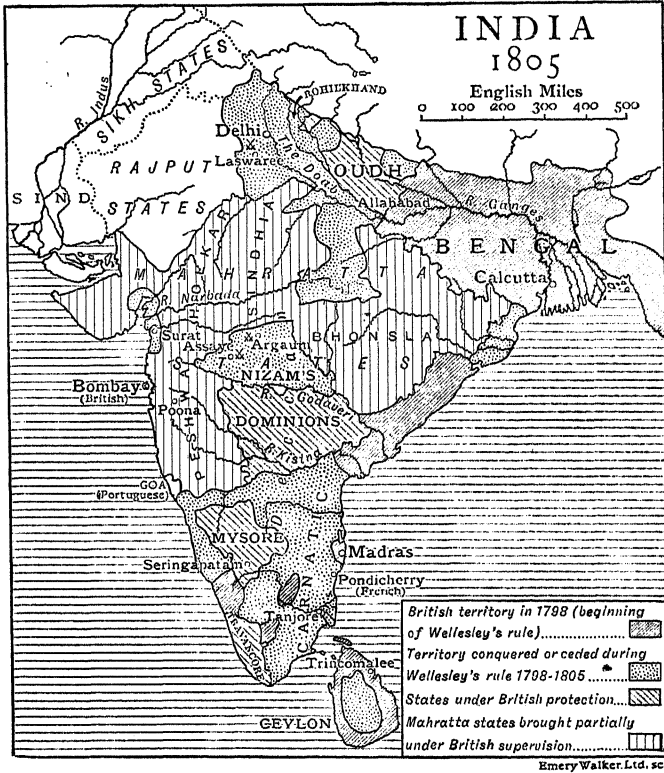


FIG.10.

decisive victory. Two months later he again defeated Bhonsla at Argau and forced him to surrender certain territories and accept a subsidiary alliance.

Meanwhile General Lake had been dealing in similar fashion with Sindhia's forces in the north. He captured

Delhi after a fierce battle outside its walls, and released the blind and aged Mogul who had been for long years a puppet-prisoner of the Mahratta chief. Sindhia gathered all his forces for a final contest at Laswaree (Oct. 31, 1803). He was defeated with great slaughter, and followed Bhonsla's example in making submission to the all-conquering Governor-General. He surrendered the large tract of territory known as the Upper Doab, contiguous with that given up by the Nawab of Oudh, and entered also into a subsidiary alliance.

Holkar, the remaining powerful chieftain, was in full sympathy with the defeated party, although his troops had not fought at Assaye or Laswaree. Indecisive war with Holkar, 1804-5. Scarcely had Wellesley begun to congratulate himself on the solid pacification of all India, than Holkar showed unmistakable signs that he meant to make a last attempt to revive the Mahratta power. Negotiations were attempted, but failed, and war broke out in 1804. Its events were not so favourable to British prestige as were those of 1803. A considerable British force under Colonel Monson was defeated and made a disorderly retreat. The disaster was retrieved by subsequent successes, and Holkar came near to submission as complete as that of Bhonsla and Sindhia. He was saved by the termination of Wellesley's Governor-Generalship. As with all our great leaders in the East in the eighteenth century, Wellesley's policy was misunderstood and mistrusted at home. A series of disputes with the Directors culminated with the bad impression produced by Monson's defeat, and Wellesley relinquished his post in the summer of 1805. His successor hastened to conclude peace with Holkar on very easy terms. The final solution of the Mahratta problem was thus deferred until 1818.

Although Wellesley left India with his work unfinished, he had nevertheless achieved a brilliant record in his short tenure of office. He found our Indian possessions

still limited by the purely commercial traditions of earlier years, and threatened by powerful native sovereigns always ready to league with our European enemies. He left them secure in every aspect, the French expelled, and native military power suppressed. And he had produced an entire revolution in the British conception of the future of India. Henceforward there could be no going back to timid mercantile views bounded only by considerations of the Company's dividends. Wellesley found the foundation stones of our Indian Empire already laid; he showed to future generations the kind of edifice they were to erect upon them.

SUMMARY AND DATES

1. Territorial expansion in India was due to the force of circumstances; it was desired neither by the British Government nor by the East India Company.

2. Bengal was the scene of disgraceful misgovernment and oppression during the years following the conquest, 1760-5. Clive returned to India for the last time (1765-7), and restored order with a firm hand.

3. The Treaty of Allahabad, 1765, gave the Company administrative control over Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

4. The Company was now the ruler of extensive territories. Lord North passed the Regulating Act of 1773 for the purpose (1) of providing a central government, and (2) of bringing it to some extent under home control.

5. Warren Hastings was the first Governor-General, 1774-85. He ruled efficiently in spite of opposition, and effected improvements in the condition of his territories. His dealings with native princes laid him open to charges of oppression in the main unfounded. He saved India for the Empire during the Maritime War of 1778-83.

6. Pitt's India Act, 1784, established a minister for India in the British cabinet, increased the importance of the Governor-General, and removed military and political affairs from the Company's control.

7. The rule of Lord Cornwallis, 1786-93, was marked by the permanent settlement of Bengal and a renewed war with Mysore.

8. The Marquis Wellesley, 1798-1805, consolidated British power in India. He conquered Mysore, 1799; annexed the Carnatic, Tanjore, Surat and the greater part of Oudh, 1801; and subdued the Mahratta chiefs, with the exception of Holkar, 1803-5. His policy of subsidiary alliances allowed the native states internal self-government whilst abolishing their military power.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS, 1793-1815

WE have already seen that the loss of the American Colonies was in part due to the operation of the Mercantile System, a convenient name for the policy which had governed our oversea dominions and commerce from the days of their foundation. Under this policy colonies had been regarded solely with reference to their usefulness to the Mother Country, and little account had been taken of the welfare of the colonists from any other standpoint. Similarly, trade had been regulated with a view to increasing to the greatest extent the revenue and maritime power of the nation. The Mercantile System received a severe shock from the unfavourable outcome of the American revolt. A new school of thought arose which declared all regulation of trade to be harmful, and laid down as its guiding principle that full liberty to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" was the ideal to be aimed at. At the same time a period of apathy with regard to imperial expansion set in. An idea became prevalent that colonies were bound, as by a natural law, to separate from their parent as soon as they were strong enough to stand alone, and that consequently they were scarcely worthy of a high place in considerations of national policy.

Changes in
economic and
colonial
policy.

The new ideas were by no means universally accepted, and time has proved that in part, at least, they were unsound. The old commercial system gave ground steadily

to the principles of free trade until by the middle of the nineteenth century it had entirely disappeared. The accompanying view as to the destiny of colonies was a mere counsel of despair, and the history of later generations has abundantly shown that great imperial dominions may be at the same time free and loyal; that their loyalty, in fact, is in direct proportion to their freedom.

The growth of free trade principles was stimulated by a far-reaching change which took place in English life in The Industrial Revolution. The latter half of the eighteenth century. A series of mechanical inventions, beginning with Watt's improvement of the steam engine in 1769, transformed the manufacturing system. Power-driven machinery supplanted the old domestic handicraft in all the important branches of manufacture. Population increased and became more thickly grouped in the coal producing regions of the midlands and the north, hitherto the backward portions of the country. Great industrial cities sprang up. Canals were dug and roads were improved for the quicker transport of goods. The hard-and-fast rules of the Mercantile System did not harmonise with this great expansion of energy in entirely new directions, and hence arose the view that industry must be left alone by government, that trade must be free and unregulated.

From the foregoing, it will be understood that a new period had begun in British history, and that imperial development was likely to be prejudiced by some of the new colonial and economic theories. If the Mercantile System had resulted in a selfish treatment of colonies, that selfishness had at least been practised in the cause of national aggrandisement. The free traders of the Industrial Revolution bade fair to be equally selfish in the cause of their own individual fortunes. "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" was scarcely a battle-cry to inspire great imperial pioneers and statesmen. But the Empire was not destined to be left in

Imperial
depression
only
temporary.

Imperial
development
modified by
the next
great war.

peace to work out the solution of its internal problems. Within ten years of the treaty with America a fresh world-crisis arose which plunged all civilised nations into incessant wars for the space of a quarter of a century ; and the stern nature of the struggle, which was to prove once again that Britain lives by sea-power and sea-power alone, did much to revive the pride in the Empire which the loss of America had endangered.

During the eighteenth century, France had waged a series of wars by land and sea. These had been extremely expensive and in the main unsuccessful. **The French Revolution, 1789.** The result was that the Bourbon monarchy was fatally weakened to a point which rendered it incapable of withstanding any extraordinary strain which might be put upon it. The danger to the country was scarcely understood by Louis XVI. and his ministers. They committed themselves to a series of desultory and half-hearted reforms culminating with the summoning of the States-General in 1789 to consider the desperate state of the finances. The meeting of the States-General was the signal for the bursting of the flood-gates of discontent. In the space of three years all feudal privileges were abolished ; the property of the Church was confiscated ; the royal family was shorn of its dignity, detected in an attempt to quit the country, and thenceforward kept in close confinement ; chateaux were burnt and their owners chased over the frontiers ; and finally the fall of the monarchy was consummated, and France was declared a Republic.

So matters stood in the autumn of 1792. The events in France were viewed in England at first with benevolent interest, but latterly with uneasiness as their **Britain involved in the war, 1793.** true character became apparent. Burke from the first had judged the matter rightly and predicted a disastrous issue. Austria and Prussia took up arms in 1792, and invaded France with the object of restoring the imprisoned Louis XVI. The result was to goad France to madness and throw the direction of affairs into the hands of the extremists. A frightful massacre

of imprisoned royalists took place in the jails of Paris. The republican Convention then proceeded to pass decrees declaring all kings to be their enemies and all revolting peoples their friends. The death of Louis was resolved upon. After a savagely contested trial he was guillotined on January 21, 1793. England immediately dismissed the French Ambassador, and on February 1st France declared war upon this country and Holland. Thus by the irony of fate William Pitt, whose ambition it was to be the minister of peace and reform, found himself committed to the conduct of the greatest struggle English history had yet produced.

England's share of the war was at first mainly carried on upon the sea. The Navy was in far better condition than it had been at the opening of the **The rival navies.** Maritime War of 1778. Lord Howe and Lord Hood, both veterans of that struggle, were the senior admirals. The former took the chief command in the Channel, the latter in the Mediterranean. Prominent among their subordinates were Sir John Jervis, Collingwood, and Nelson, at that time the captain of a line-of-battle ship. The French fleet on the other hand, although superior in ships and guns, was weakened by the undisciplined revolutionary spirit. Its old officers had been mostly of noble birth and had been displaced by new men, appointed in many cases for political reasons and sadly ignorant of their profession. Thus from the first the British fleets took the initiative, cruising freely at sea while their enemies lurked in the shelter of fortifications. A bold, offensive spirit permeated our Navy. Officers and men were always confident of victory if only they could force a fight on equal terms.

The first important move took place in the Mediterranean. In the summer of 1793, the royalist faction in Toulon **Hood and Bonaparte at Toulon, 1793.** revolted against the Republic, tore down the tricolour flag, and invited the assistance of the British and Spanish fleets. Lord Hood entered the port and took possession of the French men-of-war fitting out in the dockyard. A republican army immediately

besieged Toulon. Against its attack, in which Napoleon Bonaparte laid the foundations of his military reputation, the defenders were unable to make headway. Bonaparte planted his guns so as to sweep the harbour, which Hood was obliged to evacuate to save his fleet. After destroying some of the French ships he put to sea, taking with him as many royalist refugees as he had room for. The remainder were butchered by the victorious republicans on their entry into the town.

In the following year Hood went home, his place being taken by Hotham. The latter fought an action with the French in the Gulf of Genoa, in which he captured two ships. Nelson, who was present, was much disgusted at the cautious conduct of his superior, who seemed quite satisfied with his achievement. "Had we taken ten sail," he said "and allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got her, I would never have called it well done." Such a spirit, in a man already marked for command, augured well for the future. In 1796 Spain changed sides, and entered into an alliance with France. The English were thus completely outnumbered and obliged for the time being to abandon the Mediterranean.

At the opening of the war, Lord Howe put to sea with the Channel fleet. The French were also at sea, but avoided an action owing to the state of confusion among their crews. The Committee of Public Safety, which now directed the fighting forces of France, realised that republican ideals, however praiseworthy in politics, were subversive of discipline in the fleet. They restored a semblance of order by dismissing or executing many of the best officers, and promoting inexperienced subordinates in their places. Thus reorganised, the French fleet was ordered to sea in 1794 under the command of Villaret-Joyeuse, previously one of its junior captains.

Lord Howe was attempting to blockade Brest when the French slipped out under cover of a fog, and evaded

him. He at once cruised in search of them, and after much ineffective skirmishing brought them to action on **The First of June 1st, 1794.** In numbers the opponents **June, 1794-** were equal—twenty-five ships of the line in each fleet. Howe attacked without securing any advantage of position, and a ship to ship fight ensued in which British discipline and seamanship secured the victory. Six French battleships were taken, and one, the *Vengeur*, went down with her crew raising shouts of “Vive la République” and singing the Marseillaise. The oft-repeated story that they refused to be rescued from the water is, however, untrue. If Nelson had been in Howe’s place the whole French fleet would most likely have been wiped out. As it was, the veteran was content to have won the first pitched battle of the war, and Villaret-Joyeuse, with many boasts and excuses, retired to port to refit. The campaign of 1795 brought several minor reverses to the French, whose government then decided to look for allies before resuming the contest at sea.

Spain, as we have seen, joined France in 1796. Holland, in spite of British and Austrian assistance, was completely **Spain and** overrun in the land campaigns of 1794-5. **Holland.** The Dutch fleet, fast in the ice by the Texel, was captured by a body of French hussars in January of the latter year. Considerable naval reinforcements were thus at the disposal of the Directory, which had now supplanted the extreme republican form of government in France.

The attention of the Directory was attracted to the rebellious condition of Ireland. The revolutionary gospel **Failure of expedition against Ireland, 1796.** found many hot-blooded adherents in that country. A revolt was imminent, and seemed to offer a favourable chance of overthrowing Franco’s most determined enemy. After much hesitation and many meetings with the rebel emissaries, an invading force was collected at Brest at the end of 1796. The army was of formidable strength. It was placed under Lazare Hoche, who shared with Bonaparte

the reputation of being the ablest general the revolution had produced. When the armament sailed, the English channel fleet was in harbour, while the Mediterranean squadron under Sir John Jervis was facing the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. In spite of these favourable circumstances, the whole project was ruined by the winter storms. Part only of the ships reached the Irish coast, where the weather prevented a landing before they were again blown out to sea. Hoche with the main body never put in an appearance. Several ships were lost, and the survivors returned to Brest in confusion. Hoche died some months afterwards.

But the danger was only postponed. The maritime resources obtained by the success of the French armies on land had still to be faced, and the year 1797 was long known as "the darkest hour in English history." It opened, however, with a victory comparable with that of the first of June.

On February 14th, Sir John Jervis with fifteen sail-of-the-line, joined battle off Cape St. Vincent with twenty-five Spaniards. Following what was now *Battle of becoming the standard English manœuvre, St. Vincent.* he steered his fleet so as to break the enemy's line and fall upon one portion before the other could come to its assistance. The success of the plan was assured by the bold action of Nelson, who left his station without orders and engaged a group of Spanish ships which were trying to make their way into the critical portion of the fight. He boarded two Spanish battleships in succession and captured them after a brief struggle. Two more surrendered to other British officers, and the remainder, in spite of being still numerically superior, gave up the contest and retired.

While England was yet rejoicing over this victory against odds, a serious mutiny broke out in the Channel Fleet at Spithead. The sailors refused to put to sea, *Mutinies in demanding an increase of pay and redress of the fleet.* grievances, such as excessive flogging and other punishments. The officers were powerless, and concessions had

to be made before the men returned to their duty. Scarcely was this mutiny quelled than another, yet more determined, broke out among the ships of the North Sea squadron charged with the duty of watching the Dutch fleet at the Texel. The mutineers kept the ships in the estuary of the Thames and instituted a regular blockade of London, allowing no traffic to pass up or down the river. The more reckless spirits talked of handing the vessels over to the French if their demands were not satisfied. The patriotism of the majority could not stomach this proposal and, coupled with the active measures of the government, it led to a collapse of the mutiny. Richard Parker, the ringleader, a former midshipman who had been reduced for misconduct, was hanged with a few others, while many were imprisoned.

It was quite time for the North Sea squadron to return to its duty. The Dutch fleet, under the orders of the **Battle of Directory**, was preparing for a new expedition **Camperdown** against Ireland with 20,000 soldiers. Admiral Duncan at length went to meet them. After blockading the Dutch coast throughout the summer and so securing the final postponement of the invasion, he brought the enemy to action off Camperdown on October 11th. A hard-fought battle, such as a meeting with the Dutch had always produced, resulted in a crushing victory. Of sixteen battleships nine were taken, and Britain was at last delivered from a serious menace.

The naval war has been described at some length, not because it led directly to a large expansion of the **British Sea power** Empire, but because, by preserving what **and the** had already been won, it acted as the keystone **Empire.** of the edifice raised by all the hard work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Revolutionary France, imbued with a fiery energy which the Bourbon monarchy had altogether lacked, became all-powerful on the continent of Europe. It was only the excellence of the British navy which precluded a similar result upon the ocean. The great wars of the period 1793-1815 were

the culminating glory of the old Navy, laboriously perfected by three centuries of deliberate policy. Their victories may be regarded as the final fruits of the work of Henry VIII. and the other Tudor sovereigns.

Although the naval contest was primarily defensive, several useful acquisitions were nevertheless made during the period under review. The principal losers were Spain and Holland, the luckless allies of France. In the West Indies, St. Lucia was taken by Jervis in 1794. It was given up at the short-lived Peace of Amiens in 1802, and again taken, this time finally, in 1803. Tobago fell to the British flag in the same year. In 1797 the large island of Trinidad was taken from Spain, and next year the small settlement of British Honduras was also definitely acquired. On the mainland of South America—the “Spanish Main” of the Elizabethan adventurers—the Dutch colony of Guiana was captured in 1796.

In the East, and on the road thither, the Dutch were again the chief sufferers. The Cape of Good Hope was taken in the same year, also the island of Ceylon with its fine harbour of Trincomalee, which Suffren had made his base in his brilliant campaign of 1782. The Cape was restored at Amiens, but was retaken in 1806. Mauritius, so often the starting point of attacks on British India, was taken from the French in 1810. The consolidation of our Indian empire under the successors of Warren Hastings has already been described; it must not be forgotten that it was only rendered possible by the victories of the fleets in European waters. So also was the peaceful commencement of great colonies in Australia, which will be referred to in a later chapter.

The great struggle entered upon a new phase with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to a commanding position in French affairs. We have already seen him winning his spurs at the siege of Toulon. In 1796 he was placed at the head of the French “Army of Italy,” and by a series of astonishing victories brought

Capture of
Colonies: (1)
In the West.

(2) In the East.

Rise of
Napoleon.

the Italian peninsula under the power of France. The politicians of the Directory grew somewhat afraid of their brilliant general, and determined to employ him on a distant enterprise where he would not be dangerous to their own tenure of power.

A powerful fleet and army were collected at Toulon. Napoleon was placed in chief command, and at the end of May, 1798, he set sail for Egypt, his mind filled with visions of Eastern conquest. 1798.

Nelson, promoted rear-admiral after the battle of St. Vincent, was watching Toulon with a British squadron, but the French armament made its escape when his ships were scattered by a gale. The secret of the expedition had been well kept; nothing was certainly known as to its destination, although Nelson had already made a shrewd guess that Egypt might be its goal. He was hampered by the lack of swift cruisers, but at length received intelligence that the French were bound to the eastward, having taken Malta on their way.

Following hard on their track, he reached the Egyptian coast before the French had arrived. He returned later to find their fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay, Nile, 1798. and Napoleon's army already disembarked. It was a French theory that a fleet at anchor with the ends of its line protected by batteries on shore was unassailable. Nelson entered Aboukir Bay and proved the contrary. His battleships worked steadily along the French line, some outside it, some between it and the shore, crushing their opponents one after the other by terrible gunnery at close quarters. The French flagship *Orient* of 120 guns, the largest vessel of either fleet, took fire and blew up with the dead bodies of Admiral Brueys and most of his crew on board. She was one of those which Hood had failed to destroy on his evacuation of Toulon five years before. The net result of a night of battle was that thirteen ships were taken or destroyed, while four only escaped. Napoleon's communications with France were cut and his dreams of Eastern empire shattered in a moment. Al-

though he conquered Egypt, he was glad to escape to France next year in a light cruiser, leaving his army to its fate. In spite of the disaster, he found himself still a popular hero. He overthrew the Directory in 1799, making himself First Consul and subsequently Emperor of the French in its stead.

A prolonged naval war has usually brought about a conflict of opinion as to the rights of neutrals on the sea. The nations of northern Europe became seriously aggrieved at British claims to the right of search and the stoppage of their trade with France. The Armed Neutrality—the league of Russia, Sweden and Denmark—was revived, and on this occasion went to the length of declaring war upon Great Britain. The challenge was promptly accepted. In 1801 Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as his second-in-command, entered the Baltic with a British fleet. In a desperate fight off Copenhagen, Nelson destroyed the Danish ships and fortifications. Denmark at once submitted, and the league collapsed without further fighting.

All Europe was now weary of bloodshed. Napoleon, indeed, had no thoughts of a permanent peace, but was desirous of gaining time to reorganise France before continuing the struggle with Britain. On our side there was a genuine desire for a settlement. Accordingly, the Treaty of Amiens was signed in May 1802. By it Great Britain made certain restorations, already mentioned, of colonial gains, and further undertook to give up Malta, which had been seized by Nelson's fleet after the French expedition had quitted it for Egypt. This clause of the treaty was still unfulfilled when the war recommenced, and Malta has remained in our hands ever since. As a naval base it was equal in value to Minorca, lost in the Maritime War of 1778.

The Peace of Amiens was soon recognised to be a hollow pretence; in May, 1803, war was once more declared. Its commencement found the naval forces of France scattered in various ports and unready for sea. The most

considerable squadrons were at Toulon and Brest. Napoleon now pressed forward his plans for the invasion of England.

Napoleon plans the invasion of England.

He collected at Boulogne and the neighbouring harbours an immense flotilla of small armed craft and open boats, in which he proposed to transport an army of 100,000 men to the English coast. At first he reckoned that two days of fog or calm would permit of the crossing, the flotilla being rowed across while the British warships remained without means of movement. But experience soon showed that a week at least would be required to get the multitude of boats out of harbour, even when the army was embarked. Practice attempts invariably produced a heavy crop of accidents, and a plan had to be devised to secure a longer command of the Channel than the chances of the weather could be expected to provide.

Before any decisive action had been taken Spain was induced to declare war upon England, the Spanish fleet thus being added to the French. It was a wretched fighting force, and in the long run proved more of an embarrassment than an assistance to its allies. In its final form the great scheme worked out as follows. In January, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve put to sea with the Toulon squadron, with orders to proceed to the West Indies, capture as many British possessions as possible with the force of soldiers he conveyed, and then return to European waters after having drawn off a large British force in pursuit. Nelson was in command off Toulon. He conducted his blockade loosely of set purpose, his one desire being to tempt the French out so that he might destroy them. But he was under the impression that they would again strike at Egypt, and sailed at once in that direction when he heard that Villeneuve had come out. The latter's ships were, however, damaged by a storm and he was obliged to return to Toulon to refit. He got to sea again in March and this time made his way successfully to the West Indies, picking up a reinforcement of slow-sailing Spaniards in

Manœuvres to secure command of the Channel.

his transit. Nelson now correctly guessed his intentions. He set off in hot pursuit, arriving in the West Indies in a much shorter time than Napoleon had thought possible.

Meanwhile a smaller French squadron had escaped from Rochefort with orders to join Villeneuve in the West Indies, but owing to the delay caused by The plan Villeneuve's false start from Toulon, the two miscarries. forces never met. The Rochefort fleet returned to France before that from Toulon arrived at the meeting-place. In Brest the largest of all the French fleets remained closely blockaded, and was never able to get out at all. Consequently, the project of uniting the entire navies of France and Spain in one imposing array in the Channel, while scattered British squadrons were groping in bewilderment for the clue to their whereabouts, remained unfulfilled.

Villeneuve was convinced that to meet Nelson was to meet disaster. He made little use of his chance to capture British islands, and sailed back to Nelson in Europe with Nelson close upon his heels. He pursuit. entered a Spanish port, received fresh instructions from Napoleon, and steered northwards on a forlorn attempt to raise the blockade of Brest and obtain the command of the Channel in spite of the miscarriage of part of the plan. But he was in a condition bordering on despair, a beaten man before ever he fought. On July 22, he was met by Sir Robert Calder off Cape Finisterre. The odds were twenty to fifteen against the British, but Calder captured two Spanish ships and Villeneuve retired southwards. He joined up with the remainder of the Spanish fleet, and finally took refuge in Cadiz. Such was the state of the French admiral's nerve that Collingwood was able with sublime impudence to blockade the whole force in Cadiz with only three ships of the line.

Napoleon was now reluctantly obliged to admit that the game was lost. Austria and Russia had allied themselves with England, and their armies had to The invasion be faced. At the end of August the French abandoned. Emperor broke up his camp at Boulogne and directed

his armies into Austria, where the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz provided some compensation for the failure of the project dearest to his heart.

Nelson made a short visit to England after his return from the West. In September he quitted Portsmouth for the last time and joined the fleet before Cadiz. His one wish was that his enemies might come out, and he was careful to give them every opportunity of doing so. Villeneuve on his part dreaded the conflict, but the insults of Napoleon at length goaded him to action. He sailed from Cadiz with thirty-three French and Spanish battleships, steering for Gibraltar with the intention of passing into the Mediterranean.

Nelson dogged his every movement. On October 21, he judged that the time had come. In two lines of battle, Trafalgar, 1805, headed by Nelson and Collingwood, the British fleet bore down at right angles upon its straggling and disordered foe. Seeing its approach, Villeneuve went about in order to draw northwards to Cadiz in case of defeat. As the opposing forces closed, Nelson's *Victory* and Collingwood's *Royal Sovereign* bore the brunt of the fire from the allied line. Reserving their own fire, they pressed on. Collingwood's column was the first to crash through the French line, every ship on passing through turning and fastening upon a foe at close quarters. Somewhat later the *Victory* broke through at a point further to the north, the signals "England expects that every man will do his duty" and "Engage the enemy more closely" flying from her mast. By the double penetration of their line, the French and Spaniards were cut into three groups. The centre and rear were overwhelmed, while the van was unable to render assistance in time to save the day.

Hard fighting completed the victory which brilliant seamanship had prepared. Ship by ship the allied fleet was hammered into wreckage and struck its colours. The *Victory* was closely locked with the French *Redoubtable*, whose tops were crowded with marksmen. The latter

kept up a deadly fire on the *Victory's* decks, and one of their bullets struck down Nelson with a mortal wound. He was carried below and died three hours later. He lived long enough to know that the triumph was complete. Nine French and nine Spanish ships surrendered; fifteen escaped from the slaughter; some were taken a fortnight later, and the remainder were so damaged that they never again went to sea.

Although some of the prizes were lost in the storm which followed the battle, the result was sufficiently decisive. The naval power of Napoleon was crushed. Results of the war lasted nearly ten years longer, but victory.

Trafalgar was its last great action on the sea. Henceforward the French Emperor had to seek other means of ruining Great Britain. For the failure of the campaign he was more to blame than Villeneuve. He judged fleets on their paper values. To him, a French ship was equal to an English ship of the same size. He made no allowance for the immense difference in skill and discipline which enabled the English to outsail and outfight their enemy at every turn. Villeneuve knew these things, but he was a weak man who lacked the courage to speak his mind to his imperious master. He knew he was going out to disaster, yet he went because Napoleon threatened to supersede him by another officer.

The direct blow at Britain having failed, Napoleon adopted the policy of striking at her commerce, the source of her wealth and her formidable sea-power. The Continental System. His conquest of Prussia in 1806, and his victory over Russia leading to the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 gave him control over the seaports of Germany and the Baltic. In these years accordingly he issued a series of decrees at Berlin and Milan by which he declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade all traffic with them by any country which wished to remain a friend of France. In addition to the northern nations, Holland, Spain and the Italian states were obliged to accept this policy which, on account of its scope, is known

as the Continental System. The British Government replied by Orders in Council, having the effect of prohibiting all trade between the neutral nations and France.

The commercial struggle was waged during the remainder of Napoleon's reign. On the whole, the Continental System **Its results to** proved disastrous to its author. The de-Napoleon. struction of neutral commerce and shipping, the deprivation of necessaries which could only be imported from oversea, and the tyranny of the French officials at the ports, combined to rouse all Europe against Napoleon. The conqueror against whom no continental power could stand singly was at length overcome by a coalition of every nation against him. Napoleon held strongly mercantilist theories about commerce. He thought it could be "manœuvred like a regiment," and here his military turn of mind betrayed him into error as it had in sea affairs. In England, on the other hand, as we have seen, modern conditions had begun to raise doubts about the benefits of a strict regulation of trade.

Although the Continental System ruined Napoleon it came near for the moment to ruining England. The rapid **Its results to** increase of manufactures due to the Industrial Great Britain. Revolution needed some outlet, and the closing of European ports caused acute distress. A remedy was however provided by the unchallenged monopoly which sea-power gave of trade with the New World and with Asia. The markets of Central and South America, cut off from Spain, were thrown open to England, while the Dutch and French flags were swept from the Eastern seas. At the end of the war Great Britain, with an accumulation of industrial wealth, was commercially supreme over the ruined nations of the continent, and the folly of Napoleon's system was apparent.

The commercial war bore hardly upon the United States amongst other neutrals. In this case also the grievance **War with** was complicated by the right of search which U.S., 1812-5. the British navy strictly enforced upon American shipping. Numbers of seamen from the King's ships,

tempted by the high American rates of pay, deserted as opportunity offered; and British cruisers systematically searched American merchantmen to recover the fugitives. A series of high-handed seizures in European ports, and encounters leading to bloodshed upon the seas, led to a declaration of war with the United States in 1812.

The war was ferociously contested and indecisive. On land the Americans attempted without success to conquer Canada. The forces on either side were small **Indecisive** as compared with those that were battling in **results.**

Europe, but they fought with a determination which has seldom been surpassed. After the Battle of Lundy's Lane in 1814, in which each army lost one-third of its strength, the invasion gradually slackened and was finally discontinued. On the sea coasts two main British expeditions effected a landing. The one marched inland, captured Washington, the federal capital, and burned the public buildings. The other sustained a bloody repulse in a similar attempt upon New Orleans. At sea there was no fleet action, but a number of encounters between single ships ended victoriously for the Americans until the prestige of the British navy was restored by the famous duel between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, two cruisers of nearly equal strength. The *Chesapeake* sailed out of Boston in response to a personal challenge from Captain Broke of the *Shannon*. Fifteen minutes after firing the first shot the British boarded and carried the enemy's decks by storm. Meanwhile commissioners were treating for peace at Ghent. The treaty was actually signed in the last days of 1814, before the final fighting took place at New Orleans. It left unsettled practically all the points at issue before the war.

Napoleon's blind insistence upon the Continental System, coupled with his arrogant disregard of all the rights of nations, ended by rousing the whole continent against him. First Spain, then Russia **Fall of Napoleon,** and Sweden, then North Germany and Austria **1812-15.** joined Great Britain in a common league for his overthrow.

The Anglo-Spanish armies under Wellington drove his troops from the Peninsula, his invasion of Russia in 1812 was a ghastly failure, and the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipsic in 1813 ruined his power in Central Europe. After a final campaign in 1814 on the soil of France itself, he abdicated and retired to the Isle of Elba in the Mediterranean. A Congress met at Vienna to settle the affairs of the civilised world. Its deliberations were interrupted by his return to France in 1815. But his three months' restoration ended on the Field of Waterloo. The watchful British cruisers prevented his escape to America, and he passed the remaining six years of his life at St. Helena.

With the work of the Vienna Congress in settling the states of the continent we are not concerned. As regards Congress of the British Empire, the colonial acquisitions Vienna, 1815. mentioned earlier in this chapter were confirmed. Others, notably the rich island of Java, were restored to their former owners, by whom they are held to the present day. With this settlement the long series of wars originating in the days of Louis XIV. and William III. came to an end. Sometimes described as "The Second Hundred Years' War," it was succeeded by exactly a hundred years of general peace broken only by conflicts of minor scope until the outbreak of the mighty conflagration of August, 1914.

SUMMARY AND DATES

1. The loss of the American colonies discouraged for a time the advocates of imperial expansion. The failure was partly attributable to the working of the Mercantile System (*i.e.* the regulation of trade in the interests of national wealth and sea-power). This, coupled with the Industrial Revolution, assisted the spread of the principles of Free Trade.

2. The French Revolution, beginning in 1789, caused a series of European wars lasting until 1815. Great Britain became involved in the wars in 1793.

3. The Revolutionary War continued until the Peace of Amiens, 1802. At sea the principal events were: the seizure and evacuation

of Toulon, 1793 ; the Battle of the First of June, 1794 ; the unsuccessful French expedition against Ireland, 1796 ; the Battle of St. Vincent, the mutinies in the Fleet and the Battle of Camperdown, 1797 ; the capture of Malta and the Battle of the Nile, 1798 ; the revival of the Armed Neutrality and the Battle of Copenhagen, 1801.

4. Napoleon became First Consul in 1799 and Emperor of the French in 1804. He renewed the war against Britain in 1803.

5. A complicated plan for the invasion of England was foiled by the naval campaign of 1805. All hopes of renewing the scheme were ended by the Battle of Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805.

6. Napoleon then sought to injure British commerce by means of the Continental System (Berlin Decree, 1806 ; Milan Decrees, 1807 ; Treaty of Tilsit with Russia, 1807), the effect of which was to exclude British trade from European countries.

7. Disputes over the rights of neutrals caused war between Britain and the United States in 1812.

8. The years 1812-15 witnessed the overthrow of Napoleon, largely as the result of the Continental System.

9. The British colonial gains by the wars were : St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad ; British Honduras and British Guiana ; the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Ceylon. Java and certain other conquests were restored.

PART IV. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1815-1914

THE SECOND AGE OF PEACEFUL EXPANSION

CHAPTER I

1815-1840

(i) *The Mother Country and the Colonies*

THE nineteenth century, as a historical period, begins with the settlement at the Vienna Congress in 1815. The opening of the new period found the British Empire in an unaccustomed condition, tranquil abroad but seething with unrest and discontent at home. As we have seen, the exact opposite of this state of affairs had been usual during the great wars.

The causes of the trouble in Great Britain itself were economic and political. The Industrial Revolution, by increasing and redistributing the population, by creating new industries which overshadowed the old, and by producing a more intelligent and much less placid working-class, gave rise to a demand for far-reaching reforms in government. The old unreformed Parliament of the eighteenth century, in which the land-owning and maritime interests had been predominant, had been competent to supervise the working of the Mercantile System of that date. The claims of the new class of manufacturing magnates and the huge industrial population dependent on them had now to be

recognised. After much bitter controversy they resulted in the parliamentary and economic changes of the first half of the nineteenth century. Parliamentary Reform and Free Trade became therefore the watchwords of the rising elements in English life. We shall have to consider the effects of this movement on the fortunes of the Empire as a whole.

The sudden change from desperately contested war to profound peace throughout the world caused the new problems to come to the front with a rush. The transition from war to peace. The disbandment of our great armies and fleets caused chaos in the labour market, while the cessation of warlike industries and the re-appearance of European competitors in commerce gave rise to a period of trade depression which, although of short duration, left permanent traces behind it. Of these the most important were a steady flow of emigrants to our old and new colonies and the gradual supplanting of aristocratic government by representatives of manufacture and industry.

In politics there was at first a period of repression in which the Government sought to put down agitation with a strong hand. Riots took place in London, 1815-22. the Midlands and the North. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended to allow of accused persons being kept in prison without trial. In Manchester a great reform meeting was scattered by military force, several people being killed (the "Manchester Massacre," 1819). The Cato Street Conspiracy for the assassination of the Ministers was detected in the following year, and the ringleaders were executed.

The period of strict repression ended in 1822-3 with the introduction of Canning, Huskisson and Robinson, men of more liberal views, into the Cabinet. 1822-33. It was followed by ten years of reform. The death penalty for many crimes of a less serious nature was abolished. Acts forbidding the combination and free movement of labourers were repealed. Disabilities were

removed from Roman Catholics by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. This period culminated with the great Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, which entirely modernised the House of Commons, sweeping away innumerable abuses at a stroke. It was followed by an act abolishing slavery throughout the British dominions. This had the effect of setting free existing slaves. The traffic in slaves had already been ended by an Act of 1807.

The introduction of new blood into the Government led to a reformed colonial policy by which the old ideas bound up with the Mercantile System were disavowed. The old views were summed up in an official statement of 1819 which declared

**Reformed
Colonial
policy.**

that "England retained a complete monopoly of the trade of her Colonies in return for affording them protection and defence." The American revolt had shown that such a system was incompatible with modern conditions. Canning and Huskisson now proceeded to put an end to it. They modified the Navigation Acts so as to allow the colonies to trade directly with foreign nations instead of first sending their produce through a British port. The only restrictions still retained were those which enforced that trade between the colonies and the home country must be carried under the British flag, and that foreign vessels must only transport to the colonies the produce of their own countries. These disappeared with the final repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849, which placed imperial trade on its present basis.

Canning as Foreign Secretary still further stimulated our trade and found outlets for our industries by recognising the independence of the old Spanish colonies. During the war these had been temporarily thrown open to British shipping. In the years following the peace all the colonies of Central and South America revolted one after another. Spain strove hard to maintain her hold, but in spite of prolonged fighting she was forced to admit failure. Brazil also broke away from Portugal, and from

**Canning and
the liberation
of Spanish
America.**

Mexico to the Argentine a series of independent republics emerged from the struggle. Canning "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old" by urging Great Britain to be the first to recognise these results. He became Prime Minister in 1827, but died in the same year. His colleague Huskisson was killed two years later, being run over by a locomotive at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway.

As has been mentioned, a result of the industrial troubles at home was an increase of emigration to the colonies.

Effects of home affairs upon the Colonies. This was felt in turn by Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Political changes at home were reflected in the rapidly expanding dominions, and the Empire became committed to the policy of allowing self-government to the colonies as soon as they were strong enough to stand by their own resources. Interference with political freedom and the freedom of trade had combined to produce the American revolt. But the lesson had now been learned, and the statesmen of the nineteenth century have been careful to avoid a repetition of past errors.

(ii) *Canada*

After its conquest from the French crown in 1763 Canada remained for many years under military rule. The population, almost exclusively of French descent, was grouped along the lower course of the St. Lawrence, having little intercourse with the scattered English posts on Hudson's Bay, far to the northward. Attempts were made to introduce English law and English settlers, but little real change had been made when the dispute with the American colonists became acute in 1774. In that year Lord North passed the Quebec Act, guaranteeing the Catholic religion and the old system of law to the Canadians, and also adding to the province the unoccupied territories between the Ohio and the Mississippi. The latter condition could not in the outcome be maintained,

as these lands were obtained by the United States in the treaty which acknowledged their independence. Nevertheless the French Canadians were sufficiently satisfied with the Quebec Act. They refused to support the American invaders in 1775-6, having just cause to fear the treatment they would be likely to receive if they fell into the power of their illiberal neighbours in New England. In this way Canada was preserved to the Empire when the older colonies broke away.

The independence of the United States led directly to an increase in the population of Canada. Numbers of loyalists from the States refused to remain under the American flag, and emigrated northwards. Some settled in Nova Scotia. The remainder entered the lands to the north of the Great Lakes, where they founded the province of Ontario or Upper Canada. Known as the United Empire Loyalists, they received grants of land and compensation for the losses which they had sustained from harsh treatment at the hands of their former fellow-countrymen.

Two nationalities were now living side by side in Canada, the French in the Lower, and the British in the Upper Province. This state of affairs was recognised by Pitt's Canadian Constitutional Act of 1791, which gave a first measure of representative government. It set up separate Governors, Councils and Assemblies for Upper and Lower Canada. In this way it was hoped that each nationality would develop on its own lines without friction. The system set up by Pitt continued for half a century, but proved in the outcome a failure. In Lower Canada the French were disturbed by a great influx of British settlers, which increased after the peace of 1815. A conflict of nationalities was thus set up in the province. In Upper Canada political power was absorbed by the representatives of the original United Empire Loyalists, who had some reason for claiming a privileged position as against later immigrants from Great Britain. In both provinces the popular assembly

found its powers limited, particularly with regard to finance.

The result was that Canada fell into a condition of unrest and discontent. Its material progress suffered. **Mismanagement of the Colony.** Owing to corruption, the opportunity of settling the vacant areas of land on a sound system was neglected. The United States shot ahead in westward expansion, while a spirit of depression and failure gripped her northern neighbour. The war of 1812-14, with its threat of American conquest, did something to arouse a sense of patriotism and common effort, but with the passing of the danger the old dissensions appeared once again.

Matters came to a head in 1837 when two rebellions broke out, the one led by a Frenchman named Papineau in Lower Canada, the other by a Scotsman, Mackenzie, in the Upper province. Neither secured any considerable popular support, but the incident attracted attention to the colony, and the British government prepared for extensive reform. Lord Durham was sent out to enquire into the whole position of affairs. His Report, presented in 1839, traced all the causes of disaffection; and the remedy which he advised, namely, the complete reorganisation of the government, was adopted. The Canada Act of 1840 put an end to Pitt's severance of the colony into two provinces. A united Government was established with a Council and an elective Assembly of eighty-four members. Increased control over financial matters was granted, and gradually complete self-government with a ministry responsible to the Assembly was attained. Under this system Canada was able to enter upon a period of rapid expansion, utilising the increasing flow of emigration from home and the power of steam to penetrate new regions by rail and water, until the country was ripe for the next step in its development, which will be described in a later chapter.

(iii) *Australia and New Zealand*

From the days when the navigators of the sixteenth century first entered the Pacific Ocean it was the firm belief of geographers that a great continent **Early** existed in the southern seas. It was at first **exploration.** thought that Tierra del Fuego, separated from South America by the narrow Straits of Magellan, was the northern extremity of this continent. Later discoveries proved that Tierra del Fuego was merely an island of relatively small dimensions, and the belief in *Terra Australis*—the southern land—became somewhat discredited. But it was revived by the reports of Spanish and Dutch captains who were carried far to the southward in their navigations of the Pacific, and sighted the coasts of an unknown land of considerable size. In this way Tasman, a Dutchman, visited New Zealand and the eastern part of Australia before the middle of the seventeenth century, and for a time the latter country was known as New Holland. William Dampier, an English navigator, explored the same region in 1689 and 1698. But more accessible lands were awaiting colonisation, and none of the maritime nations as yet thought it worth while to obtain a permanent hold on Australia.

The first systematic explorations were carried out by Captain James Cook, the most gifted and scientific of the eighteenth century navigators. He had **Captain** already obtained distinction in the navy when **Cook's voy-** he was sent to the Pacific by the Admiralty **ages, 1769-79.** in 1769. He charted the whole coast of New Zealand, together with that of eastern Australia, returning to England in 1771. In his next voyage (1772-5) he penetrated far into the Antarctic in search of the immense area of land which was supposed by the early geographers to cover the southern part of the globe. His voyage proved that this land did not exist to anything like the extent which had been imagined. Cook sailed on his last voyage in 1776. His object on this occasion was to work round

the north of America from the Pacific side to Europe. Failing in this he returned to the South Seas, where he was killed in a petty dispute with natives at Hawaii (February 14, 1779).

Cook, when he explored the east coast of Australia in his first voyage, gave it the name of New South Wales and claimed it as British territory. Before many years had elapsed the discovery was turned to account. Ever since the foundation of our colonies in America and the West Indies it had been customary to transport convicted criminals to them to perform useful labour instead of idly serving their sentences in English prisons. The independence of the United States closed the principal outlet for convict labour, and it was determined to form a penal settlement in New South Wales. In January, 1788, Captain Phillip arrived at Botany Bay with the first detachment of convicts and soldiers. He moved northwards shortly afterwards and laid the foundation of the colony at Sydney.

New South Wales prospered steadily under its early governors, extending along the coast and westwards into the interior. The convicts, as their sentences expired, remained for the most part in the country as free colonists. Free emigrants were added to them until by 1820 the population numbered 30,000. In the following years the country was still further opened up by a series of explorations leading to the discovery of the Murray and Darling Rivers with their tributaries, and the harbours upon which the cities of Melbourne and Adelaide afterwards arose. Tasmania was occupied from New South Wales as early as 1804. It became a separate colony in 1812.

The northern extension of the original colony led to the foundation of Brisbane in Queensland in 1826. It was at first purely a penal settlement, and even after the arrival of free colonists it remained united to New South Wales until 1859. The year which saw the foundation of Brisbane is also notable

for the formal annexation of the entire continent to the British Empire. Another offshoot of New South Wales was Victoria, first permanently settled in 1834. Melbourne, its capital city, took its name from the English Prime Minister of that date. Victoria was not declared a separate colony until 1851.

While New South Wales was thus acting as the parent of the eastern settlements, two other colonies were independently founded in Western and South Australia respectively. The former was reached in 1829 by a free expedition from England, which planted settlements on the Swan River. The latter was also from the beginning a free colony, the site of Adelaide, named after the wife of William IV., being occupied in 1836. These colonies dispensed with the strict military discipline necessary in the earlier years of the convict settlements. Although at first they had no elective assemblies, their governors ruled with the advice of councils in which the opinions of the settlers were fairly represented.

The progress of the Australian colonies naturally drew attention to New Zealand, the coasts of which had been frequently visited since Cook's original exploration. In this case the problem of colonisation differed from that in Australia. In the latter country the aboriginal natives were few in numbers, unintelligent, and unwarlike, and consequently offered little obstacle to European settlement. In New Zealand, on the other hand, the Maoris were a highly intelligent and energetic race, capable of offering a serious resistance to the conquest of their country. The islands were annexed by the Governor of New South Wales in 1839. In the following year the native chiefs acknowledged British sovereignty in return for a guarantee that they should enjoy undisturbed possession of their lands. New Zealand became an independent colony in 1841.

The foundation of the several Australian colonies has now been traced. The story of their growth in population

and wealth, and their development into a great self-governing dominion belongs to the later decades of the nineteenth century.

(iv) *South Africa*

The Cape of Good Hope was first occupied by the servants of the Dutch East India Company in 1652. It was used **Early history.** by that Company, not as the nucleus for a genuine colony, but as a port of call for their ships on the voyage to the East Indies. Nevertheless, as time went on, the district around Cape Town became thinly populated by Dutch farmers, reinforced towards the end of the century by numbers of French Huguenots exiled from France on account of their religious beliefs. The French element was soon absorbed by the Dutch, but is still traceable in the surnames of some of the oldest families in South Africa.

During the Revolutionary War, Cape Colony was occupied by a British force for strategic reasons. It was restored **British** at the Peace of Amiens, but was again taken **occupation.** in 1806, when Holland fell within the grip of Napoleon's empire. At the general settlement at the close of the wars it was retained by Great Britain in exchange for an indemnity and concessions in the East.

For some years the white population remained preponderantly Dutch. Then, after 1815, South Africa **Hostility be-** received a share of the emigrants who **tween Boers** left **and British.** Britain in increasing numbers every year. The newcomers settled mainly around Algoa Bay in the eastern portion of the colony. A general advance took place which brought both Dutch and British into contact with the fighting Kaffir tribes of the interior. The Boers, as the farmers of Dutch descent were named, could never reconcile themselves to the British policy in dealing with the natives. They complained bitterly of the work of the missionaries who, they declared, endangered the supremacy of the white man by their teachings. They also resented the gradual supplanting of the Dutch lan-

guage and customs in affairs of government. The last straw was laid on their backs by the abolition of slavery in the Empire, the first great act of the reformed Parliament of 1832.

The weakness of the home government in refusing to reap the fruits of a successful war with the Kaffirs was the signal for a general exodus of the Boers from the old colony. Feeling their interests neglected under the British flag, they determined to push northwards to new regions and there to establish independent, self-governing communities. The Great Trek began in 1836, and continued during the following years.

The pioneers, travelling in many distinct parties separated by considerable intervals of time, were divided into three main streams. The first crossed the Orange River and occupied the territory afterwards known as the Orange Free State. The second went further into the more northerly region of the Transvaal. The third turned north-eastwards into Natal, where they were confronted by the Zulus, the most formidable of the warlike native races. After much loss and suffering they defeated the Zulu king, Dingaan, but were expelled from Natal three years later by a British force from the Cape. Thus the Great Trek resulted in the establishment of two Boer communities, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Cape Colony and Natal remained in British hands, separated as yet (1842) by a belt of unsubdued native territory. During this period the Cape was ruled by a Governor and a nominated Council. With serious military problems still unsettled it was not yet ripe for an elective assembly and full self-government.

(v) *India*

The Marquis Wellesley left India in 1805 with his work uncompleted because the Directors of the Company could not bring themselves to approve his policy of expansion.

Burmese wars—led to the annexation of Assam, the inland province adjoining Bengal, and two-thirds of the coast-line of Burma. The remaining third, containing the delta of the Irawadi and the port of Rangoon, remained for the time being under its original ruler.

The advance of Russian power in Central Asia gave rise to forebodings of trouble from a new quarter. In order to guard against it a fresh "forward" policy was inaugurated by Lord Auckland on the north-west frontier. His interference in Afghanistan in 1837 led to disastrous consequences, but since it was the opening phase of an entirely new chapter in the history of British India, it will be more conveniently treated in a later section of this book. For the present it may be regarded as marking the end of the "Wellesley" period, in which British power was firmly consolidated in Central India, and the superiority of British government was admitted by the native peoples.

The Russian advance: a new period in Indian history.

For half a century it had become increasingly evident that the administration of India was properly the affair of the British Empire and not of a trading company. The interests of the one inevitably clashed with those of the other, and there could be no doubt that it was the Company which would have to give way. Shorn of much of its political and military power by the Act of 1784, it still clung tenaciously to its commercial monopoly. But this also was doomed amid the general break-up of the Mercantile System. In 1813 the Company's charter expired; its renewal was the subject of bitter debate. It was finally obtained for a further twenty years, with the important exception that Indian trade was henceforward to be free to all British ships not exceeding 400 tons in burden. When the twenty years expired in 1833 the party in favour of free trade was in a much stronger position than ever before. The monopoly was now completely abolished both for India and the China trade, and private European

Break-up of the Company's trading monopoly.

merchants were set at liberty to carry on business without hindrance in all parts of the country. In this diminished state the Company survived for twenty-five years more.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1769-71. Captain Cook explores coasts of New Zealand and Australia.
- 1788. Foundation of New South Wales.
- 1791. Canadian Constitutional Act.
- 1804. Occupation of Tasmania.
- 1806. Final annexation of Cape Colony.
- 1815. End of the great wars of the eighteenth century.
- 1817-18. Final subjugation of the Mahrattas.
- 1819. The "Manchester Massacre."
- 1823. Modification of the Navigation Acts.
- 1824-6. First Burma War.
- 1826. Foundation of Brisbane (Queensland).
Annexation of the whole of Australia.
- 1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
Foundation of Western Australia.
- 1832. First Parliamentary Reform Act.
- 1833. Act for Abolition of Slavery.
Abolition of East India Company's trading monopoly.
- 1834. Settlement of Victoria.
- 1836. Foundation of South Australia.
The Great Boer Trek.
- 1837. Rebellions in Canada.
- 1839. Lord Durham's Report.
Annexation of New Zealand.
- 1840. Canada Act.

CHAPTER II

1840-1885

(i) *The Quickening of Imperial Life*

THE period 1815-40 witnessed the founding of the South African and Australasian colonies, and the general consolidation, as far as circumstances permitted, of the work of the eighteenth century. From 1840 onwards expansion took place mainly on lines already laid down, its rapid rate being due to entirely new factors in social life—the establishment of democratic government, and the mechanical inventions which distinguished the nineteenth century from all previous ages.

Turning first to affairs at home, we find that the pessimistic attitude towards imperial growth, born of a false estimate of the causes of the American revolt, **Views on Imperial expansion.** still found favour with a large school of statesmen. This is more particularly true of those who conducted English administrations during the period; among those who governed the great dominions arising overseas a much more hopeful view prevailed, which ultimately found general support and produced the healthy imperialism characteristic of the present day.

With the continued transformation of Great Britain into an industrial country, population increased by leaps and bounds, and emigration to the colonies **Emigration.** received a corresponding stimulus. From Ireland a great exodus set in owing to a different cause. The country was distressed and unhappy on account of political conditions. It was almost ruined by the terrible

famine of 1845, when the crops failed and numbers died of starvation and its accompanying diseases. The stream of emigration thus set flowing was not a natural one as in the case of England, for it caused a heavy decrease of the population left at home. Moreover, many of the emigrants went to the United States, and so were lost to the British flag.

The middle years of the century were notable for the final extinction of the remnants of the Mercantile System.

Triumph of free trade: In 1813 the duty on wheat imported from Canada was reduced to a nominal sum.
extinction of the Mercantile System. Three years later, by the repeal of the Corn Laws, largely the result of the Irish famine, all taxes on imported corn were abolished.

This was followed in 1849 by the repeal of the Navigation Acts (already modified in 1823), and in 1853 by the reduction of duties on many important classes of merchandise to a level determined by the needs of the revenue and not by principles of protection in favour of any home interest. Opinion was, and is, divided on the question of the benefits of Free Trade, but the fact remains that it has been the guiding principle in the conduct of imperial relations for the past half-century. Whether the future will bring a partial reversion to the older system remains to be seen.

The increase of colonial business and the pressure upon the War Office arising from the Crimean War, led in 1854 **The Colonial Office, 1854.** to the creation of a separate government department for colonial affairs, headed by a Secretary of State whose office soon became one of the most important in the Cabinet.

The cheapening of postage in 1840, through the efforts of Sir Rowland Hill, and the introduction of adhesive **Postal reforms.** stamps for prepaying the postal rates, were speedily imitated throughout the world. The modern postal system has proved a factor of incalculable importance in drawing together the scattered British territories. The collector of the early postage stamps of the Empire has before him a record of progress which

earlier ages lacked. Many of the colonies adopted characteristic designs for their stamps, such as the ship of British Guiana, the swan of Western Australia, and the seated Britannia on the issues of the Cape of Good Hope. The stamps of the other Australian colonies and of Canada provide a gallery of portraits of Queen Victoria in successive periods of her reign. It must be confessed that modern examples lack the artistic taste of the earlier issues.

An even stronger link between Britain and the colonies was furnished by the introduction of steam power for transit on land and sea, and of electric tele- Steam and graphy by means of submarine cables. The electricity. first steamship crossed the Atlantic in 1838. Soon afterwards the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company began the creation of a steamer service to the East, the route being completed by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. At the present day the voyage to any part of the Empire is finished in fewer weeks than it took months a hundred years ago. The appreciation of the effects of these new factors in imperial life has done much to discredit the views of those who argued that, because the American colonies broke away from the Empire, the newer dominions were bound to do the same in process of time. The analogy was a false one, for New England in the eighteenth century was cut off from communion and sympathy with Old England by barriers of time and space of which the modern mind has difficulty in realising the meaning.

(ii) *Canada*

In Canada the reforms arising from Lord Durham's famous Report bore good fruit in the years which followed its adoption. The increase of settlement Expansion of necessitated the delimitation of the boundary Canada. with the United States. This was effected by the Maine and Oregon Treaties of 1842 and 1846 respectively. In the former the American point of view was liberally

satisfied, the state of Maine being allowed to project northwards almost to the St. Lawrence. In the centre of the common frontier the Great Lakes formed a natural division. From thence to the Pacific coast the matter was more complicated, and gave rise to an embittered dispute. Finally the 49th parallel of latitude was accepted as the dividing line, although not before a section of American opinion, thinking that this was giving too much, had raised the war-cry "Fifty-four forty (54° 40') or fight."

The new Canadian constitution of 1840 was intended to satisfy colonial ambitions by substituting responsible government for merely representative government. The distinction should be noted, for it occurred in the development of other colonies. In representative government, as established by Pitt's Canada Act of 1791, the elected assembly had the power of making laws in conjunction with the Council and Governor, but had no control over the executive ministers, who were accountable to the Governor alone. In responsible government, as it developed after the Act of 1840, the ministry was controlled by the votes of the Assembly, the Governor acting as a moderating influence similar to that of the Crown in England. Successive governors, and notably Lord Elgin (1847-54), interpreted their duty in this light, with the result that contented progress took the place of the dissatisfaction which produced the revolts of 1837.

The rapid increase of population in Upper and Lower Canada and the maritime colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia prepared the way for the next step in their common growth. A feeling grew up in the sixties in favour of federation, that is, of forming a central government for the whole mass of territory, while allowing considerable freedom to the several provinces in the conduct of their internal affairs. Here, again, Canada set an example which was followed in later years by Australia and South Africa. A conference was held at Quebec in 1864, and representations were made

to the Imperial Government in London. The effect of this movement was the passing of the British North America Act by the British Parliament in 1867.

The provinces at first included in its scope were Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. A central Canadian Parliament was established with an elected House of Commons in which each province is represented according to its population. The Senate or Upper House consists of members nominated for life by the Governor-General, who is himself appointed by the British sovereign. Each province has its own responsible government, subordinate in authority to the central Parliament. The Governor-General, representing the Crown, has supreme control over the naval and military forces. Ottawa, then a village in the wilderness, was selected by Queen Victoria as the site of the federal capital, and has justified its choice by developing into a great city. Finally, the name "Dominion of Canada" was adopted for the complete federation.

The Dominion speedily grew by the adhesion of the newer territories to the North and West. In 1870 the vast area hitherto ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company was ceded. It was divided into Manitoba and the North-West Territories. British Columbia with Vancouver Island entered the Dominion in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. The island community of Newfoundland, with interests differing from those of the mainland, did not enter the Dominion, and remains independent of it to the present day.

In one quarter the federation was regarded unfavourably. On the incorporation of Manitoba in 1870 a revolt, headed by Louis Riel, broke out among the Indians and half-breeds of the region, who dreaded the abridgement of their hunting rights by permanent settlement. Riel's rebellion was quickly put down by an expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Since 1867 the growth of the Dominion in wealth and population has been extremely rapid, and shows no signs

of slackening. The Dominion Government has promoted the construction of railways for the development of the agricultural regions of the north-west. Of these lines the most important is the Canadian Pacific, opened for traffic from Atlantic to Pacific in 1886. In 1905 the territories of Alberta and Saskatchewan in the North-West were admitted as fully represented states of the Dominion. The remaining territories of Yukon, Mackenzie, Keewatin and Ungava await fuller development before attaining the same status. The coast strip of Labrador is administered by Newfoundland on account of community of fishing interests.

(iii) *Australasia*

In Australia, as we have seen, some colonies were founded as penal settlements whilst others, such as South Australia, were entirely composed of free men from the outset. As time passed the proportion of free settlers to convicts in the penal settlements increased, and consequently a demand arose for the cessation of transportation from Great Britain. Transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1840; to Queensland and Tasmania in 1849 and 1853 respectively. On the other hand, Western Australia, which had begun life as a free colony, petitioned for convicts to be sent in 1849, and continued to receive them until 1868.

In political matters the policy initiated in Canada by Lord Durham's Report was followed in Australia with excellent results. New South Wales, as the oldest colony, led the way with an elective Council to assist the Governor in 1842. By 1854 this had expanded to complete responsible government. South Australia was granted representative government in 1851 after a period of progress following upon initial adversities. In the same year Tasmania and Victoria, now separated from New South Wales,

also received their constitutions. In all these cases full responsible government quickly followed. Queensland obtained representative government on being parted from New South Wales in 1859.

The discovery of gold in large quantities in Victoria and the southern part of New South Wales hastened their political development, and led to an enormous increase in population. The rush to the gold-fields began in 1851. In the course of the next five years the population of Australia was more than doubled, chiefly by emigration from Great Britain. Victoria, although the smallest in extent of the mainland colonies, rapidly became the most populous of all. Huge camps packed with adventurers sprang up at Ballarat and Bendigo, the principal gold centres. Control by the authorities became difficult, and a dispute about miners' rights led to the only collision between troops and the populace in Australia's history. It was known as the "Battle" of the Eureka Stockade, and resulted in the deaths of about twenty people. Self-government soon proved an excellent remedy for these troubles.

New Zealand, after its formal annexation in 1839, developed on lines of its own. The most notable of its early governors was Sir George Grey (1845-53). By his just treatment of the Maoris he averted a struggle which the greed of the land companies threatened to provoke. At the end of his term of office the colony was ripe for responsible government, which was accordingly introduced in 1854. Six federated provinces were organised, with subordinate Councils dealing with their local affairs.

After Sir George Grey's departure the Maoris were less tactfully handled, and in 1860 they broke into universal revolt. A protracted struggle finally ended in 1871 with their complete subjugation. Since that date their attitude towards their white neighbours has entirely changed. The two races now live side by side in harmony, the Maoris having their own members in the House of Representatives.

(iv) *The Opening up of Africa*

In South Africa after the Great Boer Trek there were the makings of four distinct states—Cape Colony, already established, the Boer community between the Orange and Vaal Rivers, that beyond the Vaal, and finally Natal, from which the Boers had been turned back and which now contained a sprinkling of British settlers.

In 1843 Natal was annexed by Cape Colony. It was governed from thence until 1853, when it became a separate unit, attaining the representative government three years later. Its early progress was not rapid. It suffered from the proximity of the military power of the Zulus on its northern border, and not until this had been finally broken in the fierce campaign of 1879 could it feel secure. Thenceforward Natal enjoyed better fortunes. The improvement of its status was marked by the introduction of responsible government in 1893.

In Cape Colony also the native problem continued to demand attention after the Boer exodus. The efforts of the missionaries had resulted in the partial civilization of the border tribes, and a policy was adopted of forming a barrier of protected native territories around the colony. These were in the course of time more fully penetrated by British influences, and the way prepared for complete annexation without undue hardship to the blacks.

Relations with the Boers provided a much more difficult question. Sir Harry Smith, Governor of the Cape in 1848, favoured a forward policy. He annexed the Orange River territory, and on the Boers under Pretorius offering armed resistance he defeated them at Boomplatz (1848), and made good the claims of British sovereignty. But he was acting without support from home. The British Government of that date, fully occupied with economic and social questions, dreaded any increase of its responsibilities. It resolved

to leave the Boers to their own devices. Accordingly, by the Sand River Convention (1852) the independence of the Transvaal was recognized, and by the Bloemfontein Convention (1854) that of the Orange Free State was also guaranteed.

The Orange Free State was fortunate in the character of the men who rose to the head of its affairs. It prospered in peaceful fashion, and long remained on good terms with Great Britain. The case of the Transvaal was different. Its population was thinly spread over a vast area. The Zulus on the east and the Matabele on the north were dangerous neighbours, and at first there were few signs of union among the Boers themselves. They tended rather to split up into a series of chaotic republics whose weakness in face of the Zulus was a danger to the whole white race in South Africa.

To avert this peril, the British Government of 1877 again changed front, and annexed the Transvaal at a moment when its inhabitants seemed likely to be annihilated by the Zulus. The Transvaalers made no resistance at the time, but as soon as the Zulu power had been broken in the war of 1879, a phase of the American revolt repeated itself on a smaller scale. The Boers of the Transvaal, delivered from the black peril, took up arms in 1880. The small British field force then in South Africa was defeated at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill (Feb. 1881). Isolated garrisons in the Transvaal were closely besieged, and a serious military effort was rendered necessary to quell the revolt. Mr. Gladstone's government shrank from the contest, and concluded instead a convention by which the practical independence of the Transvaal was acknowledged. Such paper restrictions as were imposed were swept away by a modification of the agreement three years later (Convention of London, 1884). In these events Paul Kruger stood forward as the dominant leader of the Transvaalers. He became President of the reformed South African Republic (the later name for the Transvaal), and retained

his authority until the next conflict with Great Britain in 1899.

In the meanwhile Cape Colony was making steady progress. Representative government was introduced in 1853, the executive being accountable to the British Governor. Full responsible government, with the executive controlled by the Assembly, succeeded this arrangement in 1872. The discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West, one of the semi-independent native territories, led to its annexation in 1871, followed by that of Basutoland. This northward advance was continued by the proclamation of a protectorate over Bechuanaland, lying to the north-west of the Transvaal, and by the charter granted in 1889 to the British South Africa Company, whose sphere of operations lay in Matabeleland and Mashonaland to the north of the Transvaal. The Boer state was thus shut in by a ring of British territory. Its internal affairs were complicated by the discovery of valuable gold fields within its border. These attracted many foreigners or "Uitlanders," mainly of British nationality. Their relations with the Boers became strained, and prepared the way for the final war of 1899.

The progress of exploration in Northern and Central Africa, coupled with the increased interest in colonisation

The partition
of Africa
among
European
nations.

taken by France and Germany, led to the summoning of a European Conference at Berlin in 1884 to discuss the spheres of influence of the several nations. The Berlin Conference, together with subsequent agreements, determined the political colouring of the modern map of Africa as it remained down to 1914. The greater portion of South Africa, parts of Central, West and East Africa, and Egypt with the Egyptian Soudan fell under British control. France received the Western Soudan and Madagascar. Germany obtained territories in West, South-West and East Africa. The vast Congo basin was divided between France and Belgium. Portugal retained its ancient settlements in Angola and Portuguese East

Africa. To Italy was allotted the southern coast of the Red Sea, Southern Somaliland, and a preponderant interest in the independent kingdom of Abyssinia. Details of the many smaller settlements of the various nations are best obtained from a modern map.

(v) *India*

The Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland (1836-42) marked the opening of a stormy period in the history of India. The advance of Russian power in **Russian** Central Asia was considered to carry with it **advance in** a threat, distant but not to be despised, to **Central Asia.** the continuance of British power south of the Himalayas. The large state of Afghanistan, from its position at the entrance of the passes through the mountains, thus became important in consideration of the defence of India. Russian intrigues in this country determined Lord Auckland to intervene with the object of placing on the throne of Afghanistan a ruler who would be favourable to Great Britain. A disputed succession provided the opportunity. The British supported Shah Suja in opposition to his rival Dost Mohammed. An expedition advanced through the mountains in 1839, occupied Kandahar and Kabul, and crowned Shah Suja as Amir. A British force, with political as well as military officers, remained to protect the new Amir against his enemies.

Before long trouble arose. The Afghans became more and more unruly. Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, led the revolt, and the position of the **Annihilation** British force at Kabul became that of a **of a British** besieged garrison. Sir William Macnaghten, **army, 1841.** the chief political officer, was murdered while attempting to treat with the insurgents. Finding their position untenable, the British began a retreat to India through the Khyber Pass in 1841. They were harassed by swarms of Afghans, and only one survivor succeeded in making his way through to the nearest British post on the Indian

side of the Pass. The remainder, with the exception of a few hostages in Akbar's hands, were killed. In the following year two British columns successfully invaded Afghanistan, re-entered Kabul, and rescued the hostages. But Shah Suja had been murdered, and it was decided to make no further attempt to exclude Dost Mohammed from the throne. The whole undertaking had in fact proved disastrous, and was now abandoned.

The attempt to control Afghanistan was premature, for the basin of the Indus with its tributaries was still **Annexation of** in the hands of independent native rulers. **Sind, 1843.** The upper portion, the Punjab, was occupied by the military state of the Sikhs. The lower portion, or delta of the Indus, was covered by the state of Sind. Sind was conquered in 1843 by Sir Charles Napier, who defeated the native princes at Miani. The conquest was followed by annexation.

The Sikhs under their great ruler Runjeet Singh became a formidable military power in the early years of the **The Sikhs in** nineteenth century. Their army was the **the Punjab.** best native force in India, trained on European principles, and provided with a large number of heavy guns. Runjeet Singh continued on good terms with the British as long as he lived, but on his death in 1839 disorders arose in the state. The leaders of the army seized control, and embarked upon an invasion of British India. They were encouraged by the failure in Afghanistan to think that the British would be unable to withstand them.

The first Sikh War (1845-6) produced four sanguinary battles, Mudki and Ferozshah, in which the British forces, **First Sikh** although victorious, were crippled; and **War, 1845-6.** Aliwal and Sohraon which resulted in complete British victories. After the latter a peace was signed in March 1846, by which the outlying territories of the Punjab were annexed, and a protectorate established over the remainder.

The settlement was not enduring. The Sikh army had been defeated but not crushed, and its leaders were

tempted to make a fresh effort to overthrow British power. The second Sikh War followed in 1848-9. The first battle, that of Chilianwala, was a repulse to the British arms. The second, at Gujarat, provided the necessary decisive victory. The entire Punjab was now annexed outright. The work of consolidation was carried out by the brothers Henry and John Lawrence. So effectual was their policy that in a few years the Punjab became the most loyal and contented state in British India.

Second Sikh War: annexation of the Punjab, 1848-9.

The annexation was the work of Lord Dalhousie, who became Governor-General in 1848. His rule witnessed a continued extension of British power. In 1852 a fresh quarrel with the King of Burma led to the annexation of the province of Pegu with the port of Rangoon. Several small principalities were claimed by Dalhousie through the failure of heirs to their native rulers. Thus was put in force the doctrine of "lapse," which denied the right of rulers to adopt heirs who were not their blood relations. The application of this doctrine seriously disturbed the minds of the native princes, and gave rise among them to a feeling of insecurity. Their discontent was increased by the annexation of the larger state of Oudh on account of flagrant misgovernment. The measure was certainly justifiable both in its cause and its results, but it played into the hands of the discontented, and provided an excuse for the violent explosion which soon followed.

Lord Dalhousie's rule, 1848-56.

On May 10, 1857, the native regiments at Meerut in the North-West Province suddenly mutinied and murdered their British officers. The revolt spread through the basin of the Ganges, being especially violent in the newly annexed province of Oudh. The mutineers at Meerut proceeded to Delhi, the ancient city of the Moguls, and drew from retirement the aged representative of the great rulers of the past. Delhi thus became the capital and principal focus of the Mutiny. At Cawnpore a weak English garrison was beset

The Indian Mutiny, 1857-8.

by a horde of natives under Nana Sahib, one of the adopted sons whose claims had been disallowed by Lord Dalhousie. Nana Sahib promised a safe conduct to the women and children, but as they were entering boats to proceed down the river they were set upon by his followers. The Englishmen were killed on the spot. The women and children were murdered later in cold blood, and their bodies cast into a well. At Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, Sir Henry Lawrence was closely besieged in the Residency. He himself was killed early in the siege, but the little garrison continued to defend itself against overwhelming odds. The Punjab, although conquered less than ten years before, remained tranquil and loyal.

The suppression of the Mutiny was effected mainly by the recovery of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow. When **Suppression of the Mutiny.** these were effected the rest was comparatively easy. A small British force took up a position outside the walls of Delhi, and maintained itself for months against heavy odds. At length the storm of the great city was resolved upon, although the defenders many times outnumbered the besiegers. After a week of desperate street fighting (September 14-21) Delhi was taken and the back of the Mutiny broken. Two successive columns were necessary for the relief of Lucknow, the first being itself shut in after reaching the Residency. The final relief was carried out by Sir Colin Campbell on November 16. Nana Sahib was driven from Cawnpore, and disappeared, no man knows whither. In 1858 Oudh was completely reconquered, and Central India, where the revolt was much less serious, was pacified by Sir Hugh Rose. Before the end of the year the last traces of the Mutiny were stamped out.

On November 1st, 1858, at a gathering of the princes at Allahabad, a weighty proclamation was made. In place of the titular headship of the Moguls, now for ever abolished, the Queen was invested with the title of Sovereign of India, and the rule of the East India Company was declared to be at an end. Thus was fulfilled a prophecy

The end of the
East India
Company,
1858.

which had encouraged the mutineers, to the effect that the Company would fall a hundred years after the Battle of Plassey. The transfer of power was completed in 1877 when the Queen took the title of Empress of India.

Since the Mutiny, India has enjoyed internal peace, although serious fighting has taken place beyond the North-West frontier. With the abolition of the **India since the Mutiny.** Company's power, extensive reforms were undertaken in the army, the civil service and the law. Whereas the proportion of British to native troops prior to the Mutiny was one to eight, it has since been one to two in Bengal and one to three elsewhere, and the artillery service has been kept entirely in British hands. In the civil service, patronage, the bane of the Company's rule, has been abolished, and appointments have been thrown open to merit, with the result that India has been administered by the finest body of public servants that any race or country has ever produced. Railways and telegraphs have penetrated the land in all directions. Attempts have been made with some success to grapple with plague and famine, the two scourges which have from time immemorial swept away large numbers of the native population. The freedom accorded to native speakers and writers has in some cases been abused in recent years, and has given rise at times to an appearance of unrest which has not, however, penetrated very deep below the surface. The great mass of the population has undoubtedly been contented and prosperous under British rule to an extent which was undreamed of in the stormy days of the past.

A second Afghan War broke out in 1878, caused, as in the earlier case, by fears of the advance of Russian influence. The Amir agreed to receive an **Second and third Afghan Wars, 1878-80.** English envoy at his court as a guarantee against the furtherance of anti-British schemes. But past history repeated itself. A few months after the settlement the envoy was murdered (1878), and a third war was rendered necessary. In a victorious

campaign Sir Frederick Roberts entered Kabul, and thence by a rapid march to Kandahar subdued the whole country. Since that date Afghanistan has been left in enjoyment of its independence and has continued on generally friendly terms with Great Britain. A third Burma War in 1885-6 resulted in the dethronement of the King and the annexation of the remainder of his country.

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1839-42. First Afghan War.
- 1840. Reform of the Postal Service.
- 1843. Natal declared a British Colony.
Annexation of Sind.
- 1845-6. Great Irish Famine.
- 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws.
The Oregon Treaty.
- 1849. Repeal of the Navigation Acts.
Annexation of the Punjab.
- 1851. Discovery of Gold in Australia.
- 1851-9. Responsible Government in Australia and New Zealand.
- 1852. Sand River Convention.
Second Burma War.
- 1854. The Colonial Office made a separate Government Department.
Bloemfontein Convention.
- 1856. Annexation of Oudh.
- 1857-8. Indian Mutiny.
- 1867. British North America Act establishes the Dominion of Canada.
- 1869. Opening of Suez Canal.
- 1872. Responsible Government in Cape Colony.
- 1878-80. Second and Third Afghan Wars.
- 1880-1. First Boer War.
- 1884. Berlin Conference on African questions.
- 1885-6. Third Burma War ; completion of annexation.
- 1886. Opening of Canadian Pacific Railway.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPIRE AND THE CIVILISED WORLD, 1885-1914

THE growth of the British colonies into great civilised communities seemed to some observers to portend the break-up of the Empire. It was obvious that administration direct from England was an impossibility. No department of the home government, however honest and capable, could possibly possess the requisite knowledge of local affairs and the working of local conditions to make the attempt feasible. The alternative method of control, the granting of absolute power to a governor in the colony itself, was also out of the question as soon as the colony attained prosperity and the means of carrying on its own existence; for such a system was incompatible with the ingrained British instinct for political freedom. The result of attempting either of the above courses of action was sufficiently indicated by the revolt of the American colonies in the eighteenth century. It became therefore a matter of course that, as soon as a colony was capable of self-government, self-government should be granted to it. The political bond between colonies and mother-country thus became extremely slender. The only link which remained was the appointment from home of the colonial governor representing the authority of the Crown; and although his moral influence might be great, his actual legal powers were small.

Effects anticipated from Colonial self-government.

To this political severance was added the adoption of Free Trade by Great Britain during the first half of

the nineteenth century. With the abolition of the Navigation Acts and the reduction of duties to an amount **Free trade** and necessitated solely by the demands of the the Empire. revenue, the commercial links which had bound the Empire into a compact trading system as against the other civilised nations of the world were removed. The original free-trade thinkers of the "Manchester school" were prone to form their conclusions from business statistics and concrete facts. As a class they left out of account such considerations as racial sentiment and loyalty, which history has proved again and again to be much more powerful in moulding the conduct of nations than any appeal to self-interest can ever be. Accordingly, to many liberal statesmen of nineteenth century England it became a commonplace that the great colonies were already virtually separated from their parent, and that the conclusion of the process was inevitable in course of time. They argued further that such a result was not only natural but even desirable, since Britain would be stronger and richer when freed from imperial responsibilities.

Such views were current with a large proportion of public opinion at home until the last decade of the century **Growth of imperial sentiment.** was in sight. Then, insensibly at first, a change set in, which rapidly spread, and in ten years practically submerged the exponents of the older ideas. The great fact came into prominence that men of British blood, whether they dwelt in England, in Canada or in New Zealand, were members of one and the same nation; that although its different subdivisions might be separated by thousands of miles of blue water, they spoke the same language, venerated the same beliefs, and inherited the same social instincts as when their forefathers were united in the same small island. It became less the fashion to count solely the cost of imperial responsibilities, to grudge the expense of maintaining a regiment here or a squadron of warships there, and to ask: "What profit do we draw from this outlay?" The new imperialism has recognised rather that the British race, by following

its instinct for expansion, has grasped control of large sections of the earth's surface, and that it is morally responsible as a whole for their good government and the fair treatment of all their inhabitants of whatever nationality or colour. Hence the revival of consciousness of the imperial tie, and the manifestation of a common patriotism which great occasions have brought forth in recent years.

The earliest instance of the contrast between the old *laissez-faire* and the new sense of imperial obligation is provided by the relations between Great Britain and Egypt. The Suez Canal, constructed by French enterprise and largely used by British commerce, gave both nations an interest in the land through which it runs. The Khedive Ismail of Egypt, a nominal vassal of the Sultan of Turkey, had made his own position impossible by his flagrant misgovernment. In 1879 the Sultan deposed him on the advice of England and France, and it was arranged that his son should reign, subject to the "Dual Control" of a Frenchman and an Englishman, who should have a voice in the decisions of the Government. The arrangement continued until 1882, when the French Controller withdrew owing to the difficulties of the position, and Great Britain continued alone to guide Egyptian affairs. The revolt quickly followed of a section of the Egyptian army under Arabi Pasha, bent on expelling all foreign influence from the country. A massacre of Europeans took place in Alexandria. The port was later bombarded by the British fleet, and a military expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir and suppressed the revolt.

Egypt, from its geographical position, was a vital factor in considerations bearing on our communications with the East. Great Britain therefore undertook the task of controlling the Egyptian Government in order to secure internal peace in the country. The arrangement was virtually a protectorate, although it was not announced as such.

To Egypt was attached the Eastern Soudan, the vast region comprised by the middle and upper basin of the Abandonment Nile. When Great Britain took control of the Soudan, serious rebellion was raging in the Soudan, headed by the Mahdi, a fanatical religious leader whose followers were laying waste the country and establishing a bloodthirsty tyranny. The Egyptian army was routed by the Mahdists, and Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister of England at the time, decided to abandon the Soudan to the Mahdi's misgovernment. General Gordon was sent out to carry out the policy of evacuation, by withdrawing the remaining Egyptian garrisons. He was besieged at Khartoum by the Mahdi. A relief expedition was organised with some dilatoriness by the British Government, and after hard fighting it arrived too late, to find that Khartoum had fallen and Gordon was killed (1885). The Soudan was then abandoned to ten years of tyrannous misrule.

During this time men and opinions were changing in England. In 1896 the duty which had been neglected Reconquest of in 1885 was at length undertaken. The re- the Soudan. conquest of the Soudan was begun by Sir H. H. Kitchener, the Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. His forces pressed steadily southwards, defeated the Dervishes at Firket and Atbara, and finally entered Khartoum after the decisive victory of Omdurman (1898). The Khalifa, the Mahdi's successor, escaped southwards only to be killed in battle in the following year. The reorganisation of the Soudan was next proceeded with. In a few years the country was prospering as it had never done before, and the peasants who quailed before their Dervish masters have never had cause to regret their incorporation in the British Empire.

The occurrence of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 was made the occasion of a great demonstration of imperial patriotism and unity. The great dominions and dependencies were fully represented in the central pageant in London, while every

town throughout the Empire celebrated the day and gave formal expression to its sentiments in its own manner. The unity thus asserted was soon to be put to the test.

For some years the position of affairs in the Transvaal had been going from bad to worse. The "Uitlanders," mainly of British nationality, attracted to the goldfields, were denied political rights by the Boers, who on their side resented the

The situation
in South
Africa.

exploitation of their country and desired nothing better than to be left alone. A rash adventure precipitated the crisis. In the last days of 1895 an armed force, raised with the connivance of leading men in Cape Colony, crossed the Transvaal frontier and attempted to reach Johannesburg. Their intention was to form the nucleus of a Uitlander revolt and forcibly extort redress of grievances from the Boer Government. The attempt was a failure. The invading column, led by Dr. Jameson, was surrounded and captured, and the result of their action was to provide the Boers with an excellent grievance against their British neighbours. The Kaiser, on hearing the news, sent a congratulatory telegram to President Kruger which provoked a storm of indignation throughout the Empire. The would-be meddler was given plainly to understand that Britain would tolerate no interference in the conduct of a dispute which was essentially her own peculiar business.

The Jameson Raid rendered a peaceful settlement extremely difficult. The Orange Free State strongly sympathised with its Transvaal brethren, and the two Boer republics prepared for war. In October 1899, negotiations were broken

The South
African War:
first stage.

off, and the Boers everywhere crossed their frontiers and invaded British territory. In the first stage of the war the events of 1881 repeated themselves. The Boers besieged Ladysmith in Natal, and Kimberley and Mafeking beyond their western borders. In one week in December three British armies were severally repulsed at Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso. It was now realised that the whole of British South Africa was endangered. The

task of subduing the conflagration was immeasurably greater than it would have been if resolutely faced in 1881.

But on this occasion the old false policy of evading imperial responsibilities found no favour. Armies were raised throughout the Empire; in Canada, **Second stage.** Australia, and New Zealand as enthusiastically as in Britain itself. Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were placed in command. In the early days of 1900 an advance began which resulted in the relief of the besieged places, the capture of a Boer force under Cronje, and fall of the two Boer capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria. On May 28th the annexation of the Orange Free State was proclaimed, followed on September 1st by that of the Transvaal.

The Boer leaders, relying on hopes of aid from Europe and the influence of the older party in British councils,

Third stage. refused to recognise defeat. Two more years of desultory warfare, carried on over a vast extent of country, were necessary before they would submit to the inevitable. During this time the Empire maintained a united front, and by so doing saved itself from a still greater danger, for the slightest hesitation might well have provoked the intervention of one or more European powers. The struggle ended with the submission of the Boers on May 31st, 1902.

Imperial statesmanship was now faced with the problem of converting the military conquest of a dogged and determined people into a loyal union on equal terms with the remainder of the Empire. So successful were the measures employed that it was found possible to grant responsible government to the two new Empire-states within five years of the end of the war (1907). South Africa now contained four self-governing units. The advantages of a common policy for the entire country were obvious. In 1910 a federation was effected. Under the style of "Union of South Africa," a central government for Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State was set up, each unit retaining the control of its local affairs. The magic of imperialism

has nowhere showed its influence more decisively than in the fact that General Botha, the principal leader of the Boer forces in 1902, became the first Prime Minister of South Africa in 1910. His loyal statesmanship and generalship in the great war of 1914 preserved the Union from an ill-supported revolt, and added to it the neighbouring German possession of South-West Africa.

In Australia also a long-formed project for federation came to fruition during the South African War. The movement in its favour was of slower growth than in the cases of Canada and South Africa, Federation of Australia.

for it was actively discussed for nearly twenty years before it was carried into effect. At length, after Australian opinion had pronounced decisively in its favour, the necessary Act was passed through the Imperial Parliament in 1900; and the first Australian Parliament was opened on January 1st, 1901, the first day of the twentieth century. Although differing in certain legal aspects, the Federal Government resembles that of Canada in controlling relations with other countries, and all internal affairs of general application such as civil law, railways and land policy. In form also it is similar, consisting of Governor-General (exercising the authority of the Crown), Senate and House of Representatives. In local affairs the legislatures of the several colonies still enjoy their old authority. A name was necessary for the new empire-state thus brought into existence; that of "Commonwealth of Australia" was adopted. New Zealand remains independent of the Federation.

The successful creation of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Union of South Africa has given prominence to the question whether or no the entire Empire can be federated in its turn. Many of the difficulties The problem of Imperial Federation. formerly in the way of the formation of a central Imperial Government, such as the time required for representatives and communications to travel from the dominions to the capital, have been removed by the applied science

of the nineteenth century. Others still formidable remain. The formulation of a constitution which shall preserve the internal freedom of widely differing types of population, while at the same time exercising control over general policy, is a greater problem than statesmanship has ever yet overcome. Patriotism and goodwill have hitherto supplied the place of a formal bond. It is a question for the future to answer whether we shall attempt to replace spontaneous co operation by a union of more deliberate design. The germ which may ripen into a wider imperial authority exists in the conferences of colonial statesmen with the British Premier and Colonial Secretary, which are now held at regular intervals. The subjects with which it has been suggested such an authority should concern itself are naval and military defence and a uniform fiscal policy. The continued attachment of the British Isles to Free Trade principles has hitherto proved a bar to the practical discussion of the last-named subject. One thing is certain, as all our history has proved, namely, that an artificial and grudging union would be worse than none at all.

The relations of the British Empire with European powers during the nineteenth century have not produced any armed conflict based on colonial disputes. With France under the monarchy restored in 1815 Britain continued on generally good terms, although the Eastern Question (the affairs of Turkey and Egypt) gave rise to an awkward situation in 1840, which for a short time threatened to result in war. The revival of the Napoleonic Empire after the *coup d'état* of 1851 did not at first interrupt these good relations. Napoleon III., unlike his uncle, was anxious to be on friendly terms with Britain, in order to secure her co-operation in his ambitious foreign policy. To his influence is to be attributed our share in the Crimean War against Russia (1854-6). British and French troops also fought side by side in China (1857-60). Although influential men in both countries desired to promote

friendship, and a commercial treaty was negotiated in 1860, the increasing military prestige of France aroused uneasiness. French soldiers gave vent to irritating sentiments in public utterances, and their indiscretions passed without rebuke. The British public believed that the danger of a French invasion was a real one. Consequently the old volunteer corps which had been formed to resist the first Napoleon were revived. This non-professional force has remained in continuous training to the present day, being reorganised as the Territorial Army in 1907.

The Second Napoleonic Empire came to an end in 1870, during the disasters of the Franco-German War of that year. It was succeeded by the Republican régime (2) 1870 to which endures to the present day. France 1904.

under the Republic showed a renewed interest in colonial expansion. In many parts of the world her interests seemed to clash with those of Britain, and a period of bad feeling was the result. It was accentuated by the exclusive British control of Egypt after 1882, by the reconquest of the Soudan in 1898, which brought the British troops across the path of a French expedition south of Khartoum, and by the South African War. During the latter conflict, feeling in France against Great Britain rose to its height. It was largely due to sentimental reasons, but was none the less dangerous on that account. French soldiers served in the Boer armies; and President Kruger, arriving at Marseilles as a refugee, was rapturously welcomed. Fortunately statesmen kept their heads, and the storm was weathered without a breach of the peace.

In a few years the whole prospect was changed. In 1904 a general agreement was reached on the outstanding subjects of dispute. France recognised our position in Egypt in return for a corresponding recognition of her claims on Morocco. In Newfoundland, West Africa, Siam and Madagascar quarrels of ancient and modern standing were settled on principles of fair give and take. A complete change from hostility to friendship on the part of the two peoples

(3) The
entente
cordiale.

followed. King Edward VII. visited Paris in 1906. He had always been personally popular in the French capital, and his state visit now aroused unprecedented enthusiasm. The return visit of the French President to London in 1908 completed the new union which, although not publicly proclaimed as an alliance, came very near to it under the name of the *entente cordiale*. The avowal of a formal alliance was deferred until the day of battle in 1914.

France was the ally of Russia, and better relations with one led naturally to a *rapprochement* with the other.

Anglo-Russian Agreement, 1907. It was deferred by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, in which English sympathies were largely with Japan. A defensive alliance with Japan had in fact existed since 1902.

After the signing of peace in 1905 an all-round improvement of relations took place. Britain abandoned her suspicions of Russian designs on India, which had recurred at intervals throughout the nineteenth century, and an agreement on Asiatic questions was concluded in 1907. Its effect was to bring Russia within the scope of the Anglo-French *entente*.

The drawing together of the three powers was largely due to the policy of Germany. Strong in Europe since her defeat of France in 1870, she aspired to a colonial empire and sea-power. Year by year the German fleet increased until it became second only to that of Britain. Year by year the German army grew in numbers until it was in a position to overwhelm any single power with which it might come into conflict. The utterances of German public men, from the Kaiser downwards, left no doubt as to the object of these preparations. When all was ready they were to achieve the conquest of Europe and the domination of the whole world.

Leading men in all countries were conscious of the danger. Some took what measures they could to prepare for the inevitable conflict. Others thought it could be averted by concessions or by peace propaganda. The Tsar as early as 1898

proposed a world-conference on methods of preserving peace. Meetings were held at the Hague to which all nations sent representatives. But no understanding on the vital point was achieved. France went to the utmost limit of concession to meet German demands in Africa. One of her ablest statesmen resigned at the bidding of the Kaiser. Britain reduced her naval expenditure in the hope that Germany would do the same; the result was a prompt increase on the other side of the North Sea. The struggle for peace was abortive because one nation was determined for war. When the time was ripe the aggressor struck. The peaceful development of the British Empire and of civilised Europe came to an end on the fatal August day of 1914 when the German hosts poured across their frontiers to spoil the lands of Belgium, France and Poland.

APPENDIX

List of minor additions to the British Empire, 1816-1914

- 1819. Singapore and Straits Settlements, by treaty with Holland and native princes.
- 1839. Aden.
- 1841. Hong Kong, ceded by China.
- 1846. Labuan.
- 1861. Lagos, ceded by its native king.
- 1874. Malay States, British Protectorate gradually formed.
Fiji Islands, ceded by native chiefs.
- 1878. Cyprus, ceded by Turkey.
Walfisch Bay annexed.
- 1881. British North Borneo, Chartered Company; 1888, Protectorate.
- 1884. British New Guinea, Protectorate; 1888, Colony.
Somaliland, Protectorate.
- 1884-6. Nigeria, partly Protectorate, partly under Royal Niger Company; 1900, Company's rights lapsed to the Crown.
- 1886. Socotra, Protectorate.
- 1888. Sarawak.
British East Africa, Chartered Company; 1895, Crown Colony.
- 1891. British Central Africa, Protectorate.
- 1893. Solomon and Gilbert Islands, Protectorate.
- 1894. Uganda, Protectorate.
- 1898. Wei-hai-wei, leased from China.
- 1900. Tonga Islands.
- 1901. Cook Islands, governed by New Zealand.

The above are Crown Colonies unless otherwise stated.

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